



DELHI UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY

THE GIFT OF  
THE FORD FOUNDATION

## DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Cl. No. 0:2J64:9

H431

1 JAN 1969

Ac. No. 286082

**Date of release for loan**

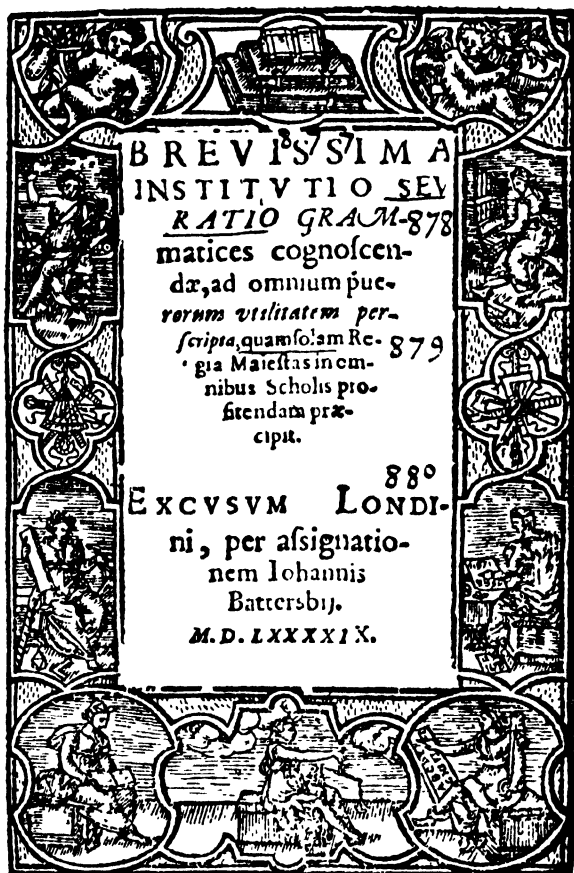
**This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of 5 Paise will be collected for each day the book is kept overtime.**

SECRET		
SECRET		
SECRET		
12 MAR 1948		
FOR CONSULTATION ONLY		





**WILLIAM SHAKSPERE'S  
SMALL LATINE AND LESSE GREEKE**



Title page of Lily's Latin Grammar of 1599, showing the seven liberal arts—from copy in the Library of the University of Illinois. For a characterization of these seven arts, see pp. 324-325.

*William Shakspeare's*  
SMALL LATINE &  
LESSE GREEKE

VOLUME ONE

*By* T. W. BALDWIN

URBANA : 1944

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

1868-1943

This book is published by the University of Illinois Press, under the auspices of the Graduate School, in commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Year of the University of Illinois.

Copyright, 1944, by the University of Illinois Press. All rights reserved. Permission for reproduction in any form may be obtained from the Publisher.



*Third Printing, 1966*

*To*  
*the Great Succession of Scholars*  
*whose Work is here compiled*

QUEL BEAU CHAMP pour l'érudition qu'un sujet de cette nature!  
L'esthétique, le goût, le sentiment, la philosophie, la pensée, n'ont rien à faire ici; il n'y a qu'à fureter, compiler, entasser des montagnes de notes. C'est un travail de rats,

Qui, les livres rongeurs,

Se font savants jusques aux dents.

Stapfer, P., *Shakespeare et L'Antiquité* (1879), pp. 64-65.

WHATEVER CRITICS DO, I hope they will not use the term "erudite" either of Shakspeare's work or of mine upon it; neither is anything of the kind. Both merely use the humdrum, everyday routines of the most commonplace grammar school of Shakspeare's day. The reader with any Latin at all can himself display a much greater amount of such "erudition" with only a few hours of study upon the "six short and easy lessons" here provided. Sixteenth-century schoolmasters had a mountain of erudition, but of it Shakspeare and the author claim only a mouse apiece.

## PREFACE

"MY ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE is to write on 'The Evolution of William Shakespeare,' in the sense of how under the existing circumstances he worked himself out." For such an undertaking, it is necessary to know as much as possible of the formal education to which he was subjected, not only directly, but also indirectly through absorption from others. Whether or not Shakspeare ever spent a single day in petty or grammar school, nonetheless petty and grammar school were a powerful shaping influence upon him, as they were, and were planned to be, upon the whole society of his day. Directly and through others these instruments would help to mould Shakspeare. How much of himself did Shakspeare realize from them?

This matter of Shakspeare's formal training has insisted upon becoming the theme of a series of volumes. My conscious interest in the general theme naturally goes back to at least graduate days in Princeton. When in 1931-32 a Guggenheim Fellowship, combined with sabbatical leave from the University of Illinois, enabled me to spend a year in England, I managed to complete tentatively a work upon five-act structure, which hinged upon the teaching of Terence in the grammar school. I had also by that time the necessary clues to school organization to enable me to gather materials for the whole grammar school curriculum, of which Terence was a part. This body of materials I attempted to summarize as background for that work, but the whole inevitably insisted upon being larger than that particular part. I consequently have held the five-act work until the basic one could be completed to precede and explain it. A joint grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Research Board of the University of Illinois enabled me to spend a lengthy summer in England in 1936, making a final survey of materials for that basic work. By special action, the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois followed the unanimous recommendation of my executive superiors in granting me sabbatical leave with special conditions for 1938-39, so that I was enabled to complete the work except for final polishing barely before Hitler moved.

I had originally sketched the prerequisite petty school in a few pages of the larger work, but decided in the spring of 1941 that materials at hand warranted separate treatment. The resultant volume has now been published as *William Shakspeare's Petty School*,



preliminary to this. The work upon five-act structure (Terence) is ready to follow the present one when circumstances permit. Shakspeare's use of Ovid also demands further treatment, in a work which is now in rough form. I see little prospect that I shall have time and especially opportunity in this life to pursue much further the whole question of Shakspeare's rhetoric, though I hope others will do so. For this is only one series of studies; others need not be mentioned here, since they may never come to print, even though some of them have long been approximately ready.

Besides the obligations already mentioned above to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, to the American Council of Learned Societies, and to my own University of Illinois as a whole, I owe a special debt to the far-sighted policy of the Research Board of the University of Illinois under the leadership of Dean Robert D. Carmichael. It has procured funds and has taken the leadership in procuring concessions which have enabled me to carry my work thus far toward completion, some of it already into print. The Director of the University of Illinois Press, Mr. Harrison E. Cunningham, has taken a personal interest in getting these volumes decently and expertly into print, under most trying conditions. By way of explanation but not excuse, the reader is asked to remember that this work was done by men, short-handed, and under extreme tension; but they have still tried to hold to the standards of eternity. In the words of Abraham Fleming, "Other errors which remaine behind (Gentle Reader) & haue escaped the translators [author's] penne, the Compositors hand, the Correctors eye, and the Printers presse we desire thee courteously to marke and amend."

The staff of the Library of the University of Illinois, from janitors to director, have also been my generous coworkers in research through now many a year. The policy of the retired former director, Professor Phineas L. Windsor, in matching the efforts of the Research Board in the provision of materials has enabled me to gather for the Library such works, and thousands more, as will be found mentioned in this study. The actual burden of procuring these materials has fallen heavily upon the Librarian in Charge of Orders, my long-time faithful friend, Miss Willia K. Garver. To name all my aiders and abettors would be to list most of the senior staff since I came to live in the Library in 1925. In this connection, it is fitting that I acknowledge my debt to those colleagues who by building up the resources of the Library have provided materials for me to work upon, especially Professors William A. Oldfather, Robert F. Sey-

bolt, and Harris F. Fletcher. In addition, Professor Fletcher has suffered a fool more or less gladly for many years as we discussed together our common background problems for Shakspeare and Milton.

For two separate years on end and an enlarged summer, the British Museum was my dwelling place (even though during part of that time it searched me daily for bombs!), with intermissions at boarding house, bookshops, and Oxford, and Cambridge. The Bodleian has taken my oath of allegiance and has been a most beneficent master to me. Cambridge University Library has checked me through its turnstile with any legitimate information I cared to take away. The American University Union (London) regularly procured access for me to various repositories of materials. For several summers I have encamped round about Huntington Library. I regret that circumstances prevented my doing the same at the Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library.

Nor am I to forget the booksellers of England, among whom I must single out my particular good friend, Francis Norman, Esquire, bookseller most extraordinary, for his personal and unremunerated aid on many a problem for more than a decade, amounting to a form of collaboration. By their scars he has recognized infallibly the veterans of schoolboy wars, frequently before I had located their service records, and together we have tried to give them an understanding sympathy and permanent protection. Himself a battle-scarred veteran, may he yet find many customers far more wealthy than I!

It hardly needs to be said that my family is the chief martyr in this cause. But what can a Professor's family expect!!!

It may now be well to state here as forcibly as I can that in this particular series I have in no sense whatever written or attempted to write a history of the Petty School and of the Grammar School in the Sixteenth Century. Such history as there is forms a purely necessary background and has been selected and shaped to that function only. I have in no sense whatever written or attempted to write a book or books on Shakspeare's education. I have attempted merely to present in as orderly fashion as my own nature and that of the materials would permit all the facts so far as I now know them which appear to me to have a bearing upon the question of Shakspeare's formal education, and to present my own conclusions upon those facts. I have in the present work attempted to discover exactly the what, how, and why of the grammar school curriculum of Shakspeare's day, and to evaluate as exactly the reflections of that

curriculum in the work of Shakspeare, whether he came into contact with it directly in grammar school or only indirectly from his environment as it were. It may be possible some centuries hence to write a nice little book on Shakspeare's education, but such a book would be mere worthless dabble now.

Where the facts appear to me to be conclusive, I have said so; but that does not make my conclusion worth anything unless the facts justify it, and I would not consciously exert any extrinsic and dictatorial power upon any reader, if I had it. Truth is the sole and only possible objective of such work as this. And I face the judgment bar of the present and the future, exactly as I have called even the greatest of the past to the judgment bar of the present. No one of them has been wholly without the honest original sin of occasional wrong judgment, usually because of inadequate or mistaken facts. Being human (I hope!), I can myself expect no more. I trust the reader will not trouble about me anyway, either to be nasty or nice. Shakspeare is the important object here, and I have only collected and arranged from the stores assembled by the great tradition what I considered to have a bearing upon a better understanding of him. If the reader prefers it some other way, that is his privilege.

Nor have I wasted any time, I hope, upon the sadistic diversion of pillorying errors, either directly or by supercilious applause. Even the greatest have been so frequently in error that it behooves none of us to gloat. I have had frequent occasion to disagree with the glorious dead. I trust they will agree that I have done so like a gentleman. If not, I beg their pardon for my manner, but not for my matter until the error be upon me proved. For that, I believe the subject is of sufficient interest to permit me to hope that I shall have the aid both of the living and of the great succession yet to come. I have tried, therefore, as much as possible to refrain also from lecturing my ancestors. They have a great deal to learn no doubt, but they are probably too old to begin now. After all, they produced among other things the Renaissance, and while we are confident that we could show them how to improve upon that a great deal, yet we have not so far found anything else in which we can approach them. So after all we had best be respectful and perhaps even a little admiring.

In my treatment of the various schools, I pray that I have not placed unholy hands upon anyone's ark—a blessing on all your houses!

Some possible phases of Shakspeare's training in grammar school,

such as geography, I have not examined directly, since that would have carried me still further afield, and I fear the reader is likely to agree that I have gone at least far enough already. After all, the present work is only a sketch of a few main roads; the by-paths have not even been sketched.

Perhaps a word should be said on one point of method. Since the question of parallels is certain to arise in connection with the evidence upon Shakspeare's ultimate Latin and Greek sources, I wish to point out specifically that I have not consciously based any conclusion on mere parallels as such. Instead, I have first attempted to put Shakspeare's statement into its total pertinent contemporary background, in order to determine the focus of infection. Once we know that, it is then possible to get some judgment as to whether the focus is proximate to Shakspeare or merely ultimate. The difficulty here is that Elizabethans cut so closely over the patterns of each other in their imitations of the classics that frequently they did not realize Brinsley's hope that there would be no apparent stealing. But at least we can eventually locate in this way the major foci of infection, as Professor Root has done for Shakspeare's mythology. Then we can bring our microscopes to bear.

Once the ultimate source of infection is determined, the problem then becomes one simply of relationships, as in manuscripts. The chief difficulty will be to determine whether there is a missing step or steps in our progression. But where Shakspeare repeatedly approaches the original, as in the case of Ovid, or Virgil, it becomes certain that he has used the original in several cases, even though we could not be certain about any one of the individual cases. For our present purpose, the ultimate sources are the important ones anyway, since they show the chief incidences of effect from the Renaissance system upon Shakspeare, whether he came directly in contact in grammar school or indirectly through imbibing from his contemporaries. If, therefore, anyone criticizes from the point of view of mere parallels, he has simply failed to grasp the argument. I may add that since imperfect summary and inadequate quotation have caused many, perhaps most errors in the past, I have ordinarily permitted even John Brinsley to end his part in peace, though my fingers frequently itch to throttle him; consequently, I shall take it ill if I am blamed for his inability to come to the point.

There is, of course, nothing new or particularly difficult about this general method of procedure. The astronomers are patiently succeeding in the numbering and the description of the stars in the

heavens. It would be no great undertaking to number the hairs on the most well-furnished head. The sands of the seashore could be catalogued if the human race wished it so. After all, results obtained are always relatively unimportant; the really important thing is the human satisfaction from the results obtained. So long as man is man, the universe can never be centered elsewhere than in him. That, Shakspeare and his humanistic contemporaries knew; that some of our "scientific" contemporaries appear frequently not to realize.

In the matter of references, I have done as I would be done by. At the first reference to a work, I have given fairly full, though not necessarily complete, information, my purpose being identification only. Thereafter I have abbreviated to significant words. If the reader does not understand the abbreviated form, he may turn to the proper place of author or title in the Bibliographical Index and be referred to the first occurrence, where I have given the fuller information. Since the chief processes of school work head up into chapters so that they can easily be located and many of them are connected with names besides, I have thought that the best index would be a complete concordance of all names of persons, and of all significant places in the text, with some additions from the notes. I have ordinarily kept the Latin form of names of persons, since that is the form by which these men were universally known, unless the name has been anglicized. Very few will need any other form, and those who do ought already to know what it is. Usually, but not always, all titles of books have been normalized and placed under authors. Shakspeare, of course, demands separate sections for his plays and characters. The index has been carried out by Mrs. Helen Davis, of the University of Illinois Press, on my foundations and under my direction.

For old and rare books, I have frequently indicated at the first reference what copy I have used, since such copies may vary and are likely also to be difficult to locate. Where I have not given location for the copy, it will be found usually in the British Museum, the Huntington Library, or the Library of the University of Illinois, if it is not merely personal. Ordinarily, however, I shall have checked my quotations from important rare books against more than one copy, where more than one exists. It has not been possible to check in print quite all my materials to originals or facsimiles; but since it was evident by the summer of 1936 that war was only a question of no long time, I checked my manuscript itself with considerable care, so that I hope errors are mostly merely literal. I can make no

pretence to accuracy; but I have expended a great deal of labor in being as accurate as my nature and the conditioning circumstances have permitted. I have not spared myself; I see no reason, therefore, why I should spare the reader, for after all there is no law compelling him to read this. There is no royal road to learning; neither a democratic one; merely one long, hard, grinding way for king and commoner alike. But it is for the individual to decide whether he will walk patiently therein.

And now that my acknowledgments are at least partially made, I wonder what is left for me! Mostly the errors, I fear. Whether those be of omission or of commission, of judgment or of fact, I must acknowledge them as ill-favored things but mine own.

T. W. BALDWIN



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME ONE

### CHAPTER

#### I. HISTORY OF THE QUESTION

I. Genesis of Jonson's Aphorism, "small Latine, and lesse Greeke" . . . . .	I
II. The Restoration Forms the Tradition of Shakspeare's "Little Latin" . . . . .	19
III. The Eighteenth Century Canonizes the "Little Latin" Tradition . . . . .	53

#### II. EVOLUTION OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

##### A. 1509-1550

IV. Erasmus Laid the Egg; <i>De Ratione Studii</i> . . . . .	75
V. Erasmus Laid the Egg; His Textbooks and Approved Authors . . . . .	94
VI. The Egg Which Erasmus Laid at Paul's . . . . .	118
VII. The Grammar Schools of England about 1530 . . . . .	134
VIII. The Movement toward Authorized Uniformity . . . . .	164

##### B. THE EDUCATION OF ROYALTY

IX. Educating the "Prince"; Princess Mary . . . . .	185
X. Educating the "Prince"; Prince Edward. Lower School . . . . .	200
XI. Educating the "Prince"; King Edward. Upper School . . . . .	219
XII. Educating the "Prince"; Princess Elizabeth . . . . .	257

##### C. 1550-1600

XIII. Definitive Form Attained under Edward VI . . . . .	285
XIV. The Winchester System under Queen Elizabeth. . . . .	321
XV. The Eton System under Queen Elizabeth . . . . .	353
XVI. The Westminster Adaptation of the Eton System under Queen Elizabeth . . . . .	380
XVII. The Cathedral Schools under Queen Elizabeth . . . . .	408
XVIII. The Paul's System under Queen Elizabeth . . . . .	415
XIX. The Small Schools under Queen Elizabeth . . . . .	429



## CHAPTER

## D. THEORISTS

- XX. William Kempe upon the Elizabethan Grammar School . . . . . 436  
 XXI. Brinsley, Hoole, and Clarke. . . . . 450

## III. SHAKSPERE'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRAINING

## A. BACKGROUND

- XXII. The King's Free Grammar School at Stratford . . 464  
 XXIII. Grammar School Texts in Shakspere's Time . . 494  
 XXIV. The Textbooks of King James VI of Scotland . . 532

## B. LATIN CURRICULUM

## a. LOWER SCHOOL

- XXV. Lower Grammar School: Shakspere's Grammar . . 557  
 XXVI. Lower Grammar School: Shakspere's Constructions; *Sententiae Pueriles*, and *Cato* . . . . 581  
 XXVII. Lower Grammar School: Shakspere's Constructions; *Aesop*. . . . . 607  
 XXVIII. Lower Grammar School: Shakspere's Constructions; *Terence*, *Mantuan*, *Palingenius* . . . . 641  
 XXIX. Lower Grammar School: Shakspere's Latins . . 682  
 XXX. Lower Grammar School: Shakspere's Latin Speaking . . . . . 721

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME TWO

### CHAPTER

#### b. UPPER SCHOOL

##### 1. *Rhetorical Training*

XXXI. Grammar School Logic and Rhetoric in the Sixteenth Century: the General Background . . . . .	1
XXXII. Some English Treatments of Logic and Rhetoric in the Sixteenth Century . . . . .	29
XXXIII. The Rhetorical Training of Shakspere: Tully's Rhetoric; i.e., <i>Ad Herennium</i> . . . . .	69
XXXIV. The Rhetorical Training of Shakspere: Cicero, <i>Topica</i> . . . . .	108
XXXV. The Rhetorical Training of Shakspere: Susenbrotus . . . . .	138
XXXVI. The Rhetorical Training of Shakspere: Erasmus, <i>Copia</i> . . . . .	176
XXXVII. The Rhetorical Training of Shakspere: Quintilian, the Supreme Authority . . . . .	197

##### 2. *Prose Composition*

XXXVIII. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Epistles . . . . .	239
XXXIX. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Themes . . . . .	288
XL. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Declamations and Orations . . . . .	355

##### 3. *Verse Composition*

XLI. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Exercise of Versifying . . . . .	380
---	-----

##### 4. *Latin Poets*

XLII. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Latin Poets; Ovid . . . . .	417
XLIII. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Latin Poets; Virgil . . . . .	456
XLIV. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Latin Poets; Horace . . . . .	497
XLV. Upper Grammar School: Shakspere's Latin Poets; Juvenal, and Persius . . . . .	526

## CHAPTER

- XLVI. Upper Grammar School: Shakspeare's Latin Poets;  
 Suggestions on Lucan, Silius Italicus, Martial,  
 Catullus, Seneca . . . . . 549

5. *Moral History*

- XLVII. Upper Grammar School: Shakspeare's History . . 562

6. *Moral Philosophy*

- XLVIII. Upper Grammar School: Shakspeare's Training in  
 Moral Philosophy . . . . . 578

C. GREEK CURRICULUM

- XLIX. Upper Grammar School: Shakspeare's Lesse Greeke 617

IV. CONCLUSION

- L. What of It? . . . . . 662

APPENDICES

- I. Run-away Shakspeare . . . . . 681  
 II. Formation of the Authorized Grammar . . . . . 690  
 III. Number of Forms in Paul's Grammar School . . . . . 702  
 IV. The Chronology of William Badger's Dictates . . . . . 706  
 V. Peter Young's Notebook . . . . . 717

INDEXES

- I. Bibliographical References . . . . . 721  
 II. Citations from Shakspeare's Plays . . . . . 727  
 III. Characters from Shakspeare's Plays . . . . . 734  
 IV. General Index . . . . . 737

## CHAPTER I

### GENESIS OF JONSON'S APHORISM, "SMALL LATINE, AND LESSE GREEKE"

A BRILLIANT APHORISM is a dangerous thing. It is always a lie and never the truth. It cannot be the truth, for that is too large to be expressed in an aphorism. At best, the aphorism can serve only as a topic sentence to be lengthily and cautiously modified into that commonplace inconsistency which approximates truth. Only in that modifying context can the aphorism approach truth. And that context itself is relative to the audience addressed. It approaches truth only for them. As the connotations of the context change for succeeding audiences, to that extent will our aphorism, even in its context, approach a lie.

So it has been with that aphorism of Jonson upon Shakspeare's learning. Every schoolboy knows that Shakspeare had little Latin and less Greek, that being the preferred version of Jonson's "*small Latine, and lesse Greeke*." Our tradition has not felt the necessity of preserving accurately even the wording of Jonson's aphorism. Still less has it troubled about the context, and least of all has it troubled to put the context into its proper setting. The result is a total lie. For in effect we deny to Shakspeare any Latin or Greek, dismissing the matter as of no importance.

If we are to understand how Shakspeare developed, we must know something of the formal education to which he was exposed, and whether he later found any use for it. The present work addresses itself to a preliminary examination of that problem, in the hope that if once the problem is fairly stated, then the combined efforts of preceding and succeeding scholars on the matter will eventually lead us closer to truth.

We address ourselves first to the tradition. Our tradition has developed from Benjamin Jonson's statement in the First Folio. There is nothing surprising about this, since this is the official statement, and since there were no other editions of Shakspeare's works except the folios before the eighteenth century. One had to turn to the folios for Shakspeare, and there at the very gateway he would find Jonson's statement as the official one. It thus behooves us to examine carefully this statement, part of which every schoolboy misquotes so

glibly. And first we must examine it in its context. After a preliminary avowal of intentions, Jonson begins his subject.

I, therefore will begin. Soule of the Age!  
 The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage!  
 My *Shakespeare*, rise; I will not lodge thee by  
*Chaucer*, or *Spenser*, or bid *Beaumont* lye  
 A little further, to make thee a roome:  
 Thou art a Monument, without a tombe,  
 And art aliue still, while thy Booke doth liue,  
 And we haue wits to read, and praise to giue.  
 That I not mixe thee so, my braine excuses;  
 I meane with great, but disproportion'd *Muses*:  
 For, if I thought my iudgement were of yeeres,  
 I should commit thee surely with thy peeres,  
 And tell, how farre thou didst our *Lily* out-shine,  
 Or sporting *Kid*, or *Marlowes* mighty line.  
 And though thou hadst small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*,  
 From thence to honour thee, I would not seeke  
 For names; but call forth thund'ring *Aeschilus*,  
*Euripides*, and *Sophocles* to vs,  
*Paccuius*, *Accius*, him of *Cordoua* dead,  
 To life againe, to heare thy Buskin tread,  
 And shake a Stage: Or, when thy Sockes were on,  
 Leaue thee alone, for the comparison  
 Of all, that insolent *Greece*, or haughtie *Rome*  
 sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.  
 Triúmph, my *Britaine*, thou hast one to showe,  
 To whom all Scenes of *Europe* homage owe.  
 He was not of an age, but for all time!  
 And all the *Muses* still were in their prime,  
 When like *Apollo* he came forth to warme  
 Our eares, or like a *Mercury* to charme!

Shakspere was the soul of the age. Chaucer, Spenser, and Beaumont are great, but not equal to Shakspere, who also surpassed Lyly, Kyd, and Marlowe. Not only does Shakspere surpass all Englishmen, but though he had small Latin and less Greek, yet Jonson would call forth all the greatest Latin and Greek tragedians to do him honor, and to make the list impressive he adds Pacuvius and Accius, whose works have perished. Nor do the comedians of these countries or any of their successors in Europe compare with Shakspere. In fact, then, he was not of an age but for all time.

If Jonson's list of Greek and Latin tragedians gives us any idea of what he would consider great Latin and only less Greek, then

by such standards very few Elizabethan dramatists—perhaps only Jonson and Chapman—could be found satisfactory, even though many of them had university degrees. And by such standards a mere “learned grammarian” as was Shakspeare had indeed “small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*.” One of the Greek dramatists might very occasionally get into the last years of grammar school, and Seneca appears in grammar school but very seldom before 1600. Nor is there anything apologetic about Jonson’s incidental statement concerning Shakspeare’s classic attainments. It is made merely by way of further emphasizing Jonson’s fundamental statement, which was the strongest of which Jonson could think; that is, if anything it is in highest praise, certainly not in apology. There is no apparent derogation in Jonson’s statement when fairly interpreted in its context, and the standard against which Jonson places Shakspeare’s attainments is the highest of which he had knowledge. The ordinary grammarian was never troubled with any of Jonson’s list, and it may be in Jonson’s mind that Shakspeare had not been so troubled.

For as Jonson turns now to account for Shakspeare’s excellence, it is the comedians whom he names for comparison. In his earlier list, he had named the tragedians and had referred to the comedians without naming them. Now he uses them in his accounting for Shakspeare as the result of great nature and some art. Presumably, therefore, Jonson is thinking of these writers of comedy as having contributed to Shakspeare’s art, and we know that the two Latins Terence and Plautus had done so, though there is no conclusive evidence, I believe, for the Greek Aristophanes. To continue quoting Jonson;

Nature her selfe was proud of his designes,  
 And ioy'd to weare the dressing of his lines!  
 Which were so richly spun, and wouen so fit,  
 As, since, she will vouchsafe no other Wit.  
 The merry *Greeke*, tart *Aristophanes*,  
 Neat *Terence*, witty *Plautus*, now not please;  
 But antiquated, and deserted lye  
 As they were not of Natures family.  
 Yet must I not giue Nature all: Thy Art,  
 My gentle *Shakespeare*, must enioy a part.  
 For though the *Poets* matter, Nature be,  
 His Art doth giue the fashion. And, that he,  
 Who casts to write a liuing line, must sweat,  
 (such as thine are) and strike the second heat  
 Vpon the *Muses* anuile: turne the same,  
 (And himselfe with it) that he thinkes to frame;

Or for the lawrell, he may gaine a scorne,  
 For a good *Poet's* made, as well as borne.  
 And such wert thou. Looke how the fathers face  
 Liues in his issue, euen so, the race  
 Of *Shakespeares* minde, and manners brightly shines  
 In his well torned, and true filed lines:  
 In each of which, he seemes to shake a Lance,  
 As brandish't at the eyes of Ignorance.

Jonson here accounts for this overwhelming greatness of Shakspeare. Nature herself rejoiced to be clothed in his lines, so that she now lets Aristophanes, Terence, and Plautus deserted lie as if they were not of Nature's family. But Nature must not receive all the credit; Shakspeare's Art must also receive part of it.

For though the *Poets* matter, Nature be,  
 His Art doth giue the fashion.

The poet must by Art shape his matter, "For a good *Poet's* made, as well as borne." So Shakspeare's mind and manners brightly shine, "In his well torned, and true filed lines." Jonson then ends by making a heavenly constellation of this "Sweet Swan of *Auon*." Thus while Shakspeare is fundamentally indebted to Nature, yet he owes a great deal to Art.

How much of this Jonson really meant I do not profess to know—I am none of God's spies!—; but this is what he says. And it is Shakspeare's subject matter that Jonson attributes to Nature, which no one essentially denies. But "His Art doth giue the fashion," which again no one ought essentially to deny. It is in subject matter, which comes of Nature, that Shakspeare has surpassed Aristophanes, Terence, and Plautus, who now

antiquated, and deserted lye  
 As they were not of Natures family.

Then of shaping Art Shakspeare is admitted to have had some, though the degree as compared with that of Aristophanes, Terence, and Plautus is not stated. But it is doubtless significant that Jonson chooses Aristophanes, Terence, and Plautus with whom to make his comparison. Terence and Plautus were more or less well known to every learned grammarian, and Jonson knew even better than we that Shakspeare was acquainted with them. That knowledge in no way affects the accuracy of Jonson's pronouncement upon Shakspeare's "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*."

For we happen to know that Jonson considered Terence small Latin indeed. In the Induction to the *Magnetic Lady*, Damplay says,

You have heard, *Boy*, the ancient Poëts had it in their purpose, still to please this people.

*Pro.* I, their chiefe aime was—

*Dam.* *Populo ut placerent:* (if hee understands so much.)

*Boy.* *Quas fecissent fabulas.*) I understand that, sin' I learn'd *Terence*, i' the third forme at *Westminster*: go on Sir.<sup>1</sup>

A boy who learned Terence in the third form at Westminster was Ben Jonson himself, presumably under the great Camden.

Camden! most reverend head, to whom I owe  
All that I am in arts, all that I know.

Nor was his Terence all that Jonson owed to Camden. Professor Hoyt Hudson calls my attention to the fact that Jonson's master Camden takes the same position toward Sidney and Nature as does his pupil Jonson toward Shakspeare.

Naturae *Genivs* se mirabatur in vno  
Sidnaeo, *Ars*, & *Mars* se mirabantur eodem;  
*Mors* etiam mirans haec vidit, & abstulit illum,  
Ne terris tantum mirentur numina numen.

.....  
Sidnaeum defles aetatis flore peremptum,  
At frustra, flendi causa nec vlla subest.  
Illius ingenio, virtuti, laudibus aetas  
Addere nil potuit, nil potuere dies.  
Ipse fuit quicquid poterat Natura; nec vnquam  
Tantus erat tanta mente repostus honos.<sup>2</sup>

And certainly Camden meant no reflection upon Sidney's Art by emphasizing his Nature. No more did Jonson in this possible imitation of Camden necessarily mean any reflection upon Shakspeare.

Because of their known close relationship, it is probable that Jonson is here following Camden, though we must never forget that both are following an already threadbare convention of the time in contrasting Nature and Art. Jonson's comparison of Shakspeare with the various classical authors is equally threadbare. For instance, George Turberville used it in his *Epitaph on Maister Edwards*. "Ye Learned Muses nine" and "Ye Courtyers" are invited to lament.

<sup>1</sup> Peck, H. W., *The Magnetic Lady*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Exequiae Illustissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei, Gratissimae Memoriae Ac Nomini Impensae* (1587, Huntington Copy), pp. B2v-B3r.



O ruth, he is bereft  
 That, whilst he liued heere,  
 For Poets, Pen, and passing Wit  
 Could haue no Englishe Peere.

His vaine in Verse was such,  
 So stately eke his stile,  
 His feate in forging sugred Songs  
 With cleane and curious file;  
 As all the learned Greekes  
 And Romaines would repine,  
 If they did liue againe, to vewe  
 His Verse with scornefull eine.  
 From Plautus he the Palme  
 And learned Terence wan, &c.<sup>3</sup>

Turberville says in this epitaph that Edwards, as poet and playwright, surpassed not only all English writers, but the learned Greeks and Romans as well, since he won the palm from Plautus and learned Terence. This is exactly the basic idea and pattern which Jonson uses in his epitaph upon Shakspeare. Such a comparison, however, is inevitable and hence becomes merely conventional in a period where the classics were the standard of perfection. One remembers how Meres in 1598 uses this touchstone comparison for all English writers as against the Latins and Greeks. And again one of the expressions of Meres reminds us of what Jonson is to say.

As *Epius Stolo* said, that the Muses would speake with *Plautus* tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with *Shakespeare's* fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, as Jonson evaluates Shakspeare in comparison with Terence and Plautus, he speaks of Shakspeare's "true filed lines."

Perhaps Cooper's *Thesaurus* will indicate the ultimate foci of infection for this phrase.

*Lima* . . . A file. *Lima, per translationem*. The last correction, emendation, or castigation: beyng as it weare a polishynge. *ut, Vltima lima defuit meis scriptis. Ouid*. My writynges lacked the laste correction or polishyng.

*Limatus* . . . Filed: polished: nette: trimme: pure: elegant . . . *Limatus & emunctus. Quintil*. Fine and nete without all superfluitie. *Tersus ac limatus. Quintil. Oratione maximè limatus atq; subtilis. Cic*. He that hath a very fine & pure stile, & vseth none but propre woordes. *Limatior. Horat*. More trimme and fine.

<sup>3</sup> Warton, T., *History of English Poetry* (1871), Vol. IV, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> Meres, Francis, *Palladis Tamia* (1938), p. 282r.

Cicero, Quintillian, and Ovid use the phrase. It will be seen that Meres means "fine, filed phrase," not "fine-filed phrase," being nearest to Quintilian's "*Limatus & emunctus* . . . Fine and nete without all superfluitie," while Jonson's "true filed lines" is probably closest to Cicero's *maximè limatus*, "very fine & pure stile." It will be remembered that Turberville had also used the expression in saying that Edwards "forged" his songs "With cleane and curious file."

The phrase is thus merely a cant one in the criticism of the day, and the juxtaposition of Shakspeare with Plautus as dramatists has caused both Meres and Jonson to think of the same "sentence" on Plautus and to echo it in the same cant phraseology. Thus there is no reason to suspect that Jonson is echoing Meres, even though Meres long before had made the same conventional application in the same conventional way. Nor is there any certainty that Jonson knew Turberville's epitaph on Edwards, though he follows exactly the same framework of convention for his "epitaph" upon Shakspeare. For Jonson is merely writing another epitaph upon a literary man, in a long sequence of epitaphs upon literary men. Jonson, from having read many such epitaphs had learned the Art or conventions of the type. So he uses such conventions as he deems pertinent to produce a fitting epitaph upon Shakspeare.<sup>6</sup>

But to return to Jonson's idea of Terence, in the *Staple of News* (III, 2), he also brings Terence and a nine-year-old schoolboy into the same connection. To Jonson, Terence was "small *Latine*" indeed; and with Terence in the curricula Plautus was also joined. So if Jonson is here tacitly admitting some Terence and Plautus for Shakspeare, he is still admitting only "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*." Jonson's line, therefore, cannot be used to prove that Shakspeare was an ignoramus, since Jonson admits that Shakspeare had some Art and perhaps implies that it was derived from some knowledge of the elementary classics.

Further light on Jonson's pronouncements will be thrown by a cursory examination of his ideas on Nature and Art. A passage in Jonson's *Discoveries* will help to make clearer his meaning in the present passage. He has previously required in his poet *Ingenium*, *Exercitatio*, *Imitatio*, and now comes *Lectio*. I have italicized the most significant passages.

<sup>6</sup> A study of these conventions lying behind Jonson's poem would be interesting and in many respects significant.

But, that which we especially require in him is an exactnesse of Studie, and multiplicity of reading, which maketh a full man, not alone enabling him to know the *History*, or Argument of a *Poeme*, and to report it; but so to master the matter, and Stile, as to shew, hee knowes, how to handle, place, or dispose of either, with *elegancie*, when need shall bee. And not thinke, hee can leap forth suddenly a *Poet*, by dreaming hee hath been in *Parnassus*, or, having washt his lipps (as they say), in *Helicon*. There goes more to his making, then so; *For to nature, Exercise, Imitation and Study, Art must be added, to make all these perfect.*<sup>6</sup> And, though these challenge to themselves much, in the making up of our Maker, it is *Art only can lead him to perfection*, and leave him there in possession, as planted by her hand. It is the assertion of *Tully*, If to an excellent nature there happen, an accession or confirmation of Learning, and Discipline, there will then remaine somewhat noble, and singular. For, as *Simylus* saith in *Stobaeus*, οὔτε φύσις ἰκανὴ γίνεταί τέχνης ἄτερ, οὔτε πᾶν τεχνὴ μὴ φύσιν κεκτημένη, without Art, Nature can nere bee perfect; &, without Nature, Art can clayme no being. But, our Poet must beware, that his Studie bee not only to learne of himself; for, hee that shall affect to doe that, confesseth his ever having a Foole to his master. *Hee must read many, but, ever the best, and choicest: those, that can teach him anything, he must ever account his masters, and reverence: among whom Horace, and (hee that taught him) Aristotle, deserv'd to bee the first in estimation. Aristotle, was the first accurate Criticke, and truest Judge; nay, the greatest Philosopher, the world ever had: for hee noted the vices of all knowledges, in all creatures, and out of many mens perfections in a Science, hee formed still one Art.* So hee taught us two Offices together, how we ought to judge rightly of others, and what we ought to imitate specially in our selves. But all this in vaine, without a naturall wit, and a Poeticall nature in chiefe. For, no man, so soone as hee knowes this, or reades it, shall be able to write the better; but as he is adapted to it by Nature, he shall grow the perfecter Writer. Hee must have *Civil prudence*, and *Eloquence*, & that whole; not taken up by snatches, or peeces, in Sentences, or remnants, when he will handle businesse, or carry Counsells, as if he came then out of the Declaimors Gallerie, or Shadowe, furnish'd but out of the body of the State, which commonly is the Schoole of men.<sup>7</sup>

Marston is thinking in similar terms when in 1604 he writes of "Art above nature, judgment above art."<sup>8</sup> If he is alluding to Jonson, that author would have considered this statement the highest pos-

<sup>6</sup> As the reference below to Tully shows, this passage is in the tradition of Cicero's *De Oratore*. "In substance he [Crassus in *De Oratore*] adds *imitatio*, defined by Antonius in book II, to his own essential trinity of *ars*, *natura*, and *exercitatio*" (Fiske, George C. and Grant, Mary A., "Cicero's *De Oratore* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*" (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 27), p. 87. Chapter III, *De Artifice*, gives the proper background for this doctrine in Cicero and Horace. Also compare Grant, Mary A. and Fiske, George C., "Cicero's *Orator* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*" (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XXXV), pp. 67 ff. and references there given). The assertion itself of Tully is from *Pro Archia Poeta*.

<sup>7</sup> Castelain, Maurice, *Ben Jonson, Discoveries*, pp. 125-128. Chief italics mine.

<sup>8</sup> Adams, J. Q., and Bradley, J. F., *The Jonson Allusion-Book*, p. 38.

sible compliment.<sup>9</sup> Jasper Mayne is also thinking in the same terms when in 1651 he praises Cartwright thus,

For thou to Nature had'st joyn'd Art and skill,  
In Thee *Ben Johnson* still held *Shakespeare's* Quill:  
A Quill, rul'd by sharp Judgement, and such Laws,  
As a well studied Mind, and Reason draws.<sup>10</sup>

Judging by such standards, Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden about the end of 1618 only the simple truth when he said, "That Shaksperre wanted Arte."<sup>11</sup> Shakspeare had not pursued this course of wide reading in the classics out of many men's perfections in a science to form one Art, though he had pursued unsystematically a similar method with other materials nearer at hand.

This lack of systematic self-criticism in the light of the rules established by Art seemed to Jonson Shakspeare's vital defect.

I remember, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to *Shakespeare*, that in his writing, (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted. And to justifie mine owne candor, (for I lov'd the man, and doe honour his memory (on this side Idolatry) as much as any.) Hee was (indeed) honest, and of an open, and free nature: had an excellent *Phantsie*; brave notions, and gentle expressions: wherein hee flow'd with that facility, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop'd: *Sufflaminandus erat*; as *Augustus* said of *Haterius*. His wit was in his owne power; would the rule of it had beene so too. Many times hee fell into those things, could not escape laughter: As when hee said in the person of *Caesar*, one speaking to him; *Caesar thou dost me wrong*. Hee replied: *Caesar did never wrong, but with just cause* and such like: which were ridiculous. But hee redeemed his vices, with his vertues. There was ever more in him to be praysed, then to be pardoned.<sup>12</sup>

Shakspeare had not sufficiently ruled his wit by the precepts of Art; his inspiration was not controlled by sufficient perspiration.

There are thus two things in Jonson tied causally together, which later became separated. Shakspeare had small Latin and less Greek, and since the great exemplars and precepts of literary Art were in

<sup>9</sup> In 1598, Marston had written, "Art curbs Nature, Nature guideth Art" (Bullen, A. H., *The Works of John Marston*, Vol. III, p. 363, *Scourge of Villainy*, Sat. IX, l. 10).

<sup>10</sup> Munro, J., *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, Vol. II, p. 17; cf. Vol. I, p. 414.

<sup>11</sup> Chambers, E. K., *William Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 206-207.

<sup>12</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 210. This statement of Jonson's is echoed by Edward Howard in 1673 (Munro, J., "More Shakspeare Allusions," *Modern Philology* Vol. XIII, p. 528).

those languages he consequently was wanting in a perfected Art, though his small Latin and less Greek had given him some Art. Later followers of Jonson take away even the small Latin and less Greek, in consequence leaving Shakspeare destitute of Art. To them Art eventually becomes merely Greek and Latin erudition,<sup>13</sup> which is not the fundamental issue, and is no issue at all unless it first be shown that perfect Art is attained only so, as Jonson assumes. As we shall see, Shakspeare's friends denied this premised assumption of Jonson's by claiming that Shakspeare did have a sufficient Art, even if he was not university trained as Greene or self-educated as Jonson. The question is thus first whether one could attain Art only through the Latin and Greek classics as Jonson assumed, and second as to the degree of Art Shakspeare had thus attained. Jonson admits that Shakspeare had some Art, but he thinks that Shakspeare should have had a great deal more. The question is both of quality and of degree.

This fundamental opposition between Nature and Art was, of course, not peculiar to Jonson, being merely the commonplace of the time, tracing from the classics. In the passage from Jonson's notes, Cicero is given as authority, while Quintilian and many another might be added. Naturally, the schoolmasters would use this distinction as a foundation stone, and we may permit Richard Mulcaster in 1582 to speak for them.

But for the better vnderstanding of my conclusion, and this great concordance, which I note to be betwene natur in framing, and art in training, both for number of abilities, and for maner of proceeding, I will first examin the naturall abilities, which ar to be perfited, & how natur himself doth forward the perfectiō: thē I will shew, how those principles, which art hath deuised for the furtherance of natur, do answer vnto those abilities of natur, both for sufficiencie in number, and fitnessse to perfection. For where there be verie manie effects, which ar to be wrought, there must nedes be manie means, to bring the effect about. Where natur hir self offereth verie good hold, there art must be at hand and redie to take it: where natur is frutefull, and plaieeth the good mother, there art must be carefull, and proue a good nurse. For it is most trew, that most excellent gifts, and endowments of natur, be verie oftymes spoiled by the onelie mean of negligent nurtur.

I call those naturall abilities, which natur planteth in our mindes and bodies, prepared by hir self for vs to vse, but to be perfited by our selues, to our own best vse, whereunto that power of our minde, or that part

<sup>13</sup> For instance, Robert Wild writes of Shakspeare,

And if thy learning had been like thy Wit,  
Ben would have blusht, and *Johnson* never writ.

(Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 502).

of our bodie doth specialie serue, in which that abilitie is naturallie placed: As for example, natur planteth in the hand an abilitie to catch and hold, which that it maie do to the best effect, and to that vse for the which we haue our hand, our own pollicie and practis must be our best mean. Natur plāteth in our minde an abilitie to forese such things, as be to com, which that it maie do to our greatest profit, our own wisdom, & our own cōsideration, must be our best mean. Whereby it will fall out, that we our own selues do cause our own want, if we do not our endeour, to further those helps, which the goodnesse of natur, naie, which the goodnesse of God, the Lord and prince of natur, of his own mere gift doth so bestow vpon vs, as we maie frelie haue them, if we list to apply them. If the case were such, as we our selues were willing to vse them, if we had them, and had them not, the complaint might tuch natur, for not answering our will, but now that we haue them, if we do not vse them, the blame will tuch our selues, for not answering hir goodnesse.

I call those Artificiall principles, which mans wisdom hauing considered the entendment of natur doth deuise for himself, so manie in number, and so fit in qualitie, as theie maie take sure hold of all naturall inclinations and abilities, & bring them to perfection by the like mean, and the like ascent, in training them to that end, which pollicie doth shout at. as natur sheweth hir self to be verie well willing to follow the hand of anie such a trainer, by such a mean as is deuised, to such an end, as she desireth: As in the former examples of the hand to hold sure, & the minde to forese, which be naturall abilities, artificiall principle is to vse such exercises, and so cōsiderate experiments, and with such precisenesse in the vse of them both, as the hand maie hold best, and surest with all, the minde forese most, and furthest withall. Where natur grounded onelie bare holding, and simple foresight, direction entended the best in them both, as natur did not seme to be verie froward in either, whose perfection lyes in both.<sup>14</sup>

Sir Thomas Randolph was speaking in these terms when he wrote in 1580 to George Buchanan of James,

That your worthie and noble Kinge in so short Tyme is become so skillfull, not a litle is to be attributid to the great Diligence and Care of his Maisters, who besydes the Giftes of Nature, haue addid as muche as by Art could be deuised.<sup>15</sup>

One may even look at the consciously marvellous Art of James and Ben,<sup>16</sup> pedants both, and still be sincerely thankful that Shakspeare had not sufficient Art of any variety to overwhelm his Nature.

<sup>14</sup> Mulcaster, R., *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1925), pp. 32-33.

<sup>15</sup> Buchanan, George, *Opera* (1715), *Epistolae*, p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> It is highly amusing to find Ben condemning Buchanan's methods of teaching James the technique of poetry against Camden's methods of teaching Ben, and then to hear James condemning the whole English method of pronouncing Greek (Ben's master, Camden, wrote the Greek grammar) and Latin as against the true method taught him by Buchanan (see pp. 550-51); it seems that the wrong Art might be even worse than none at all.

Art is the training of Nature. Because of this theoretical opposition it was the natural convention to weigh an author in the balance of Art versus Nature. For instance, Erasmus is discussing candidates for true Tullians.

*Bv.* Proferam itaque Poggium Florentinum, vividae cujusdam eloquentiae virum. *No.* Naturae satis erat, artis & eruditionis non ita multum: interim impuro sermonis fluxu, si Laurentio Vallae credimus.<sup>17</sup>

Poggio had sufficient of Nature, but insufficient of Art and Erudition. Yet the whole question is relative, and it is admitted by implication that Poggio had considerable Art and Erudition.

Similarly, Jonson admits that Shakspeare had some Art or training, though he thought it was not great enough either in quality or degree. But when we get the concrete statement of what Jonson considered a sufficient Art in literary matters, it is at once evident that Shakspeare did want Art or training according to Jonson's standards, yet nevertheless on Jonson's own statement might have had a great deal of Art according to our standards. Positively stated, Jonson admits that Shakspeare had some Art or training, possessing some Greek and more Latin. There is nothing directly to indicate the absolute degree, further than that to Jonson it was not great. But when we see what Jonson considered to be great, we are aware that only Jonson himself measured up to the standard, finding even Chapman somewhat lacking. Decidedly, Jonson depicts Shakspeare as anything but an ignoramus.

But to return to Jonson's lines, if taken out of its context, Jonson's phrase is equally significant. For, one so trained in logic as was Jonson certainly knew that by "*lesse Greeke*" he was attributing to Shakspeare at least *some Greek*, though less logical generations since appear willingly to have overlooked the fact. And Jonson's verse would have permitted "*no Greeke*," as Dr. Samuel Johnson inadvertently emended it, just as well as "*lesse Greeke*." In fact, W. Towers in verses prefixed to Cartwright's *Works*, 1651, had already emended the line for Dr. Johnson.

Thy skill in Wit was not so poorely meek  
As theirs whose little *Latin* and no *Greek*  
Confin'd their whole Discourse to a Street phrase,  
Such Dialect as their next Neighbour's was.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Erasmus, D., *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 1009.

<sup>18</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 312.

The "small Latine" has become "little Latin," and the Greek has been eliminated. Towers was at least a century ahead of his time! He is indeed the first person on record to use the phrase "little Latin," but he is not so likely to have been the center of propagation for it as is the reference work of Fuller,<sup>19</sup> though Fuller himself is likely to have caught the phrase from Towers.

It was not the verse which forced Jonson to permit Shakspeare some Greek; presumably it was the truth which did that. To admit that Shakspeare had any Greek is to put him in the upper branches of grammar school. More significant still, it is to grant him a very definite proficiency in Latin, for the Greek grammars were written in none too easy Latin. Edward Grant had published his Greek grammar in 1575, about the time Shakspeare should have been ready for it; but the generally used grammar in England appears to have been that of Clenardus, though Ceperinus attained an edition in England in 1585. If the reader wishes to get a gauge upon Shakspeare's Latinity, he may scour up his own rusty Latin upon these three grammars as fair samples of what was expected of Shakspeare. If, then, we accept Jonson's evidence at all, we must permit Shakspeare to have some Greek, and thence infer that he had acquired considerable proficiency in the reading of Latin. As the world's supply of Latin has been growing smaller, so Jonson's phrase has been shrinking in more than arithmetical proportion, till now in our ignorance it has become almost non-existent. It is high time we put it back into its contemporary context ere it vanish wholly.

But before we pursue the later history of Jonson's pronouncement, we should notice that this opposition between Art and Nature in Shakspeare did not originate with Jonson. So far as present records go, it was Robert Greene who about September 1592 raised that issue.<sup>20</sup> At least, Shakspeare had very early warning of his shortcomings in this respect. Only hardness of heart can account for his lack of repentance. Our first certain record of Shakspeare in London hinges on this issue. About September 1592 Robert Greene advertised to the world that the actors preferred this upstart crow beautified with the feathers of the university wits to those wits themselves. Chettle apologized three months later to Shakspeare, saying,

<sup>19</sup> See below, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> But, of course, the quarrel between Art and Nature, university men and the unlearned, was of long standing in England. For instance, Stanyhurst as early as 1582 lambasts the writers who, having neither grammar school nor university training, yet take upon themselves to write (Stanyhurst, R., *Virgil* (1583), p. A4v).



I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art.<sup>21</sup>

Chettle himself vouches for Shakspeare as a man and as an actor. Besides, "diuers of worship" vouch for his upright dealings. What upright dealings had he with men of worship? Certainly not horse-holding, and certainly this statement ought to imply considerable knowledge by these gentlemen of Shakspeare in London. Shakspeare presumably had some such backing when a few months later he made a successful bid for Southampton's patronage. These same worshipful men report also Shakspeare's "facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art." Evidently Southampton a few months later took the same view. It should be noticed that these worshipful men apply the pragmatic test—the proof of the pudding. His grace in writing approves his Art. This from the beginning is the defence and praise of Shakspeare by his friends. He has not a university training, but he has the ability to write, which proves that from some source he has had sufficient training to give him the requisite Art for his purposes.

A few years later the author or authors of the Parnassus plays were representing the actors as glorying in this same ability of Shakspeare. Kempe is represented as saying,

Few of the vniuersity men pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ouid*, and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of *Proserpina* & *Iuppiter*. Why heres our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe, I and *Ben Ionson* too. O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace* giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath giuen him a purge that made him beray his credit.<sup>22</sup>

On the very brink of the seventeenth century, Jonson is opposed as the champion of learning against Shakspeare as the idol of idiots and actors. At least, it is clear that the players were satisfied with Shakspeare's Art, and even took pride in the fact that it had not been attained through university training.

So early, too, as the beginning of the seventeenth century both Jonson and Shakspeare had each accepted his traditional role. Jonson was already finding material to criticize in Shakspeare. We have

<sup>21</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 189.

<sup>22</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 201.

quoted above Jonson's stricture on *Julius Caesar*. Since Jonson was at the time of *Julius Caesar* in 1599, writing for the Shakspearean company, and since the criticized passage does not occur in the surviving form of the play, it is a fairly certain inference under the customs of the time that Jonson had made his criticism known, probably at the "reading" of the play, and that the offending passage was revised. Similar criticisms by Jonson are too well known to require cataloguing. Jonson was not, therefore, voicing any suddenly conceived opinion when about the end of 1618 he told Drummond of Hawthornden, "That Shaksper wanted Arte."<sup>23</sup>

Nor would Jonson have needed to pilfer the idea from a verse letter to himself, allegedly by Francis Beaumont, and supposedly about 1615.

heere I would let slippe  
(If I had any in mee) schollershippe,  
And from all Learninge keepe these lines as [cl]eere  
as Shakespeares best are, which our heires shall heare  
Preachers apte to their auditors to showe  
how farr sometimes a mortall man may goe  
by the dimme light of Nature.<sup>24</sup>

Neither could Shakspeare have found fault with Jonson for emphasizing his Nature and minimizing his Art. For he himself from early days claimed in proud humility ignorant Nature only but no Art. The reader will remember the learned rival poet or poets of the sonnets, and will do well to reread the seventy-eighth in this connection.

So oft have I invoked thee for my Muse  
And found such fair assistance in my verse  
As every alien pen hath got my use  
And under thee their poesy disperse.  
Thine eyes that taught the dumb on high to sing  
And heavy ignorance aloft to fly  
Have added feathers to the learned's wing  
And given grace a double majesty.  
Yet be most proud of that which I compile,  
Whose influence is thine and born of thee:  
In others' works thou dost but mend the style,  
And arts with thy sweet graces graced be;  
But thou art all my art and dost advance  
As high as learning my rude ignorance.

<sup>23</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 206-207.

<sup>24</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 224.

Shakspere has no Art, only rude ignorance, but with his patron as muse he has been able to equal learning, even when that learning was itself inspired by the patron.

Shakspere uses this fundamental idea again in the eighty-fifth sonnet, and in sonnet eighty-two is specific that his artistic opponents use "strained touches [of] rhetoric"; that is, that they strain their art to its highest pitch, not, as some have thought, that the results are strained and poor. Again, he begs his patron, in sonnet one-hundred and twenty-five,

And take thou my oblation, poor but free,  
Which is not mix'd with seconds, knows no art.

We have here, of course, a figurative conceit, which it would be absurd to press too literally. And yet it is probably of some significance that while numerous conventions have been found in Shakspere's sonnets, still this specific conceit is not one of them. It seems to be either fact or Shakspere's own fiction. Nor should we take too literally Shakspere's reference to his "unpolished lines" in the dedication of *Venus and Adonis* to Southampton in 1593. But we must remember that a scant seven months before Shakspere was writing these lines Robert Greene had trumpeted to the world these defects of Shakspere's. Greene had in September 1592 pointed out that Shakspere wanted Art. Shakspere thereafter himself claimed consistently, even if conventionally, to rely upon Nature rather than upon Art. We have seen that his friends also took pride in this interpretation of his genius. So Jonson in the First Folio was only giving official phraseology to what had long been the tradition, which both Shakspere and his friends proudly cultivated.

This pride of Shakspere's player friends also found its expression in the Folio of 1623;

Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers.

What Jonson thought of this statement by the players we have already seen. It is clear that the players did not think that Shakspere lacked sufficient Art, even though they glorified his natural ability.

Nor were Shakspere's own fellows the only ones who before Jon-

son's pronouncement in 1623 were willing to grant to Shakspeare Art. William Barksted in 1607 says

His Song was worthie meritt (*Shakspeare* hee)  
sung the faire blossome, thou the withered tree  
*Laurell* is due to him, his art and wit  
hath purchast it, *Cypres* thy brow will fit.<sup>25</sup>

Barksted also was an actor, though not of Shakspeare's company. Was he advertising?

Similarly, John Taylor the water poet, whose admitted educational deficiencies were later to give Dr. Farmer so much pleasure, exposes in 1620 his low standards of Art.

Old *Chaucer*, *Gower*, and Sir *Thomas More*,  
Sir *Philip Sidney*, who the *Lawrell* wore,  
*Spencer*, and *Shakespeare* did in Art excell,  
Sir *Edward Dyer*, *Greene*, *Nash*, *Daniell*.<sup>26</sup>

But probably it was the good company into which Shakspeare happens to get inserted which here occasions the Art. Taylor, too, was closely acquainted with Shakspeare's fellows.

Someone at Stratford also bestowed both Nature and Art upon Shakspeare before the First Folio was printed in 1623. And such Art!—"Arte Maronem"—no less than Virgil, the highest, would do. For while the grammar school and Shakspeare himself really preferred Ovid as a guide to writing poetry, yet he was hardly the man to take to the grave with you. The semi-prophet Virgil was much more in place there. With Shakspeare, "Qvick Natvre Dide," and

All, y<sup>t</sup> he hath writt,  
Leaves living Art, but page, to serve his witt.

Though critics may have doubts as to the quality of the author's Latin—"small *Latine*" perches even over Shakspeare's grave—they yet have none as to his intentions. He meant to attribute the superlative degree both of Art and of Nature to Shakspeare.

Practically throughout Shakspeare's career, then, critics had contended that Shakspeare needed greater Art, and his friends had answered that his work approved his Art. Too, from around 1600, if not somewhat earlier, Jonson as the representative of Art had been

<sup>25</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 216.

<sup>26</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 226.

popularly opposed to Shakspeare as the product of Nature. So Jonson in 1623 is merely formulating officially what had long been the verdict on Shakspeare—and accepted by himself—that he was to be accounted for by Nature rather than by Art.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Many, evidently including Shakspeare, considered that it was far better to work by Nature than by Art. See, for instance, Charron, P., *Of Wisdome* (1640), pp. 112, 155, 339, 499–500, for a considered position of Nature and trained natural ability as wisdom against Art as artificiality, which Pope but slightly adapts later to attain his “Nature methodized.” See also La Primaudaye, P. de, *The French Academie* (1586; copy in U. of Ill. Library), pp. 172 ff.; (Paris, 1580, personal), pp. 82v ff.; also “Nowe bicause that nature is most perfect next to God, the neerer that arte approacheth to nature, the better and perfecter it is, as appeereth in images and pictures: so that arte is nothing else but an imitation of nature” (*Ibid.*, p. 750, 355v).

## CHAPTER II

### THE RESTORATION FORMS THE TRADITION OF SHAKSPERE'S "LITTLE LATIN"

JONSON HAD GIVEN a striking official phraseology for the accepted contemporary opinion that Shakspeare was to be accounted for by Nature rather than by Art. Being now officially recognized, this opinion naturally continued to prevail, and with it continued the opposition between Shakspeare and Jonson as the respective exempla of Nature and Art. Unfortunately, too, this opposition between Art and Nature was a bone of contention between two schools of literary thought; and ideas were fast shaping themselves toward the time when even Nature was to be "Nature methodized." It was natural for the "Art" school to belittle Shakspeare's small Art as being his chief blemish; it was even more natural for the "Nature" school to emphasize the smallness of Shakspeare's Art as his chief glory.

This opposition shows itself strongly in the story concerning Hales of Eton, which, if all its composite details were true, as many of them certainly are not, should have occurred before 1633.

In a Conversation between Sir *John Suckling*, Sir William *D'Avenant*, *Endymion Porter*, Mr. *Hales of Eaton*, and *Ben Johnson*, Sir *John Suckling*, who was a profess'd admirer of *Shakespear*, had undertaken his Defence against *Ben. Johnson* with some warmth; Mr. *Hales*, who had sat still for some time, hearing *Ben* frequently reproaching him with the want of Learning, and Ignorance of the Antients, told him at last, "That if Mr. *Shakespear* had not read the Antients, he had likewise not stollen any thing from 'em; [a fault the other made no Conscience of] and that if he would produce any one Topick finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to shew something upon the same Subject at least as well written by *Shakespear*."<sup>1</sup>

This is the version of the story which appears in Rowe, 1709; but, as it grows, we get fragments of it at various stages before Rowe. The traditional opposition between the methods of Shakspeare and Jonson was already existent by 1629. In that year, Thomas May wrote

*To my worthy friend, John Ford.*

'Tis said, from Shakspeare's mine your play you drew:  
What need?—when Shakspeare still survives in you;  
But grant it were from his vast treasury reft,  
That plund'rer Ben ne'er made so rich a theft.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Munro, *Shak. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, pp. 373-374.

<sup>2</sup> Adams and Bradley, *Jonson All. Bk.*, p. 141.

This opposition between Shakspeare's methods and those of Jonson grew, of course, out of the Art and Nature labels which had already been attached to each.

But the first actual fragment of our story is found only so late as 1668, when Dryden wrote that,

The consideration of this made Mr. *Hales of Eton* say, That there was no subject of which any Poet ever writ, but he would produce it much better treated of in *Shakespeare*; and however others are now generally prefer'd before him, yet the Age wherein he liv'd, which had contemporaries with him, *Fletcher* and *Johnson* never equall'd them to him, in their esteem: And in the last Kings Court, when Ben's reputation was at highest, Sir *John Suckling*, and with him the greater part of the courtiers, set our *Shakespeare* far above him.<sup>3</sup>

Here, then, is Dryden's story, with the alleged opinion of Hales, and with Suckling preferring Shakspeare to Jonson.

Two later writers give this opinion of Hales a circumstantial setting. The first and in many ways the most elaborate of these versions is that of Gildon in 1694. But in the meantime Nahum Tate in 1680 had written to Edw. Tayler,

I cannot forget the strong desire I have heard you express to see the Common Places of our *Shakespear* compar'd with the most famous of the Ancients . . . Our Learned *Hales* was wont to assert "That since the time of *Orpheus* and the Oldest Poets, no Common Place has been touch'd upon, where our Authour has not perform'd as well."<sup>4</sup>

This is merely Dryden in fancy dress, and needs no other source. Also in his reference work, which with its successive revisions was destined to be the standard for many a year, Langbaine in 1691 says, Sr. *John Sucklin* had so great a value for our Author, that (as Mr. *Dryden* observes in his *Dramatick Essay*) he preferred him to *Johnson*.<sup>5</sup>

Tate and Langbaine together make up Dryden.

Then in 1694 Charles Gildon,<sup>1</sup> addressing Dryden and quoting Dryden, "if my Memory fail me not," gives the story the setting of a formal trial at Eton, and mentions specifically only Falkland and Suckling as participants with Hales and Persons of Quality. A progressive growth in change of phraseology is significant here. Dryden's statement was general, "no subject." In Tate, this becomes specific and technical, "no Common Place." So Gildon continues the evolution with, "all the Topics, and common places made use of in

<sup>3</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 374.

<sup>5</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 372.

Poetry," and tells us that "a great many Books were sent down by the Enemies of this Poet" to Eton. It is amusing to envision the enemy-critics at Eton with their common-place books, one hugging a huge *Polyanthea* in his arms and another fondling a little *Sententiae Ciceronis* in his hand, with which to demolish Shakspeare. Gildon wishes that Dryden "wou'd give the Public a juster Account of this Affair"; we wish he had. In a supplement to Rowe, who has a different version of the session, Gildon in 1709 lists these common-places,<sup>6</sup> but does not attribute them to the session; they exhibit his own learning. How much of this formal session of the wits, a frequent form of invention in the seventeenth century, Dryden was responsible for beyond his own general statement we have no certain means of knowing.

But it is reasonably certain that someone's memory, whether Gildon's or Dryden's, or that of someone else, has been bringing in elements from another well known work into the story of Hales as told by Dryden. It will be remembered that principally through Dryden Suckling has become the arbiter of wit in the court of King Charles, and the official champion of Shakspeare as against Jonson. This inevitably brings in Suckling's own *A Sessions of the Poets*, where he begins with Jonson, but does not mention Shakspeare, since he is dealing with the living only. Apollo is to bestow the laurel, and the poets and wits have gathered to proffer their claims.

The first that broke silence was good old *Ben*,  
 Prepar'd before with Canary wine,  
 And he told them plainly he deserv'd the Bayes,  
 For his were call'd Works, where others were but Plaies.

Then came Carew, D'Avenant, Bartlet, Selwin, Mathews, and two or three from court. Suckling himself was next called, but he was away sporting with the ladies. Then came Montague, little Cid, and Murrey.

*Hales* set by himself most gravely did smile  
 To see them about nothing keep such a coil;  
*Apollo* had spied him, but knowing his mind  
 Past by, and call'd *Faulkland* that sate just behind.

Finally a rich Alderman won the prize on the ground

that the best signe  
 Of good store of wit's to have good store of coyn.

---

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 56-57.



Here the wits assemble as in Gildon, but not at Eton, though the quiet Hales and Falkland are together, while Suckling is telling the story. Gildon has apologized for his memory of what Dryden said, which is sufficient warning that he is introducing a certain amount of embroidery. I take it that he is responsible for the session at Eton, and that his suggestion came from Suckling's *Sessions*. Both Langbaine and Anthony à Wood in their biographies of Jonson in 1691-92 call attention to Suckling's *Sessions*.<sup>7</sup> Gildon, who a few years later revised Langbaine, is not likely to have been ignorant of this *Sessions*. Since Hales was of and at Eton, holding the sessions there would save him from bestriding the college steed to come to London and the wits, as Suckling once invited him to do; but it would doubtless have been something of a strain on the accommodations available to have all the wits and their books assemble in "Mr *Hales's* Chamber at *Eaton*." Yet in such a sessions, of course, one does not need to reason too narrowly as to how many angels can stand on the point of a needle.

By 1709 Rowe has quite a different version of the sessions story to tell on no authority but his own. We remember, however, that Gildon pursues the story in a volume supplementary to Rowe; one voluble source was at hand. Rowe also mentions frequently Dryden's printed opinions, and knew them quite well. Rowe omits from Gildon's version the formal trial at Eton as well as Falkland, retaining only Suckling and Hales; but adds D'Avenant, Porter, and Jonson as participants in a conversation. Jonson and D'Avenant had taken prominent part in Suckling's *Sessions*, and Porter had been present. In Rowe, Suckling is defending Shakspeare against Jonson, who is "reproaching him with the want of Learning, and Ignorance of the Antients." As we have seen, Suckling had long been the official champion of Shakspeare against Jonson, while Suckling himself has presented Jonson as championing the ancients. Finally, Hales intervenes between the contestants Suckling and Jonson with the sweet remark to Jonson,

That if Mr. *Shakespear* had not read the Antients, he had likewise not stollen any thing from 'em; [a fault the other made no Conscience of] and that if he would produce any one Topick finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to shew something upon the same Subject at least as well written by *Shakespear*.

<sup>7</sup> Adams and Bradley, *Jonson All. Bk.*, pp. 425, 433, 438.

The story does not explain how Hales kept from becoming the third known victim of Jonson's rapier. Perhaps Jonson was overprepared with Canary.

We should notice in this connection also that even before Dryden managed to make Suckling the official champion of Shakspeare against Jonson, at least one other writer had cast him in the role of defender. Samuel Holland in 1656 introduces a mock battle of the English in Elysium into his *Don Zara del Fogo. A Mock-Romance*. Jonson "had openly vaunted himself the first and best of English Poets." This creates "a trouble in Triplex." The ancients rallied to Chaucer as "the Father of English Poesie"; while Spenser was "waited upon by a numerous Troop of the best Book-men in the World"; and the third party, Shakspeare and Fletcher, were "surrounded with their Life-Guard viz. *Goffe, Massinger, Decker, Webster, Sucklin, Cartwright, Carew, &c.*"<sup>8</sup> Traditionally, Suckling was on the side of Shakspeare against Jonson even before Dryden made him the arbiter of wit and official champion of Shakspeare against Jonson.

Suckling has in other ways than his *Sessions* earned the role. For instance, in a poem of about 1636-41 he had addressed Hales on the subject of

The sweat of learned *Johnson's* brain,  
And gentle *Shakespear's* eas'er strain.<sup>9</sup>

He seems in fact to have preferred "my friend Shakspeare."

Dryden in 1676 calls Suckling "a profess'd admirer of our author" Shakspeare and gives illustrations from his works to prove it.<sup>10</sup> This is Rowe's very phrase, "who was a profess'd admirer of *Shakespear*, had undertaken," etc. It is clear that Rowe had read Dryden rather widely and with attention to detail. Gildon was at hand to pursue the Hales story further in a supplementary volume to Rowe, though Rowe adds to Dryden in common with Gildon only a sessions. Since the device of a sessions is common to both Gildon and Rowe, Dryden himself may have been responsible for some form of it. More likely, however, Suckling's *Sessions* has suggested the device to Gildon. Rowe, or someone from whom he borrowed, has then concocted his own version on the background of Suckling's *Sessions*. We must remember the rhetorical background of the time, and give these

<sup>8</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 407.

<sup>10</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 410.

gentlemen some leeway for the exercise of their professional Art in telling a story. In view of the nature of the story (session of the wits) and of how and where the story grew, I am afraid it is all a fiction, except possibly the opinion of Hales, with which Dryden furnished the basis of the myth.<sup>11</sup>

It would appear just possible, then, that John Hales of Eton, who died in 1656, had said at some time that Shakspeare wrote on all subjects as well as did the ancients. Whether he attributed this ability to Nature or to Art does not appear. Such an idea of Shakspeare's comparative ability, when made specific to the Topics or Common Places, is, of course, not strikingly original by the time of Hales. This characteristic of Shakspeare's was put to practical proof in print quite early in Shakspeare's career. In 1597-1600, John Bodenham had planned such a series of reference works in English as was the constant aid of every grammar school student in Latin.<sup>12</sup> First came *Politeuphuia. Wits Common Wealth*, in 1597. N. L., presumably N. Ling, says that Bodenham had begun this project long since but Ling has now completed it. Ling says that this work is

newe in this forme and tittle, though otherwise old, and of great antiquitie, as being a methodicall collection of the most choice and select admonitions and sentences, compendiously drawne from infinite varietie, diuine, historicall, poetically, politique, morrall, and humane.

It is merely a collection of *sententiae* in English translation, similar to the ever-popular Baldwin's *Treatise of Morall Phylosophie*, but of a somewhat broader scope. Incidentally, both of these works are later mentioned by Hoole as schoolbooks from which the boys might collect "Witty Sentences."<sup>13</sup>

Then in 1598 followed the second volume of the series, prepared by Francis Meres, under the title of *Palladis Tamia; wits treasury being the second part of Wits Commonwealth*, though Ling also had some connection with this volume. The second edition calls this

A Treasurie of Diuine, morall, and Phylosophicall similies, and sentences, generally vsefull. But more particularly published, for the vse of Schooles,<sup>14</sup>

a statement which describes it sufficiently well. Meres differentiates the volumes in the prose series;

<sup>11</sup> P. Des Maizeaux in his life of Hales in 1719 (pp. 60-61n) was properly skeptical of the story.

<sup>12</sup> See Rollins, H. E., *England's Helicon*, Vol. II, pp. 41 ff., and Williams, F. B., Jr., "John Bodenham, 'Art's Lover, Learning's Friend,'" *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 198 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Hoole, C., *A New Discovery Of the old Art of Teaching Schoole* (1660, copy in U. of Ill. Library), pp. [A10v], 163, 165, 182. <sup>14</sup> Copy in U. of Ill. Library.

the first part of *Wits Common-wealth*, contayning Sentences, hath like a braue Champion gloriouslie marched and got such renowned fame by swifte running, equiualent with *Philips* Chariottes, that thrice within one yeare it hath runne thorowe the Presse. If this seconde part of mine, called *Wittes Treasurie* contayning Similitudes, beeing a stalke of the same stemme, shall haue the like footmanship, and finde the same successe, then with *Parmenio* I shall bee the second in *Philips* ioy. And then *Philips* ioy will eftsoones be full, for his *Alexander*, whom not *Olympia*, but a worthie scholler is conceyuing, who will fill the third part of *Wits Common-wealth* with moe glorious Examples, then great *Alexander* did the world with valiant and heroicall exploites.<sup>15</sup>

The uses of such a series are summed up thus;

I iudge him of an happie Wit, who is profound and substantiall in Sentences; eloquent and ingenious in Similitudes; and rich and copious in Examples.<sup>16</sup>

For

all the source of wit (right worshipfull) may flowe within three chanel, and be contriued into three heads; into a Sentence, a Similitude, & an Example.<sup>17</sup>

And in truth what can I desire more, then to see the naked Truth arrayed in Sentences, fitting the tast of Philosophers; inuested in Similitudes, loued of Oratours; and approued by Examples, the rule and leuell of the vnstayed and raging multitude?<sup>18</sup>

Truthes soundnesse in Sentences, her elegancie in Similitudes, and approbation by Examples.<sup>19</sup>

*Palladis Tamia* is such a collection of similes and *sententiae*, chiefly from the classics in English translation, as one would find in the collection of *Parabolae* by Erasmus or in that collection as revised by Lycosthenes, which were the standard grammar school collections of the time. It is in this volume that the simile idea caused Meres to compare English writers with Latin and Greek, resulting in a comparison of Shakspeare with several of the best classical authors.<sup>20</sup> I do not know whether this volume was ever used in grammar school, as it was evidently hoped that the second edition would be. Since only two editions were called for before 1640, and even the second one clearly was not sold off very rapidly, presumably this work was not much used in grammar school if at all.

<sup>15</sup> Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, A3r and v.

<sup>16</sup> Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, A3v.

<sup>17</sup> Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, A2r.

<sup>18</sup> Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, A2v.

<sup>19</sup> Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, A3r.

<sup>20</sup> For a fuller description of this work see Francis Meres's *Treatise "Poetrie"* *A Critical Edition* by my friend and former student Professor Don Cameron Allen. Also the facsimile of the first edition, edited by him.

Shakspere does not figure in the third volume of the series, the book of examples, *Wit's Theatre of the Little World*, 1599. I do not know what part, if any, Shakspere played in *Palladis Palatium*, an alleged fourth part of the prose series.<sup>21</sup> Shakspere is not actually quoted in this series for prose, though he is highly praised in *Palladis Tamia*.

But in a further volume collecting the flowers of poetry, Shakspere does figure quite prominently. In 1600, was published *Belvedere*, a collection of quotations from English writers. This is a collection of "flowers," as indicated by its subtitle, *The Garden of the Muses*.

Concerning the nature and qualitie of these excellent flowres, thou seest that they are most learned, graue, and wittie sentences; each line being a seuerall sentence, and none exceeding two lines at the vttermost. All which, being subiected vnder apt and proper heads, as arguments what is then dilated and spoken of: euen so each head hath first his definition in a couplet sentence; then the single and double sentences by variation of letter do follow: and lastly, Similies and Examples in the same nature likewise, to conclude euery Head or Argument handled. So let this serue to shew thee the whole intent of this worke.<sup>22</sup>

An irreverent Cambridge wag summed up this prefatory statement of purpose as,

Sentences gathered out of all kind of Poetts, referred to certaine methodicall heads, profitable for the vse of these times, to rime vpon any occasion at a little warning.<sup>23</sup>

He had earlier introduced the *Belvedere* by saying,

there starts vp euery day an old goose that sits hatching vp those eggs which haue ben filcht from the nest[s] of Crowes and Kestrells.<sup>24</sup>

This very young man was no more pleased with the *Belvedere* than he was with Shakspere; and that for the same reasons. For in this collection of "most learned, graue, and wittie sentences," "filcht from the nest[s] of Crowes and Kestrells," the upstart crow Shakspere leads all the rest in number of identified quotations.

Also, when Robert Allot compiled *England's Parnassus* for print in this same year 1600, he shows by his subtitle

*The choysiest Flowers of our Moderne Poets, with their Poeticall comparisons. Descriptions of Bewties, Personages, Castles, Pallaces, Mountaines, Groues, Seas, Springs, Riuers, &c.*

<sup>21</sup> Rollins, *England's Helicon*, Vol. II, pp. 50-52.

<sup>22</sup> Ed. in Spenser Society, pp. A3v-A4r.

<sup>23</sup> Macray, W. D., *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus with the Two Parts of the Return from Parnassus*, p. 84.

<sup>24</sup> Macray, *Parnassus Plays*, pp. 82-83.

that he is perfectly aware that he is compiling a collection of *Flowers* from *our Moderne Poets* of England such as Mirandula had collected for grammar school youth from the Ancient Poets of Rome. Here again Shakspeare has been heavily pillaged. Shakspeare was thus "in print" by 1600 as one of the best English gardens for gathering flowers. Not only is he comparable to the greatest writers as Meres had contended; he is also in consequence the best English source for similar notable sayings. If Hales did express the opinion attributed to him, it had been given concrete application in print long before and in such a way that it had been known to many. This characteristic of Shakspeare was sufficiently notorious from early days.

John Milton in 1630 accepts and echoes the fundamental opposition between the easy flowing fancy of Shakspeare and "slow-endeavouring art."<sup>25</sup> Milton has developed three lines from Jonson,

Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe,  
And art aliue still, while thy Booke doth liue,  
And we haue wits to read, and praise to giue.

Milton begins with the tomb, and asks,

What neede my *Shakespeare* for his honour'd bones,  
The labour of an Age, in piled stones  
Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid  
Under a starre-ypointing Pyramid?  
Dear Sonne of Memory, great Heire of *Fame*,  
What needst thou such dull witsse of thy Name?<sup>26</sup>

Having propounded the question of the tomb in these first six lines, Milton uses the monument in his next two to suggest the answer which he is to develop in the latter half of the poem.

Thou in our wonder and astonishment  
Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument.

Shakspeare needs no tomb, for he has built himself a lasting monument in our wonder and amazement. As Milton has noticed, Jonson's distinction, "Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe" is an allusion to Horace's famous lines beginning,

Exegi monumentum aere perennius,  
Regalique situ pyramidum altius.

<sup>25</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 235.

<sup>26</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 342. See Smith, R. M., *The Variant Issues of Shakespeare's Second Folio and Milton's First Published English Poem*.

Consequently, Horace is made to contribute also a pyramid to the monument borrowed to contrast with a tomb. It was Ovid, however, who in his companion passage suggested the "starre-ypointing" epithet for Horace's towering pyramid.

Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis  
Astra ferar.

On the background of the proud boasts of Horace and Ovid, Jonson's tomb and monument have been thus distinguished.<sup>27</sup>

With the first of Jonson's lines used, and the latter two foreshadowed for the first half of his poem, Milton now uses the latter two lines to develop the reason, "For," in the latter half.

For whils't to th' shame of slow-endavouring Art  
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each part,  
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued Booke,  
Those Delphicke Lines with deepe Impression tooke  
Then thou our fancy of her selfe bereaving,  
Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,  
And so Sepulcher'd in such pompe dost lie  
That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die.

The first two of these lines embody Jonson's distinction between Nature and Art in Shakspeare. It should be noticed that here Milton even borrows a rhyme from Jonson, who had written, "Thy Art . . . must enjoy a part." Thus later editions have clearly a revision in the reading "hart" for "part."<sup>28</sup> Milton is thinking of the doctrine of the soul, "all in all, and all in every part." Shakspeare's inspired lines, like the soul, so permeate every part till by a punning conceit they take our Fancy away and leave us a marble monument to Shakspeare. The figure is of the Delphic trance, "Those Delphicke Lines," we being the priestess and Shakspeare's lines the deity (through the soul) acting upon us.<sup>29</sup> I am afraid young Milton's abstruse mythological conceit has been but rarely understood in recent years. It appears, therefore, that Milton's concluding conceit may be his own idea. But his foundation and framework are Jonson's. It is an interesting example of seventeenth century literary genetics to notice how on this point Basse begat Jonson, and Jonson begat Milton. Of such examples we shall notice many more, for this was current literary practice.

<sup>27</sup> Notice "The labour of an Age," etc.

<sup>28</sup> For background to these variants, see Smith, *Second Folio*, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>29</sup> "Delphos . . . where the diuell gaue answers by women," Cooper, Thomas, *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565, personal).

Thus Milton quite literally accepts Jonson's distinction between Nature and Art in Shakspeare, both poets admitting that Shakspeare had Art but that Nature was predominant. Naturally, therefore, Milton subscribes also to the already traditional apposition which makes Jonson the exemplar of Art and Shakspeare of Nature.

If *Jonson's* learned sock be on,  
Or sweetest *Shakespeare*, Fancy's child,  
Warble his native wood-notes wild.<sup>30</sup>

While this passage is almost equally known with Jonson's to us, yet it is itself merely an echo of Jonson, but is no further echoed, as we shall see, except by Milton's own nephew Edward Phillips, where some indeed have guessed that the statement is really Milton's own.

It has been supposed that Drayton was in 1627 also voting for Shakspeare as a product of Nature alone.

And be it said of thee,  
*Shakspeare*, thou hadst as smooth a Comicke vaine,  
Fitting the socke, and in thy naturall braine,  
As strong conception, and as Cleere a rage,  
As any one that trafiqu'd with the stage.<sup>31</sup>

All that Drayton actually says is that Shakspeare had as good a comic vein and as great natural poetic ability as any one who has written for the stage. I see no implication that Shakspeare had only natural ability nor as to the relative shares of Art and Nature in him, though Drayton is here certainly indicating that Nature was the stronger. But some one in 1690, possibly William Mountfort, is more specific.

But to encrease the wonder of thy pen,  
Thou art not now, more learn'd then *Shakespear* then,  
Who to th' amaze of the more Letter'd men,  
Minted such thoughts from his own Natural Brain,  
As the great Readers, since could ne're attain,  
Though daily they the stock of Learning drain.<sup>32</sup>

Here is Drayton through the spectacles of what by 1690 the Jonson tradition had become.

But by 1637 the tradition of Shakspeare's lack of learning also takes a concrete application which, for our purpose, is important. Jasper Mayne says of Jonson:

---

<sup>30</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 372. Maginn overlooks this opposition in his otherwise essentially correct explanation of "Fancy's child." He might have added Ovid as an exponent of Fancy, and Ovid certainly knew Latin (Maginn, William, "Dr. Farmer's Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare Considered," *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. XX, p. 260).

<sup>31</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 192.

<sup>32</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 341.



Who without *Latine helps* had'st beene as *rare*  
 As *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, or as *Shakespeare* were:  
 And like *them*, from thy *native Stock* could'st say,  
*Poets* and *Kings* are not *borne* every day.<sup>33</sup>

Jonson's Latin learning is now balanced against the native stock of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Shakspeare. As we shall see, Sir John Denham in 1647 differentiated the triumvirate of Shakspeare, Jonson, and Fletcher; but in 1668 he returns to Mayne's original division.

Old Mother Wit, and Nature gave  
*Shakespear* and *Fletcher* all they have;  
 In *Spencer*, and in *Johnson*, Art  
 Of flower Nature got the start.<sup>34</sup>

And then in plain prose John Dryden in 1671 repeats the idea.

And what correctness, after this, can be expected from Shakespeare or from Fletcher, who wanted that learning and care which Jonson had?<sup>35</sup>

When Moseley printed the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher in 1647 he had his eye on what had been said about Shakspeare in the First Folio.

What ever I have seene of Mr. *Fletcher's* owne hand, is free from interlining; and his friends affirme he never writ any one thing twice: it seemes he had that rare felicity to prepare and perfect all first in his owne braine; to shape and attire his *Notions*, to adde or loppe off, before he committed one word to writing, and never touched pen till all was to stand as firme and immutable as if ingraven in Brasse or Marble.

By 1637 both Beaumont and Fletcher get coupled with Shakspeare as unlearned examples of Nature against Art; and Fletcher remains so coupled with Shakspeare in the judgments of these learned critics. Another legend concerning Beaumont as the critical brains of the Beaumont and Fletcher aggregation had presumably saved him from further connection with the unlearned Shakspeare and Fletcher. John Fletcher, son of a Bishop, with excellent educational opportunities, is by 1637, twelve years after his death, classed along with Shakspeare as unlearned. And that in spite of the following record for him at Cambridge.

Fletcher, John. Adm. at Corpus Christi, 1591. S. of Richard (1562), Bishop of London. B. at Rye, Dec. 20, 1579. B. A. 1594-5; M. A. 1598. The dramatist.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 414.

<sup>34</sup> Adams and Bradley, *Jonson All. Bk.*, p. 347.

<sup>35</sup> Adams and Bradley, *Jonson All. Bk.*, p. 369.

<sup>36</sup> Venn, John and Venn, J. A., *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Vol. II, p. 149.

It is time we were realizing what preconceptions lay behind these seventeenth-century judgments. It is the point of view which gave Anthony à Wood just one formula for the educational career of anyone who afterward turned out to be a poet. Of Massinger at Oxford Wood says,

he applied his mind more to poetry and romances for about four years or more, than to logic and philosophy, which he ought to have done, and for that end was patronized,<sup>37</sup>

and that is his frequent formula for a poet at university. In every instance, it is probably pure fiction on the part of Anthony à Wood, in accordance with his idea of what a poet ought to be.

It is in this same year of 1637, and in the same collection in praise of Jonson, *Jonsonus Virbius*, that we get also an instance of the slighting interpretation of Jonson's phrase "small *Latine*." H. Ramsay says of Jonson,

That Latine Hee reduc'd, and could command  
That which your *Shakespeare* scarce could understand.<sup>38</sup>

Yet even Ramsay does not deny that Shakspeare could understand Latin, though he but scarcely could.

Now that the sons of Ben were interpreting his words to the derogation of Shakspeare, it was natural that the latter's defenders should take arms. So when Shakspeare's poems were collected in 1640, the opportunity of Shakspeare's partisans had arrived. Leonard Digges, who had contributed also to the First Folio, had then or at some time thereafter taken as his theme "Poets are borne not made," and had praised Shakspeare's "Art without Art unpareld as yet," which was innate and cultivated by Nature, not even a phrase of it from Greek, nor an imitation from Latin, nor a translation from modern languages,<sup>39</sup> a statement which, if taken narrowly enough, may just possibly be true, but would in that case have no bearing on our problem. Digges has taken Jonson's phrases, and has turned the implied criticisms into praise of Shakspeare, pointing out by way of application that audiences delighted in *Julius Caesar* (elsewhere criticized for carelessness by Jonson)

When some new day they would not brooke a line,  
Of tedious (though well laboured) *Catilines*,

<sup>37</sup> Wood, Anthony à, *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), Vol. II, p. 655.

<sup>38</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 417.

<sup>39</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 232.

and prized *Othello* when they found *Sejanus* irksome. It should be noticed, too, that Digges has taken as his theme the proverbial statement that "Poets are borne not made" to oppose to Jonson's sophistication, "For a good *Poet's* made, as well as borne." Clearly, Digges is answering Jonson directly, with his own text in its proverbial form as the theme, at whatever time he wrote this poem.

For Jonson is taking sides with Horace in a controversy of long standing, which in his day found its chief center of propagation in the *Ars Poetica*, where Horace had written of Democritus

Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte  
credit<sup>40</sup>

and

Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,  
quaesitum est.<sup>41</sup>

Jonson takes what is evidently Horace's view that a poet is made as well as born. But this relative emphasis on Art was by no means shared by all in Jonson's day—or in any other. The critics of the sixteenth century marshalled their authorities, and because of the early emphasis on the divine afflatus behind poetry tended to emphasize Nature and inspiration more than Art. One can get a plethora of these passages by turning to *Poeta* in the *Polyanthea* but especially to the critics on the two passages of Horace above. On the first of these passages the old commentary attributed to Acron had said

Quia Democritus dicit plus ualere ingenium, quàm peritiam. Et quia dicit non esse bonos poëtas, nisi qui insaniunt, hoc idem & Plato: uel Democritus ait, poëtam non arte fieri, sed natura nasci.<sup>42</sup>

On the second passage, the note is, "Multi quaerunt, utrum poëta nascatur an fiat."<sup>43</sup> So Badius had phrased the "Regula" from the first passage of Horace as,

Tametsi Democritus censuit poëtam bonum nasci, bonitatèq; ingenij, & diuino furore potiusquam arte, & eruditione fieri, non tamen praetermittenda est eruditionis diligentia, etc.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> "Because Democritus believes that native talent is a greater boon than wretched art" (Fairclough, H. R., *Horace* (Loeb), *Ars Poetica* ll. 295-296, pp. 474-475).

<sup>41</sup> "Often it is asked whether a praiseworthy poem be due to Nature or to art" (Fairclough, *Horace* (Loeb), *Ars Poetica* ll. 408-409, pp. 484-485).

<sup>42</sup> Horace (Basle, 1580, personal), p. 1129.

<sup>43</sup> Horace (Basle, 1580), p. 1134.

<sup>44</sup> Horace (Basle, 1580), p. 1616; cf. p. 1623. In his *Thesaurus Ciceronis* (1556), Carolus Stephanus phrases a statement of doctrine in Cicero on this point in *1 De Oratore* thus, "Oratores nascuntur, poetae fiunt." For an attempt to put the actual teachings of Horace and

Who first phrased this thesis as "Poeta nascitur, non fit," we shall probably never know; but the guess current in modern quotation books connecting that phraseology with a fragment of Florus is totally innocent of historical perspective, though Florus may have been referring to this thesis, of course. Historically, it came into modern times attached to Horace. Jonson applies Horatian standards to Shakspeare, frequently echoing Horace's own words.

Digges answers the statement made by Jonson in the First Folio. John Warren then answers the critics in *Jonsonus Virbius* along similar lines.

Let Carping *Momus* barke and bite his fill,  
And ignorant *Davus* slight thy learned skill:  
Yet those who know the worth of thy desert,  
And with true judgement can discerne thy Art,  
Will be admirers of thy high tun'd straine,  
Amongst whose number let me still remaine.<sup>45</sup>

Since Warren begins with an apparent allusion to *Jonsonus Virbius*, published three years before, and containing, as we have seen, several magnifications of Jonson's Art over Shakspeare's lack of it, I take it that Warren is here answering these critics as Digges had answered Jonson. Shakspeare did have Art and learned skill; it is only the critics who have not judgment to discern them. The champions of Shakspeare in 1640, though they emphasized Shakspeare's Nature, were yet far from admitting that he lacked a sufficient learning and Art.

It remained, however, for a woman to find the hole in Jonson's coat. In 1673, Mrs. Aphra Behn writes,

We all well know that the immortal Shakespeares Playes (who was not guilty of much more of this than often falls to womens share) have better pleas'd the World than Johnson's works, though by the way 'tis said that Benjamin was no such Rabbi neither, for I am inform'd his Learning was but Grammar high;<sup>46</sup> . . . and I have seen a man the most severe of Johnson's Sect, sit with his Hat remov'd less than a hairs breadth from one sullen posture

---

Cicero on this point into the proper perspective of past theories, see Fiske and Grant, "Cicero's *De Oratore* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*," pp. 74 ff., and references there given. One of the most widely used sixteenth-century indexes to Quintilian refers to his treatment of the question as "Orator an nascatur." Changes were everlastingly rung on this phraseology directly and by analogy. For instance, "It may be well sayde also that a right Gentleman is not borne as the Poet, but made as the Oratour" (Guazzo, S., *The Civile Conversation* (Tudor Translations), Vol. I, p. 182). For a collection which appeared after this note was written, see Ringler, W., "Poeta Nascitur Non Fit: Some Notes on the History of an Aphorism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. II, pp. 497 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 459.

<sup>46</sup> Is she thinking of Fuller's statement that Jonson "was built far higher in Learning?"

for almost three hours at the Alchymist; who at that excellent Play of Harry the Fourth (which yet I hope is far enough from Farce) hath very hardly kept his Doublet whole.<sup>47</sup>

Jonson himself was only a learned grammarian. If Mrs. Behn had one eye on the actual reactions of an audience, it is yet pretty clear that she had the other on their reported actions as given by Digges.

Mrs. Behn was not the first to feel the necessity of retorting upon Jonson in defense of Shakspeare. For there were not lacking among contemporaries those who knew that it was necessary to make allowance for Jonson's personal equation in his judgments upon the attainments of others. An anonymous author in prefacing certain of Brome's plays in 1658 remarks,

There are a sort who think they lessen this *Author's* worth when they speak the relation he had to *Ben. Johnson*. We very thankfully embrace the Objection, and desire they would name any other Master that could better teach a man to write a good Play . . . we have here prefixt *Ben Johnson's* own testimony to his Servant our *Author*; we grant it is (according to *Ben's* own nature and custome) magisterial enough; and who looks for other, since he said to *Shakespear*—*I shall draw envy on thy name* (by writing in his praise) and threw in his face—*small Latine and less Greek*.<sup>48</sup>

Though the author has misunderstood Jonson's opening statement, yet he has caught one of Jonson's well-known characteristics. If one desires further contemporary illustrations of this magisterial nature and custom of Ben, he need only turn to *The Jonson Allusion Book*.

The upshot of the matter is that Shakspeare's defenders in 1640 denied the implications of Jonson's judgment as they were being phrased by the sons of Ben, while others accused Jonson of being too magisterial in his judgment upon Shakspeare. Though Shakspeare admittedly had not the Art of Jonson, yet he was sufficiently learned to have a supreme Art.

Even so late as 1681 one of the old-timers who knew the facts in the case at least as well as did Jonson attempted to protest against the current misinterpretation of Jonson's words; but his protest did not reach print till very much later and has hardly yet received its due attention. About August 1681, Aubrey writes:

Though as Ben: Johnson sayes of him, that he had but little Latine and lesse

<sup>47</sup> Thorn-Drury, G., *More Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare*, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 74.

Greek, He understood Latine pretty well: for he had been in his younger yeares a Schoolmaster in the Countrey.<sup>49</sup>

One needs always to examine carefully any statement made by maggoty-pated Aubrey. Not so much, I think, because of possible deliberate dishonesty on his part, but rather because he was a very gullible old gossip, and likely to be "stuffed." Also, the "riper" the gossip, the better. His great merit is that being so arrant a gossip, he had a keen sense of where to pick up his desired commodity. So on Shakspeare he turns to human sources, to the last of the old actors and to the Stratford neighbors, not to the records. He is the only one before Rowe who really attempts to gather materials for a life of Shakspeare. What he collects will be no more authentic than its source. Certainly he will not have been critical toward his sources. They are likely to be as fully reflected in him as his nature will permit.

Fortunately, Aubrey was so impressed by the present piece of information that he entered his authority in the margin, "from M<sup>r</sup> — Beeston." He had made an annotation to ask Beeston about both Shakspeare and Jonson, so that Jonson's statement on Shakspeare would naturally arise. Here is a piece of information which impresses Aubrey because, while it admits the truth of Jonson's words, yet it contradicts the usual interpretation put upon those words by 1681. Incidentally, Jonson's "small *Latine*" had already by 1681 become the traditional "little Latine," as it remained for Rowe in 1709, and as it still is popularly at this day. The modification of the phraseology apparently comes from contamination with another well-worn phrasing of the same idea. Thomas Fuller in 1662 says "his Learning was very little"; that like Plautus, he was "never any Scholar."<sup>50</sup> Incidentally, one should note that the unlearned Plautus is now called in to give Shakspeare aid and comfort. Again, William Hall in 1694 grants Shakspeare but "little learning."<sup>51</sup> I take it that Shakspeare's "little learning" has eventually transmuted his "small *Latine*" into "little Latin," and has annihilated the Greek. Because Aubrey was conscious that Beeston was challenging the current interpretation of Jonson's words—not the words themselves, which are admitted—we may feel certain that Aubrey has in this item reported accurately

<sup>49</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 252, 254.

<sup>50</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 483.

<sup>51</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 260.

what Beeston told him. Aubrey knew it was a significant statement, and hence gave his authority.<sup>53</sup>

The question thus becomes a matter of Beeston's credibility as a witness on this matter. This is William Beeston, son of that Christopher Beeston who was attached as an actor for many years to Shakspeare's company at the beginning of Shakspeare's career as an actor and dramatist. Christopher Beeston knew Shakspeare intimately in those first years after he came up from the country. Further, both of Shakspeare's full-length portraits of schoolmasters, Holofernes and Evans, had been presented before Christopher Beeston left the company, though Evans may later have been retouched.<sup>54</sup> These country schoolmasters would certainly have raised the question of the sources of Shakspeare's knowledge. His fellow-actors evidently had a very simple explanation of it, and they ought to have known. William Beeston may thus have had his information from his father Christopher. But he also had ample opportunity to know the facts in his own right. He was old enough to have learned those facts from Shakspeare himself, and moved all his life in circles which would have given him occasion to acquire the truth.<sup>54</sup> William Beeston is thus a credible witness, and must have made his statement advisedly in the consciousness that he was correcting the current misinterpretation which was put upon the words of Jonson. If we accept evidence at all, we must accept this. It is not a tradition; it is the direct statement of a competent witness.

Nor is there anything improbable about Beeston's statement. The most damaging thing against it is that it is only too plausible. I suppose we must attribute some literary leanings to Shakspeare even when he was a boy—and that without the authority of any calf-killing traditions. For such a boy, with only the backing of Stratford grammar school, teaching would have been one of the readiest ways ahead. He might readily have been an abecedarius. In addition, he

---

<sup>53</sup> We should remember here another corrective idea supplied by Beeston, that Shakspeare would not be debauched (Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 252). Aubrey got two ideas from Beeston, and both are by way of correcting the tradition. They thus clearly emanate from Beeston, as Aubrey indicates that they do. Incidentally, the "debauched Shakspeare" should receive a careful historical scrutiny too—as indeed should all late seventeenth century traditions. We need also to find out all we can concerning the "personal equation" of William Beeston.

<sup>54</sup> For comments on these schoolmasters, see Wilson, J. D., "The Schoolmaster in Shakespeare's Plays," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, N. S., Vol. IX, pp. 9-34 (1930).

<sup>54</sup> See Baldwin, T. W., *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, pp. 291-292.

might in some small place without an established grammar school have taught the rudiments of Latin to those who at riper age were to finish in some neighboring grammar school. That is—horrible to think upon—he might have been the Holofernes of some small community. One should remember the case of Simon Forman, who was only a few years older than Shakspeare.

*Howe Simon became a scolmastre before he was eighteen yers old.*

Simon, percevinge his mother wold doe nothinge for him, was dryven to great extremity and hunger, gave of to be a scoller any longer, for lacke of maintenance; and at the priorie of St. Jilles, wher he himselfe was first a scoller, ther became he a scolmaster, and taught som thirty boies, and their parentes among them gave him moste parte of his diet. And the money he gote he kept, to the some of som 40s., and after folowinge when he had bin scolmaster some halfe yere and had 40s. in his purse, he wente to Oxford for to get more lerninge, and soe left of from being scolmaster.<sup>55</sup>

While Simon's early education had been in "chips and whetstones" as he could get it, in and out of a poor school, yet that of Simon's first master had been far worse. This first teacher,

could read English well, but he could noe Lattine more then the singell accidens, and that he lerned of his too sonnes that went daily to a free scolle.

Since the *Accidence* was in English, I suppose it was the correct pronunciation of the Latin paradigms, etc. which this master learned from his sons in doing "home work" with them. It is of these schoolmasters in the country that Ascham justly complains, not of those in the established schools such as the one at Stratford. Shakspeare may easily have been a schoolmaster in the country—though that would of itself certainly be no argument of erudition.

But as a country schoolmaster Shakspeare might also readily have been the usher in a very good grammar school, even that of Stratford itself. The first usher we hear of after William's day is a local boy. Henry Sturley began as Aspinall's usher upon Monday, November 7, 1597.<sup>56</sup> Sturley was at the time about twenty-one years of age. He had matriculated at Oxford from Exeter College in January, 1595, and now was on leave to teach.<sup>57</sup> If John Shakspeare's boy had acquitted himself nearly so well in Stratford grammar school, he should have had nearly so good a claim as had Henry Sturley. As we shall see, in the one-teacher schools of which we have record the usher's work was done either by upper boys as in Pursglove's two schools,

<sup>55</sup> Halliwell, J. O., *The Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr. Simon Forman*, p. 11.

<sup>56</sup> Fripp, E. I., *Master Richard Quyny*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>57</sup> Fripp, *Quyny*, p. 92.



or by a selected and paid recent graduate as at Kirkby Stephen. A similar provision occurs at St. Bees in 1583,

The Schoolmaster for the time being shall have authority to appoint some poor Scholar, that understandeth his Grammar, and can write a reasonable hand, to be his Usher under him; who shall teach the Children to read and write English, and to say by heart the Catechism in English set forth by public authority, with the additions, and the Accidence, and when they are able to learn construction they shall be admitted into the Master's School.<sup>58</sup>

This usher was only an abcedarius, and despite its enormous list of books to be read, one master was to teach all the grammar school proper. Shakspeare could easily have qualified for a much higher place than this. Beeston's story is only too plausible.

But if one be prepared to accept Shakspeare as in his youth a country schoolmaster, let him not infer that Shakspeare was therefore in any sense a learned man; he was only a "learned grammarian." Let him rather look at the libraries, as we shall later do, of those able Masters of Art at Stratford, John Bretchgirdle and John Marshall, and he will see that even they in Jonson's sense had small Latin and less Greek. They doubtless "knew Latin pretty well" indeed, but only as a practical instrument of information, not necessarily even as the key to a great literature. Their literary authors are at the bare minimum needed in their work. Shakspeare doubtless had much less Latin as an instrument than they, but even he did much more in a literary way with what he had.

As the last of the Romans, William Beeston in 1681 faces imminent death still protesting that the current interpretation of Jonson's words did Shakspeare wrong, for he had read Latin very well, having been a schoolmaster in the country. Nahum Tate would have been glad to meet Beeston, for he declared in 1680 of Shakspeare,

I confess I cou'd never yet get a true account of his Learning, and am apt to think it more than Common Report allows him.<sup>59</sup>

A true account of Shakspeare's learning is a hard commodity to come by.

But Jonson's official pronouncement remained at the gateway of Shakspeare's works till 1709, and it was the Sons of Ben who had been evolving the eighteenth century. With them and their interpretation of Jonson's words rested the victory. So Shakspeare had eventually

<sup>58</sup> Carlisle, Nicholas, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, Vol. I, p. 157.      <sup>59</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 266.

to content himself with Nature alone, and leave to Jonson all the Art. Those who knew Shakspeare closely in his own day claimed a sufficient Art for Shakspeare, and Jonson himself did not deny him some Art. Some Art Shakspeare is admitted to have had; the question is of degree. It is certain that Shakspeare was not a university man and that he had not acquired in other ways such stores of learning from the classics as to impress contemporaries. But the statements of both Jonson and Beeston imply a considerable and probably a complete grammar school education—and these are the only authentic statements that we have.

But to return to our history, Fletcher, as we have seen, was by 1637 being classed with Shakspeare as unlearned in comparison with Jonson, in spite of his Cambridge M.A. Jonson's adherents were seeking all the Art for him, which would leave Nature to Shakspeare. What then would be left for Fletcher? Sir John Denham in the First Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1647, showed himself a Daniel come to judgment upon this triumvirate of wit by accounting for Fletcher as the happy medium in it. Later followers were to assign Fletcher the Wit<sup>60</sup> of the triumvirate, and the trick was done. The three could then be neatly labeled. Shakspeare had Nature, Jonson Art, and Fletcher Wit. But Denham had himself only suggested the way. To him, Jonson had Art, Shakspeare Nature, Fletcher a happy combination of both. William Cartwright then followed a similar idea, concluding of Shakspeare, "Nature was all his Art." This phraseology of the matter appealed to Fuller, who in a work printed in 1662 adapts Cartwright as, "so *nature* it self was all the *art* which was used upon him," preceding it with the expansion,

Indeed his Learning was very little, so that, as *Cornish diamonds* are not polished by any Lapidary, but are pointed and smoothed even as they are taken out of the Earth, so, etc.<sup>61</sup>

Fuller knew how to make a very little go an exceedingly long way. And one item of his invention, as we have seen, caught the public fancy, his alliterated "little learning," which forced Jonson's "small *Latine*" into the alliterated form of "little Latin." Fuller also quotes the "Rule" to the effect that the poet is born and not made, as had Digges in 1640, as well as having a figurative nightmare involving

<sup>60</sup> On this term in the seventeenth century, see Ustick, W. L. and Hudson, H. H., "Wit, 'Mixt Wit,' and the Bee in Amber," *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 8, October, 1935, pp. 103-130.

<sup>61</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. I, p. 483.

wit-combats between the learned Jonson and the unlearned Shakspeare.

Edward Phillips, in turn, probably had one eye on Fuller and the other on his uncle Milton when in 1675 he said of Shakspeare,

never any represented nature more purely to the life, and where the polishments of Art are most wanting, as probably his Learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain wild and native Elegance; and in all his Writings hath an unvulgar style.<sup>62</sup>

A Mr. G.—surely Charles Gildon—probably had his eye on Phillips when in 1694 he says that Shakspeare “the nice Paths of Learning never knew,” but was “taught by Nature above Art to write.”<sup>63</sup> William Winstanley had in 1684 merely sewn Fuller and Phillips together, so that we do not need to repeat him.<sup>64</sup> Then Langbaine in 1691 somewhat more judiciously combined both Fuller and Phillips.

His Natural Genius to *Poetry* was so excellent, that like those Diamonds which are found in *Cornwall*, Nature had little, or no occasion for the Assistance of Art, to polish it. The Truth is, 'tis agreed on by most, that his Learning was not extraordinary; and I am apt to believe, that his Skill in the *French* and *Italian* Tongues, exceeded his Knowledge in the *Roman* Language.<sup>65</sup>

Elsewhere in the same work, Langbaine says,

He was as much a Stranger to French as Latine, (in which, if we believe *Ben Johnson*, he was a very small Proficient),<sup>66</sup>

which is hardly consistent. The unknown writer of *An Historical History of England and Wales*, printed in 1692, merely compresses Fuller alone.<sup>67</sup> This series of works, from 1662 being for reference, naturally compiles and stabilizes the tradition. Wherever one turned to authority, he would now find the same thing. And it is all descended from Jonson's official pronouncements in the First Folio of 1623. It has no other validation and pretends none.

The idea of a triumvirate of wit as stated by Denham in 1647, with Jonson representing Art, Shakspeare Nature, and Fletcher a combination of the two is not confined, of course, to the preceding series. Richard Flecknoe about 1660 phrases it,

<sup>62</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, pp. 222-223.

<sup>63</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 538-539.

<sup>64</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.; cf. Thorn-Drury, *More Allusions*, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 359.

<sup>66</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, pp. 345, 351.

<sup>67</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 537-538.

To compare our English Dramatick Poets together (without taxing them) *Shakespear* excelled in a natural Vein, *Fletcher* in Wit, and *Johnson* in Gravity and ponderousness of Style; whose onely fault was, he was too elaborate; and had he mixt less erudition with his Playes, they had been more pleasant and delightful then they are. Comparing him with *Shakespear*, you shall see the difference betwixt Nature and Art; and with *Fletcher*, the difference between Wit and Judgement: Wit being an exuberant thing, like *Nilus*, never more commendable then when it overflows: but Judgement a stayed and reposed thing, alwayes containing it self within its bounds and limits.<sup>68</sup>

Sir Robert Stapleton in 1663 phrases the idea thus:

No working now by supernatural means,  
Beaumont and Fletcher have writ their last Scenes.  
No Johnson's Art, no Shakespear's Wit in Nature:  
For men are shrunk in Brain as well as Stature.<sup>69</sup>

Dryden in 1667 also tries his hand upon the idea

*Shakespear*, who (taught by none) did first impart  
To *Fletcher* wit, to labouring *Johnson* Art.  
He, Monarch-like, gave those his Subjects Law,  
And is that Nature which they paint and draw.  
*Fletcher* reach'd that which on his heights did grow  
Whilst *Johnson* crept and gather'd all below.  
This did his Love, and this his Mirth digest:  
One imitates him most, the other best.  
If they have since out-writ all other Men,  
'Tis with the drops which fell from *Shakespear's* pen.<sup>70</sup>

Some unknown phrases the idea in 1673,

*Johnson* writ by art, *Shakespeare* by nature; that *Beaumont* had judgment, *Fletcher* wit, that *Cowley* was copious, *Denham* lofty, *Waller* smooth, he cannot be thought malicious, since he admires them, but rather skilfull that he knows how to value them.<sup>71</sup>

In 1669, Robert Gould refers specifically to Denham, and makes the comparison of the triumvirate at some length, though two lines will be sufficient for us.

Lay *Shakespear*, *Ben*, and *Fletcher* in your sight:

There *Wit* and *Art*, and *Nature* you may see.<sup>72</sup>

Though Gould mentions Denham, he is following the specific form of the idea developed by Flecknoe and followed by Dryden. One sus-

<sup>68</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 85.

<sup>70</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

<sup>72</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, pp. 295-296.

<sup>69</sup> Thorn-Drury, *More Allusions*, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, p. 529.

pects that Gould was following Dryden, for a little later he says of Shakspeare:

*Homer* was blind, yet cou'd all Nature see;  
Thou wer't unlearn'd, yet knew as much as *He*!

So far as I have observed, Dryden started the Homer comparison, though Gould is not the next, nor by a great deal the last, to use it.

J. Drake in 1699 carries on the triumvirate idea with variations.

I shall begin with *Shakespear*, whom notwithstanding the severity of Mr. *Rhimer*, and the hard usage of Mr. *Collier*, I must still think the *Proto-Dramatist* of *England*, tho he fell short of the Art of *Johnson*, and the Conversation of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*. Upon that account he wants many of their Graces, yet his Beauties make large amends for his Defects, and Nature has richly provided him with the materials, tho his unkind Fortune denied him the Art of managing them to the best Advantage.<sup>73</sup>

The reader will see how these ideas echo, interlock, and increase from some nucleus, and are worth no more than that nucleus. This system of geometry all rests on Jonson's single axiom of relative Nature and Art in Shakspeare. Though it marshals a host of witnesses, it is worth only that single statement. Here we are considering the single matter of Shakspeare's learning and including only the more direct statements even on that, but all the biographical traditions in the seventeenth century up to and through Rowe's life of Shakspeare ought to be worked out in similar fashion to show the very few fundamental nuclei from which they evolve. For only these original nuclei can be of any value.

Up to the Restoration, while Shakspeare's indebtedness to Nature is emphasized, yet his "small *Latine*" is admitted to have given him some Art, as Jonson himself points out. But as time goes on, the opposition between Jonson's Art and Shakspeare's Nature is even more ignorantly emphasized. Dryden—if indeed it be he—is merely indulging in poetic drivel when in 1672 he says of Shakspeare, "He did not know what Trope or Figure meant."<sup>74</sup> He is following up Jonson's ill-fated distinction between Art and Nature, and is attributing to Nature all, without examining the evidence for Art. Shakspeare has given a great deal of specific evidence that he knew what Trope and Figure meant. But Dryden lets his pen run on into more of the same self-evident nonsense.

<sup>73</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 424.

<sup>74</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 172.

Those then that tax his Learning are too blame,  
 He knew the thing, but did not know the Name:  
 Great *Johnson* did that Ignorance adore,  
 And though he envi'd much, admir'd him more."<sup>76</sup>

Dryden is putting his own interpretation on the words of Jonson, and then elaborating them into a poetic rhapsody, without checking his conclusions against the works of Shakspeare himself, to see if they are true. Shakspeare, as his works themselves show, knew not only the thing, but also the name.

Dryden, if this is he, here directly refers to Jonson, but not as the source of his information on Shakspeare's learning. Elsewhere, he is specific,

Words and Phrases must of necessity receive a change in succeeding Ages: but 't is almost a Miracle that much of his Language remains so pure; and that he who began Dramatique Poetry amongst us, untaught by any, and, as *Ben Johnson* tells us, without Learning, should by the force of his own Genius perform so much, that in a manner he has left no praise for any who come after him."<sup>76</sup>

Dryden is merely putting his own interpretation upon Jonson's statement. He has no other authority and alleges none.

Still later, in 1696, Dryden is even thankful that Shakspeare had not more learning.

Shakespear among all the Writers of our Nation may stand by himself as a Phoenix, the first and last of his Order; in whom bounteous Nature wonderfully supply'd all the parts of a great Poet, and Excellent Oratour; and of whom alone one may venture boldly to say, that had he had more Learning, perhaps he might have been less a Poet."<sup>77</sup>

Dr. Young more than half a century later is to elaborate the same idea."<sup>78</sup> So Dryden puts his own interpretation on Jonson's statement, and can even be thankful for Shakspeare's Nature uncontaminated by learning.

Dryden, however, had probably not arrived at this consolation unaided. He may have been influenced in part to this thankfulness by Rymer. For in answer to Rymer's strictures upon Shakspeare's aberrations, Samuel Cobb in 1690 had said,

Ev'n *Shakespear* sweated in his narrow Isle,  
 And Subject *Italy* obey'd his Style.

<sup>76</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 172.

<sup>77</sup> Thorn-Drury, *More Allusions*, p. 38.

<sup>78</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 243.

<sup>78</sup> cf. below, p. 60.

*Boccace* and *Cynthia* must a Tribute pay  
 T'inrich his Scenes, and furnish out a Play.  
 Tho' Art ne'er taught him how to write by Rules,  
 Or borrow learning from *Athenian* Schools:  
 Yet He with *Plautus* could instruct and please,  
 And what requir'd long toil, perform with ease.<sup>79</sup>

Then Sir Charles Sedley had in 1693 further flouted the "rules" in favor of Shakspeare's ignorant Nature.

But against old as well as new to rage,  
 Is the peculiar Phrensy of this Age.  
*Shackspear* must down, and you must praise no more  
 Soft *Desdemona*, nor the Jealous *Moor*:  
*Shackspear* whose fruitfull Genius, happy Wit  
 Was fram'd and finisht at a lucky hit  
 The Pride of Nature, and the shame of Schools,  
 Born to Create, and not to Learn from Rules;  
 Must please no more, his Bastards now deride  
 Their Fathers Nakedness they ought to hide,  
 But when on Spurs their *Pegasus* they force;  
 Their Jaded Muse is distanc'd in the Course.<sup>80</sup>

Dryden, too, is basing upon Jonson and drawing as unwarranted inferences as any of his contemporaries. Though his name looms large, its authority is as worthless on the matter of Shakspeare's learning as that of the most obscure contemporary. The conclusions of Dryden, Rowe, and others of their kind as to the Art of Shakspeare are worth exactly nothing, because they are mere misinformed echoes of Jonson and are not based on any competent knowledge or examination of the pertinent facts, of which we have now many more than had they.

At the bottom of all these statements is the Jonson tradition, which reverberated even in Stratford itself not much after the middle of the century to produce a local tradition which was later received in London as genuine. The Reverend John Ward, vicar of Stratford, records in 1661-1663, "I have heard y<sup>e</sup> Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all,"<sup>81</sup> and reminds himself to read the plays of the local celebrity. Apparently, then, he had not himself yet seen Jonson's statement, but had "heard" it, presumably locally. Anyone who had read Shakspeare's works, whether in Stratford or elsewhere, would, of course, have found Jonson's statement, at their

<sup>79</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 534-535; Thorn-Drury, *More Allusions*, p. 49. Cobb seems to have read Fuller; notice Plautus.

<sup>80</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 392.

<sup>81</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 249-250.

gateway, and someone who had read the statement gives the vicar the benefit of his own version of Jonson's statement, which was as emphatic as possible about the lack of Art and the predominance of natural wit.

Stratford believed and improved upon what it saw in print, and tried to explain for inquirers how the miracle had occurred. Stratford would be expected to give early instances of genius in its prodigy and to account for his going to London. It rose to the occasion fairly well, but hardly shared much of Shakspeare's own genius at garnishing invented stories. It will be necessary to begin some thirty years after Ward in order to get the story in its perfected form.

Dowdall in a letter of April 10, 1693, describes a visit to Stratford church, evidently shortly before. He reports that "the clarke" who showed him the church was "aboue 80 y<sup>r</sup> old"; that is, was born before 1613. The clerk was William Castle, whose aged vagaries were evidently now a problem for himself and his employers. As early as December 1, 1680, he had been censured,<sup>82</sup> but an agreement had been reached which was not again officially called in question till September 2, 1695, a couple of years or so after Dowdall had been regaled with the old "clarke's" story. At a Vestry of that date, it is recited that at a previous Vestry of December 1, 1680, "William Castle upon severall misdemeanors and upon submission" was then continued for one year

upon his good behavior w<sup>ch</sup> since hee hath severall tymes brocken and doth acknowledge the same, that hee hath behaved himself insolently & negligently and promiseth amendment for the future,

so the authorities

acceptinge of his presente submission and in consideracion of his great age and infermyties doe continue him in his office upon his good behaviour and noe Longer or otherwise to bee turned out att pleasure.<sup>83</sup>

Castle's submission as "parish Cleark and Sexton" is appended.<sup>84</sup> Finally, at a Vestry held March 11, 1698, William Castle "declared that hee was willing to resigne upp his sexton's place," and was succeeded by Richard Smith alias Bucke.<sup>85</sup> Since he is apparently the William Castle who was christened July 17, 1614,<sup>86</sup> he was now well into his eighty-fourth year, and Dowdall in 1693 had reported him

<sup>82</sup> Arbutnot, G., *The Vestry Minute-Book of the Parish of Stratford-on-Avon*, p. 113.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>86</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 259.



to be above eighty, when he still lacked more than a year of having attained that age. Castle evidently believed in making the most of the picturesque, for Dowdall doubtless derived the information as to age from him. The aged and infirm old "clarke" had quite clearly for long been a problem to himself and to his employers, nor was the problem only one of age. A temperament is also evident, which is to be remembered as a conditioning background to our story.

According to Dowdall, the old "clarke,"

says that this *Shakespeare* was formerly in this Towne bound apprentice to a butcher; but that he Run from his master to London, and there was Rec<sup>d</sup> Into the playhouse as a serviture, and by this meanes had an oppertunity to be w<sup>t</sup> he afterwards prov'd.<sup>87</sup>

This story would imply certainly that Shakspeare ran away to London before he was twenty-one in 1585, after which he would have been free. It would probably imply that this exit occurred before his marriage in November, 1582, since ordinarily that also would have broken apprenticeship. The story would thus probably imply that Shakspeare ran away to London before he was nineteen.

Another form of the Stratford butcher story has this statement of age as its guess. Aubrey had heard concerning Shakspeare at some time before 1681 that,

his father was a Butcher, & I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours, that when he was a boy he exercised his father's Trade, but when he kill'd a Calfe, he would doe it in a *high style*, & make a Speech. There was at that time another Butcher's son in this Towne, that was held not at all inferior to him for a naturall witt, his acquaintance & coetanean, but dyed young. This Wm. being inclined naturally to Poetry and acting, came to London I guesse about 18. and was an Actor at one of the Play-houses and did act exceedingly well.<sup>88</sup>

It will be noticed that both of these stories trace to Stratford, and are fundamentally the same. Aubrey claims to have his story "heretofore by some of the neighbours." Since Aubrey connects another of his bits of Shakspeare gossip with his going to Oxford in 1643, his inquiry from the Stratford neighbors may have been a considerable time "heretofore" from about 1681, as his phrase indicates. It is guessed that the visit occurred about 1662.<sup>89</sup> Dowdall at least a dozen years later, and probably very much longer, in 1693, got his story

<sup>87</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 259.

<sup>88</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 252-253.

<sup>89</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O., *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (1887), Vol. I, pp. ix-x.

from the parish clerk. Aubrey's story has all the elements of the later story in such a way as to show that Dowdall's parish clerk story is evidently derived from Aubrey's earlier neighborhood tradition. In Aubrey, Shakspeare's father is the butcher, and it is in assisting his father that Shakspeare exercises his high style upon the calves. There was, however, also a rival butcher in town, whose son had as good a natural wit as Shakspeare—but died young. William came to London, as Aubrey guesses about eighteen, and began acting at one of the playhouses. Dowdall's story from the clerk makes one butcher and one calf-killing genius out of the doublets. John Shakspeare gives way to the rival butcher, and the rival butcher's son gives way to William Shakspeare as apprentice. A fair enough arrangement in its way, with the added advantage of sending Shakspeare to London young and in poor position, but the disadvantage of leaving out early signs of tragic genius—which, by the way, were rather slow about showing themselves in his early writings. Perhaps the calves had somewhat purged his tragic emotions. Aubrey guessed that Shakspeare went to London about eighteen. The broken apprenticeship implies a similar age. It is clear, therefore, that the parish clerk had also been talking with "the neighbours," but had more grasp on—and more professional experience in—the art of story telling than had they—or Aubrey. But the clerk's story to Dowdall, being clearly derivative, must be laid aside for Aubrey's report of earlier Stratford tradition.

According to that tradition some time before 1681, Shakspeare's father was a butcher, and Shakspeare at times assisted him, though even there showing his natural inclination. This natural inclination as naturally led him early to London and to the theaters. The fundamental on which the tradition rests is reasonably clear. Shakspeare's father had been, among other things, if not a wool-dealer, at least once a dealer in wool, as Professor Hotson has now established.<sup>90</sup> This fact might just possibly serve to make of him in tradition a butcher. But I should guess that the butcher was certainly furnished

---

<sup>90</sup> *The Times* (London), November 22, 1930, p. 13. If part of the property was at the time let as a butcher shop as Fripp, E. I., (*Shakespeare, Man and Artist*, Vol. II, p. 913), suggests, this fact would also have its bearing on popular tradition. We need a thoroughgoing study of the division of trades at Stratford. If, as seems certain, the glovers and butchers were differentiated and organized, then one might not exercise the other trade. Since John Shakspeare was certainly a glover, it would in that case follow as certainly that he was not a butcher. But unorganized, fringe trades were different. It is clear from Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines* (1887), Vol. II, pp. 328-329 that other glovers of Stratford did deal in both wool and malt, as John Shakspeare is now known to have dealt in wool.

to the tradition by Shakspeare's rival wit who died young. This story properly belongs to the rival wit anyway, not to Shakspeare. It would be natural for the Stratfordians, as a matter of civic pride, to boast of how many had been superior to Shakspeare and what the town could have done had it really sent its best to the task. And this butcher's son wins its vote, whether such a son ever existed, or whether he be a complete fiction. This boy surpassed Shakspeare, but obligingly died young, to save further embarrassing questions. The balancing between them has made of Shakspeare a calf-killer in the grand style. At any rate, all that this story amounts to is that Stratford pretended that it had produced a greater natural genius than Shakspeare. It clearly attributed Shakspeare's rise to natural ability, and consequently looked for instances of his having exercised that ability among them. Through the butcher's son they have him exercise it on his father's calves, and then later run to London while yet a boy so as to exercise that natural ability in the playhouse. All these are pure inferences, growing from the tradition of natural ability.

It is interesting to notice here that when William Hall visited Stratford church about the end of 1694, hence within two years of Dowdall, he did not pick up this calf-butcher story, though William Castle should still have been at his service. Hall was impressed instead by the only too well known inscription on Shakspeare's tombstone.

The little learning these verses contain, would be a very strong argument of y<sup>e</sup> want of it in the Author; did not they carry something in them w<sup>ch</sup> stands in need of a comment,

whereupon, by way of comment, Hall tells the story of the bonehouse where Shakspeare evidently had no mind to have his bones cast.<sup>91</sup>

And now appears why Hall was not the person to pick up the butcher story. Hall says that since Shakspeare had

to do w<sup>th</sup> Clarks and Sextons, for y<sup>e</sup> most part a very [i]gnorant sort of people, he descends to y<sup>e</sup> meanest of their capacitys; and disrobes himself of that art, w<sup>ch</sup> none of his Co-temporaryes wore in greater perfection.<sup>92</sup>

So much for the capacity of the aged and infirm William Castle, Dowdall's "clarke." He is not likely to have warmed up to Hall.

<sup>91</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 539-540.

<sup>92</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, p. 540.

It may bear notice in passing that Shakspeare, so far from expecting Chaucer, Spenser,<sup>93</sup> and Beaumont to make room for him to lie in state at Westminster as the world's greatest dramatist, centered his attention upon the more practical problem of retaining his bit of space in Stratford church as that community's chief tithe-holder. Whether the curse was the effective cause or not, at least Shakspeare has not so far—we hope—been greatly disturbed. Again, he knew his audience.

So Hall apparently escaped Stratford's applications of the natural ability theory to Shakspeare's attainments, which had been retailed to Aubrey and Dowdall in proportion to their gullibility. This natural ability theory, as we have seen, is recorded still earlier by Ward around 1661-63, and rests squarely on the Jonson tradition, as is shown by Ward's phraseology. This tradition he too had "heard," presumably in Stratford. Stratford's church officials did not believe in their own church records.

I believe it is now clear upon this background that still another inquiring reporter may have been at Stratford and have picked up at least one of William Castle's stories. Charles Gildon in 1698 gives a very circumstantial account of Shakspeare's tomb at Stratford, not merely quoting inscriptions, etc., but also adding descriptive details. Either he or someone for him had been probing quite particularly at Stratford church before 1698. He or his agent had evidently been regaled with Castle's regular stock in trade. Gildon begins his account of Shakspeare

He was born and buried in *Stratford upon Avon*, in *Warwickshire*. I have been told that he writ the Scene of the Ghost in *Hamlet*, at his House which bordered on the Charnel-House and Church-Yard.

Here is Castle's charnel-house story, with variations. After Gildon's treatment of the Hales of Eton story, we may at least permit him to share the honors for these variations with Castle and a possible intermediary. For as a matter of fact we know that Gildon himself did still further improve this story. In 1710, he writes,

The former Scene [*Ham.* i. 4], which as I have been assur'd he wrote in a Charnel House in the midst of the Night.<sup>94</sup>

Perhaps someone had been querying Gildon upon Stratford topography and upon Shakspeare's places for composition. So he removes

<sup>93</sup> Apparently, Spenser acted upon the suggestion of Basse (which Jonson rejects) and moved over (by the summer of 1936)—prudent man! But Shakspeare did not move in—wise William!!!

<sup>94</sup> Chambers, *Shakspeare*, Vol. II, p. 262.

Shakspere from his house in Stratford to some charnel house itself, which is unlocated. Rather a pretty taste in embroidery has Gildon. And this is what has come of the really sober and sexton-like story which William Castle told to William Hall about the motives of William Shakspere in writing that curse. Castle's is at least a proper sexton's guess. It is not likely to be anything more—unless perhaps it represents the aged sexton's own reactions toward the grimly gaping expectation of that same charnel house. Most likely, Gildon's variations on the story recorded by Hall are his own decoration. He may have gone to Stratford himself, for he gets many details concerning the monument reasonably accurate—for him. It may have been by William Castle that "I have been told" these things. A sexton above eighty ought to have made a rather effective mouthpiece for a charnel-house story—it must have seemed so imminently pertinent. At least, Hall and Gildon were both impressed.

But if Gildon had himself gone to Stratford, he was hardly the man to suppress the fact, and his information may trace through Hall. For Hall

took his B.A. from Queen's, 1694, [M.A., 1697,] and became rector of Acton, Middlesex, and prebendary of St. Paul's,<sup>95</sup>

the latter on March 19, 1708. If Hall was in the London region by 1698, Gildon may have had his story directly or indirectly from him.

It is just possible that Gildon also knew Castle's story of runaway Shakspere in some form, for before going on to describe Shakspere's tomb, Gildon turns aside to reject lack-Latin Shakspere, from which Castle's story was descended. It is more likely, however, that the order of remarks here is due solely to Gildon's parallel to Langbaine. Langbaine had begun by getting Shakspere born. Gildon, trapped by an alliterative phrase, gets him born and buried at once, and the burying brings with it the charnel-house story. Then Gildon rephrases Langbaine's prologue as follows,

He was both Player and Poet; but the greatest Poet that ever trod the Stage, I am of Opinion, in spite of Mr. *Johnson*, and others from him, that though perhaps he might not be that Critic in Latin and Greek as *Ben*; yet that he understood the former, so well as perfectly to be Master of their Histories, for in all his Roman Characters he has nicely followed History, and you find his *Brutus*, his *Cassius*, his *Anthony*, and his *Caesar*, his *Coriolanus*, &c., just as the Historians of those times describe 'em.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 260.

<sup>96</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 417.

Since Langbaine had at this place declared against the extreme lack-Latin tradition, Gildon does so too, in some respects echoing Langbaine. Gildon then passes on to describe Shakspeare's tomb and the Stratford church. Gildon's statement is thus likely due to his patterning upon Langbaine rather than to his subconscious desire to refute Castle's run-away story. Because of Gildon's known prejudice here, however, we may be certain that if he went to Stratford, he is no more likely than Hall to have elicited this story from Castle. Castle would hardly try that one on even moderately skeptical people.<sup>97</sup>

We must recognize the certain fact that William Castle, sexton of Stratford-on-Avon, was for long an official biographer of Shakspeare. Inevitably, visitors to the shrine at Stratford church received their information from him. So far, only Aubrey, characteristically, bethought himself to get the gossip of "the neighbors," and all that he discovered was the diamond in the rough from which one of William Castle's jewels was later cut. We must remember also that the Stratford authorities employed a sexton, who by force of circumstances became one of Shakspeare's first known official biographers—probably the first. It was neither their fault nor William Castle's fault that the latter was typical of his class, which Hall with his eye on Castle describes as "for y<sup>e</sup> most part a very [i]gnorant sort of people," an opinion in which Shakspeare himself evidently concurred. But it will be most grievously our fault if we do not recognize the limitations of William Castle as a biographer, as also the personal equations of those who report his stories. His stories are the merest myths, and become steadily more mythical with retelling, as is customary with gossip wholly uncontrolled.

If Betterton or another did between 1661 and 1708 make inquiries at Stratford church which were embodied by Rowe in his life of Shakspeare in 1709—and someone certainly did consult the registers—, it would most likely be some form of this tradition which he would receive, though after 1698 he presumably would not have found William Castle there to tell his stories. But if Betterton's informant did receive either of Castle's stories, it was clearly rejected. For, as we shall see, Shakspeare's father is in Rowe's story not a butcher, but a dealer in wool, for which we now have some contemporary confirmation. But Shakspeare still assists his father in his busi-

<sup>97</sup> For the metamorphosis of the butcher story into the deer-stealing story, see Appendix I.

ness, which does not need the substantiation either of a tradition or of a ghost returned from the grave. It is the almost inevitable assumption from the customs of the period. It seems clear, therefore, that Rowe's informant, like Hall,—and Gildon, or his informant, if that informant was other than Hall—had either not been treated to the butcher story, or had rejected it. He, too; was a man looking for authentic records, not merely for tasty gossip.

So now at the end of the seventeenth century Shakspeare is allowed but "little Latin." In spite of the protests of those who had known him best, this had become the London tradition, and the authority alleged was that of Jonson. This tradition had even penetrated to Stratford and was thence returning to strengthen the London tradition. As a matter of fact, Jonson and all other competent witnesses allowed Shakspeare what we would now accept as at least a considerable smattering of Latin, together with a trace of Greek. Shakspeare was not a learned man—not even a university man indeed—but Jonson's statement would imply that Shakspeare had attained at least the upper reaches of grammar school, and Beeston's would imply probably a complete grammar school course. So the evidence indicates that Shakspeare was no more than a "learned grammarian," though it also seems clear that he was at least approximately that. But before we taunt him with the term we will do well to find out what attainments it implies.

### CHAPTER III

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CANONIZES THE "LITTLE LATIN" TRADITION

BY THE BEGINNING of the eighteenth century one would find only the single opinion on Shakspeare's learning. If one turned to the editions of Shakspeare, he found at their portals the statement of Jonson. If he turned to any of the reference works, he would find Jonson's statement interpreted with much embroidery as "little Latin," the impression being that the Latin was so small as to have been of no value whatever.

The time was ripe for canonization of the tradition of Shakspeare's "little Latin" in yet another of Rowe's collection of current Shakspeare myths, which is accepted to this day as resting on valid evidence, when all it rests on fundamentally is the tradition which had developed from Jonson's pronouncement on Shakspeare's "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*." Rowe in 1709 said of Shakspeare's schooling

His Father, who was a considerable Dealer in Wool, had so large a Family, ten Children in all, that tho' he was his eldest Son, he could give him no better Education than his own Employment. He had bred him, 'tis true, for some time at a Free-School, where 'tis probable he acquir'd that little *Latin* he was Master of: But the narrowness of his Circumstances, and the want of his assistance at Home, forc'd his Father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further Proficiency in that Language.<sup>1</sup>

For one thing Rowe is to be commended; he has bethought himself of the Parish register, even if he does misinterpret its statistics. Malone, indeed, points out that Rowe alleges eleven facts concerning Shakspeare, of which only the dates of christening and death, being from the parish registers, are certainly correct. Of a third, Malone is doubtful; the other eight he condemns as false.<sup>2</sup> One of the condemned eight, that John Shakspeare was a "woolman," is probably not wholly erroneous. Malone also justly tosses aside Rowe's inference concerning Shakspeare's interrupted education. For, notice that Rowe is explicit that it was the ten children which prevented John Shakspeare from giving his son William any better education than his

<sup>1</sup> Rowe, N., *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear* (1709; first issue, corrected; copy in U. of Ill. Library, Vol. I, pp. II-III.)

<sup>2</sup> Malone, Edmond, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare* (1821), Vol. II, p. 69, n. 9.



own employment. Now the ten children did not in fact exist. As has long been known, Rowe has donated the three children of another Shakspeare to our John.<sup>3</sup> Besides, several of the children of our John died young. It is thus clear that this statement is a pure inference on the part of Rowe from a false premise. In other words, Rowe is merely guessing, as all scholars, good and bad, must do. He then uses the narrow circumstances which he had thus inferred for this poor wool dealer John Shakspeare with ten children to explain William's removal from school. The narrow circumstances which he has thus inferred for John Shakspeare did not in fact exist while Shakspeare should have been in grammar school—if indeed they ever existed.<sup>4</sup>

Then finally we arrive at what all this chain of inferred fictions was invented to explain. In school Shakspeare had acquired "that little *Latin* he was Master of," but was forced out by circumstances before he acquired more. All Rowe has to start with, as his phraseology shows, is Jonson's statement about Shakspeare's "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*," which had now become traditionally "little Latin." So he must account for "that little Latin" Shakspeare was master of. If Shakspeare had little Latin, as Jonson says, he must presumably have been removed from school early. Rowe thus looks for some reason which would have forced Shakspeare out of school. He gets ten children charged up to William's father, has heard that the father dealt in wool, and so states his inferences from these things as facts. As a wool dealer, the father would be a rather humble farmer-tradesman, to whom ten children would be a great burden, forcing him to withdraw his oldest son prematurely from school. The calf-killing tradition which we have examined above would also indicate humble circumstances for Shakspeare's family. Thus the whole business of Shakspeare's premature withdrawal from school is entirely an inference on the part of Rowe from erroneous information, and can be of no authority whatever. All Rowe has to go on is the traditional statement attributed to Jonson that Shakspeare had little Latin; he blinks the Greek. The remainder is pure inference from wholly erroneous facts to account for the assumed little Latin. There is thus no evidence whatever that Shakspeare did not complete grammar school, unless we could show that Jonson would not have considered a grammar school graduate as having "small *Latine*." But that is exactly

<sup>3</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Fripp, E. I., *Shakespeare Studies*, pp. 88 ff.

what Jonson, Gabriel Harvey, and their ilk did think of grammar school and even university graduates. They were only "learned grammarians." And that is exactly the attitude we learned gentlemen customarily take to the learning of high school or even of university graduates today.

Rowe's conclusion is thus not a tradition, but his own clearly erroneous inference, based fundamentally upon a misinterpretation of Jonson. This misinterpretation, indeed, as we have seen at tedious length, was traditional long before the time of Rowe. If Rowe had any other grounds, he did not allege them, and we have no right to assume them. His fundamental statement is that of Jonson; and that statement implies positively almost a complete grammar school education, and gives negatively no indication against a fully complete one.

As we now see, the "little Latin," "little learning" tradition rests squarely and solely on Jonson's "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*" statement. As contemporaries knew, Jonson's own statement needs a considerable correction for "personal equation." But even taken literally, though in its context, it grants to Shakspeare what we would now consider a fair command of Latin. Pre-Restoration critics, while minimizing the importance of it, yet did not deny him that. And when the Restoration critics took Jonson's phrase out of its context and even perverted its form to make their interpretation more derogatory, one of the elder generation, who knew, William Beeston, raised his voice in unavailing protest, and gave as proof the specific fact that Shakspeare had been a schoolmaster in the country.

Even Rowe in 1709 does not deny Shakspeare some Latin, acquired by his having been "for some time at a Free-School." Rowe continues,

It is without Controversie, that he had no knowledge of the Writings of the Antient Poets, not only from this Reason, but from his Works themselves, where we find no traces of anything that looks like an Imitation of 'em; the Delicacy of his Taste, and the natural Bent of his own Great *Genius*, equal, if not superior to some of the best of theirs, would certainly have led him to Read and Study 'em with so much Pleasure, that some of their fine Images would naturally have insinuated themselves into, and been mix'd with his own Writings; so that his not copying at least something from them, may be an Argument of his never having read 'em. Whether his Ignorance of the Antients were a disadvantage to him or no, may admit of a Dispute: For tho' the knowledge of 'em might have made him more Correct, yet it is not improbable but that the Regularity and Deference for them, which

would have attended that Correctness, might have restrain'd some of that Fire, Impetuosity, and even beautiful Extravagance which we admire in *Shakespear*: And I believe we are better pleas'd with those Thoughts, altogether New and Uncommon, which his own Imagination supply'd him so abundantly with, than if he had given us the most beautiful Passages out of the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, and that in the most agreeable manner that it was possible for a Master of the *English* Language to deliver 'em. Some *Latin* without question he did know, and one may see up and down in his Plays how far his Reading that way went: In *Love's Labour lost*, the Pedant comes out with a Verse of *Mantuan*; and in *Titus Andronicus*, one of the *Gothick* Princes, upon reading

*Integer vitae scelerisque purus  
Non eget Mauri jaculis nec arcu—*

says, 'Tis a Verse in Horace, but he remembers it out of his Grammar: Which, I suppose, was the Author's Case.<sup>5</sup>

Rowe's argument that Shakspeare would have imitated the classics had he known them is not of weight; he might, he might not. I have a suspicion that Fletcher, though he was a Master of Arts from Cambridge, would find it almost equally hard with Shakspeare to pass this test. Besides, Shakspeare has imitated some of the classics, and claims of far-reaching imitation were soon to be made, with numerous parallels to substantiate them. But while Rowe doubts that Shakspeare knew classic literature, he yet finds it necessary to grant him some knowledge of the Latin language, specifically *Mantuan* and *Lily's Latin Grammar*. The question again is one of degree; and Rowe, accepting Jonson's statement in its traditional interpretation, considers the degree to be relatively small.

Gildon prepared a seventh volume supplementary to Rowe's edition, in which he presents rather numerous instances of Shakspeare's knowledge of classic practice, such as observance of the unities—almost—in *The Tempest* and *Comedy of Errors*. Incidentally, Dryden had preferred a similar claim for *Merry Wives*.<sup>6</sup> Gildon had been struck by the idea attributed to Hales of Eton, which he mentioned in 1694 and twice in this essay (pp. 392, 450). So he tabulates several pages of parallel references to different classic authors in whom topics parallel to those of Shakspeare are to be had (pp. 465–472). Shakspeare is credited with a couple of dozen or more topics for which no parallels have been found in the classics. I suppose, therefore, he was to be considered in this respect not merely the equal of the classics,

<sup>5</sup> Rowe, *Shakespear* (1709), Vol. I, pp. III–IV.

<sup>6</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, pp. 144, 246.

as Hales is said to have contended, but even the superior as the session of the wits at Eton is said to have decided.<sup>7</sup>

The next editor of Shakspeare, Pope, shrewdly recognized the issues that had beclouded the discussion of Shakspeare's learning.

If ever any Author deserved the name of an *Original*, it was *Shakspear*. *Homer* himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of Nature, it proceeded thro' *Aegyptian* strainers and channels, and came to him not without some tincture of the learning, or some cast of the models, of those before him. The Poetry of *Shakspear* was Inspiration indeed: he is not so much an Imitator, as an Instrument, of Nature; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks thro' him.<sup>8</sup>

To judge therefore of *Shakspear* by *Aristotle's* rules, is like trying a man by the Laws of one Country, who acted under those of another. He writ to the *People*; and writ at first without patronage from the better sort, and therefore without aims of pleasing them: without assistance or advice from the Learned, as without the advantage of education or acquaintance among them: without that knowledge of the best models, the Ancients, to inspire him with an emulation of them; in a word, without any views of Reputation, and of what Poets are pleas'd to call Immortality: Some or all of which have encourag'd the vanity, or animated the ambition, of other writers.<sup>9</sup>

The players thought to praise Shakspeare by saying he never blotted a line, which is clearly not the truth.

I believe the common opinion of his want of Learning proceeded from no better ground. This too might be thought a Praise by some; and to this his Errors have as injudiciously been ascribed by others. For 'tis certain, were it true, it could concern but a small part of them; the most are such as are not properly Defects, but Superfoetations: and arise not from want of learning or reading, but from want of thinking or judging; or rather (to be more just to our Author) from a compliance to those wants in others.<sup>10</sup>

But as to his *Want of Learning*, it may be necessary to say something more: There is certainly a vast difference between *Learning* and *Languages*. How far he was ignorant of the latter, I cannot determine; but 'tis plain he had much Reading at least, if they will not call it Learning. Nor is it any great matter, if a man has Knowledge, whether he has it from one language or from another. Nothing is more evident than that he had a taste of natural Philosophy, Mechanicks, ancient and modern History, Poetical learning and Mythology: We find him very knowing in the customs, rites, and manners of Antiquity. In *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*, not only the Spirit, but Manners, of the *Romans* are exactly drawn; and still a nicer distinction is

<sup>7</sup> Pope merely carries on this tradition of the sententious beauties in Shakspeare, though Butt misses the fact (Butt, John, *Pope's Taste in Shakspeare* (The Shakespeare Association)).

<sup>8</sup> Pope, A., *The Works of Shakspeare* (1725), Vol. I, p. ii.

<sup>9</sup> Pope, *Shakspeare* (1725), Vol. I, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>10</sup> Pope, *Shakspeare* (1725), Vol. I, pp. viii-ix.

shown, between the manners of the *Romans* in the time of the former, and of the latter. His reading in the ancient Historians is no less conspicuous, in many references to particular passages: and the speeches copy'd from *Plutarch* in *Coriolanus* may, I think, as well be made an instance of his learning, as those copy'd from *Cicero* in *Catiline* of *Ben Johnson's*. The manners of other nations in general, the *Egyptians*, *Venetians*, *French*, &c. are drawn with equal propriety. Whatever object of nature, or branch of science, he either speaks of or describes; it is always with competent, if not extensive knowledge: his descriptions are still exact; all his metaphors appropriated, and remarkably drawn from the true nature and inherent qualities of each subject. When he treats of Ethic or Politic, we may constantly observe a wonderful justness of distinction, as well as extent of comprehension. No one is more a master of the Poetical story, or has more frequent allusions to the various parts of it: Mr. *Waller* (who has been celebrated for this last particular) has not shown more learning this way than *Shakespear*. We have Translations from *Ovid* published in his name, among those Poems which pass for his, and for some of which we have undoubted authority, (being published by himself, and dedicated to his noble Patron the Earl of *Southampton*;) He appears also to have been conversant in *Plautus*, from whom he has taken the plot of one of his plays: he follows the *Greek* Authors, and particularly *Dares Phrygius*, in another: (altho' I will not pretend to say in what language he read them.) The modern *Italian* writers of Novels he was manifestly acquainted with; and we may conclude him to be no less conversant with the Ancients of his own country, from the use he has made of *Chaucer* in *Troilus* and *Cressida*, and in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, if that Play be his, as there goes a Tradition it was, (and indeed it has little resemblance of *Fletcher*, and more of our Author than some of those which have been received as genuine.)

I am inclined to think, this opinion proceeded originally from the zeal of the Partizans of our Author and *Ben Johnson*; as they endeavoured to exalt the one at the expence of the other. It is ever the nature of Parties to be in extremes; and nothing is so probable, as that because *Ben Johnson* had much the most learning, it was said on the one hand that *Shakespear* had none at all; and because *Shakespear* had much the most wit and fancy, it was retorted on the other, that *Johnson* wanted both. Because *Shakespear* borrowed nothing, it was said that *Ben Johnson* borrowed every thing. Because *Johnson* did not write extempore, he was reproached with being a year about every piece; and because *Shakespear* wrote with ease and rapidity, they cried, he never once made a blot. Nay the spirit of opposition ran so high, that whatever those of the one side objected to the other, was taken at the rebound, and turned into Praises; as injudiciously, as their antagonists before had made them Objections.<sup>11</sup>

Here is a great deal of sound sense and foolishness. Pope sees how the contrast between Jonson and Shakspeare has arisen by emphasizing the differences between the two. But the terms have changed.

<sup>11</sup> Pope, *Shakespear* (1725), Vol. I, pp. ix-xii.

Instead of Nature and Art, the contrast is now between Nature and Learning. For Art to Pope was only Nature methodized; the two things were now too nearly one to be put in the old opposition. As to learning, Pope makes a distinction between learning and languages, taking the eminently sensible position, "Nor is it any great matter, if a man has Knowledge, whether he has it from one language or from another." Pope's statement concerning Shakspeare's knowledge of the classics would still be true, even if Shakspeare got all of that knowledge second-hand. After all, this is the essential fact. This idea is not original with Pope, nor its application to the Roman plays. Nahum Tate had in 1680 used these plays for an argument of Shakspeare's learning.<sup>12</sup> Charles Gildon in his revision of Langbaine in 1698 carries on the argument.<sup>13</sup> Pope merely puts the argument on a sound basis. There can be no doubt, of course, that Shakspeare had a great deal of knowledge of sorts, much of it ultimately from the classics; but that is not ordinarily what we mean by learning. As to languages, Pope says, "How far he was ignorant of the latter, I cannot determine." Nevertheless, his whole account of Shakspeare is based on the assumption that Shakspeare's Art in the old sense was negligible and Nature was all. This is because, as I have said, the two to Pope are essentially the same. One can go directly to Nature or one can go to Nature as already methodized by others. In either case, the result should be authentic; but the first method, followed by Shakspeare, is the more difficult. Pope, therefore, has merely accepted the tradition and juggled it into his own mold with the superficial profundity which is characteristic of much of his thinking.

Pope's general point of view is itself only an elaboration of a statement by Dryden.

*Shakespeare* was the Homer, or Father of our Dramatick Poets; *Johnson* was the *Virgil*, the pattern of elaborate writing; I admire him, but I love *Shakespeare*.<sup>14</sup>

From Dryden also probably comes Pope's idea of Shakspeare as "an original." For Dryden had said, "yet *Shakespear* taught *Fletcher* to

<sup>12</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, pp. 266-267.      <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 417.

<sup>14</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 146. Dryden in 1678 phrases the same idea somewhat differently: "'t is almost a Miracle . . . that he who began Dramatique Poetry amongst us, untaught by any, and, as *Ben Johnson* tells us, without Learning, should by the force of his own Genius perform so much, that in a manner he has left no praise for any who come after him" (Preface to *All for Love* (1678), sig. b4v; Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 243). Of course, Shakspeare did not begin dramatic poetry in England; he learned a great deal from his predecessors and contemporaries. Nor does Jonson say that Shakspeare was "without Learning."

write love; and *Juliet*, and *Desdemona*, are Originals.”<sup>15</sup> Later, Dr. Edward Young was in 1776 to work up Pope’s opposition between Shakspeare and Jonson and his label of Shakspeare as “an original” into a statement which Malone selects as the proper view to pass to posterity.

Jonson, in the serious drama, is as much an imitator, as Shakspeare is an original. He was very learned, as Sampson was very strong, to his own hurt. Blind to the nature of tragedy, he pulled down all antiquity on his head, and buried himself under it. We see nothing of Jonson, nor indeed of his admired (but also murdered) ancients; for what shone in the historian is a cloud on the poet, and Catiline might have been a good play, if Sallust had never written.

Who knows whether Shakspeare might not have thought less, if he had read more? Who knows if he might not have laboured under the load of Jonson’s learning, as Enceladus under Aetna? His mighty genius, indeed, through the most mountainous oppression would have breathed out some of his inextinguishable fire; yet possibly he might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight. Perhaps he was as learned as his dramatick province required; for whatever other learning he wanted, he was master of two books unknown to many of the profoundly read, though books which the last conflagration alone can destroy; the book of nature, and that of man.<sup>16</sup>

So Pope’s view, expanded from Dryden, has in Dr. Young’s phraseology become for Malone the orthodox view.

Theobald adds no further facts on Shakspeare’s learning, and in 1733 voices his opinion thus,

Tho’ I should be very unwilling to allow *Shakspeare* so poor a Scholar, as Many have labour’d to represent him, yet I shall be very cautious of declaring too positively on the other side of the Question: that is, with regard to my Opinion of his Knowledge in the dead Languages. And therefore the Passages, that I occasionally quote from the *Classics*, shall not be urged as Proofs that he knowingly imitated those Originals; but brought to shew how happily he has express’d himself upon the same Topicks.<sup>17</sup>

His parallels are generally so sound that even Dr. Farmer ignored them,<sup>18</sup> and, with few exceptions, are quoted with approval to this

<sup>15</sup> Munro, *Sh. All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 249.

<sup>16</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. I, p. 250.

<sup>17</sup> Theobald, L., *The Works of Shakspeare* (1733), Vol. I, pp. xxviii–xxix. This passage is not claimed for Warburton by Smith, though as I understand, he does claim that it was Warburton who influenced Theobald to this moderate view (Smith, D. N., *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakspeare*, p. xlix, n. 2).

<sup>18</sup> “On almost all of the classical parallels which are really worth considering, he is silent. Of the very few which he is obliged to notice he disposes by assuming that Shakspeare had been raking in Ronsard, mediaeval homilies, and the uncouth Scotch jargon of Douglas’s Virgil. That a sensible man like Farmer should not see that, if Shakspeare recalls the *Aeneid*

day. The same sense of relationships which enabled him to restore so many of Shakspeare's passages also shows itself here. Had others been so critical, we might have been spared Dr. Farmer and his train. Because of these parallels, Theobald considers that he has at least met Rowe's argument that Shakspeare had not read the classics because he gives no sign of having imitated them. His cue for this attack lies in the Hales of Eton story, as shown by his explanation that these parallels may be the result of using the same topics.

Dr. Johnson in 1765 treats the matter with his customary ponderous good sense and lack of perspicacity.

It has been much disputed, whether *Shakespeare* owed his excellence to his own native force, or whether he had the common helps of scholastick education, the precepts of critical science, and the examples of ancient authours.

There has always prevailed a tradition, that *Shakespeare* wanted learning, that he had no regular education, nor much skill in the dead languages. *Johnson*, his friend, affirms, that *he had small Latin, and no Greek*; who, besides that he had no imaginable temptation to falsehood, wrote at a time when the character and acquisitions of *Shakespeare* were known to multitudes. His evidence ought therefore to decide the controversy, unless some testimony of equal force could be opposed.

Some have imagined, that they have discovered deep learning in many imitations of old writers; but the examples which I have known urged, were drawn from books translated in his time; or were such easy coincidences of thought, as will happen to all who consider the same subjects; or such remarks on life or axioms of morality as float in conversation, and are transmitted through the world in proverbial sentences.

I have found it remarked, that, in this important sentence, *Go before, I'll follow*,<sup>19</sup> we read a translation of, *I prae, sequar*. I have been told, that when *Caliban*, after a pleasing dream, says, *I cry'd to sleep again*, the authour imitates *Anacreon*, who had, like every other man, the same wish on the same occasion.

There are a few passages which may pass for imitations, but so few, that the exception only confirms the rule; he obtained them from accidental quotations, or by oral communication, and as he used what he had, would have used more if he had obtained it.

The *Comedy of Errors* is confessedly taken from the *Menaechmi* of *Plautus*; from the only play of *Plautus* which was then in *English*. What can be more probable, than that he who copied that, would have copied more; but that those which were not translated were inaccessible?

---

and the *Fasti*, the balance of probability is much more in favour of his having gone to the Latin than of his having troubled himself to spell out mediaeval homilies and archaic Scotch is indeed strange" (Collins, J. C., *Studies in Shakespeare*, p. 9).

<sup>19</sup> Grey, Z., *Critical, Historical and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare* (1754), Vol. II, p. 53. Dr. Johnson has not quoted accurately. See my *Shakspeare's Five-Act Structure*.



Whether he knew the modern languages is uncertain. That his plays have some *French* scenes proves but little; he might easily procure them to be written, and probably, even though he had known the language in the common degree, he could not have written it without assistance. In the story of *Romeo and Juliet* he is observed to have followed the *English* translation, where it deviates from the *Italian*; but this on the other part proves nothing against his knowledge of the original. He was to copy, not what he knew himself, but what was known to his audience.

It is most likely that he had learned *Latin* sufficiently to make him acquainted with construction, but that he never advanced to an easy perusal of the *Roman* authours. Concerning his skill in modern languages, I can find no sufficient ground of determination; but as no imitations of *French* or *Italian* authours have been discovered, though the *Italian* poetry was then high in esteem, I am inclined to believe, that he read little more than *English*, and chose for his fables only such tales as he found translated.

That much knowledge is scattered over his works is very justly observed by *Pope*, but it is often such knowledge as books did not supply. He that will understand *Shakespeare*, must not be content to study him in the closet, he must look for his meaning sometimes among the sports of the field, and sometimes among the manufactures of the shop.<sup>20</sup>

Thus Dr. Johnson agrees essentially with the opinion expressed by John Dennis in 1712,

I believe he was able to do what Pedants call construe, but that he was able to read *Plautus* without Pain and Difficulty I can never believe.<sup>21</sup>

Since Dr. Johnson adds no facts, and his inferences are now so well known to be ill grounded as not to require detailed examination we may pass to our next.

Capell in 1767 delivers himself thus,

It is our firm belief then,—that *Shakespeare* was very well grounded, at least in *Latin*, at school . . . his "*Venus and Adonis*" is address'd to that earl [Southampton] in a very pretty and modest dedication, in which he calls it—"the first heire of his invention;" and ushers it to the world with this singular motto,—

*Vilia miretur vulgus, mihi flavus Apollo*

*Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua;*

and the whole poem, as well as his "*Lucrece*" which follow'd it soon after, together with his choice of those subjects, are plain marks of his acquaintance with some of the *Latin* classicks, at least at that time: The dissipation of youth, and, when that was over, the busy scene in which he instantly plung'd himself, may very well be suppos'd to have hinder'd his making any great progress in them; but that such a mind as his should quite lose the tincture of any knowledge it had once been imbu'd with, can not be im-

<sup>20</sup> Johnson, S., *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (1765), Vol. I, pp. C2r-C3r.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, *Essays*, p. 39.

agin'd: accordingly we see, that this school-learning (for it was no more) stuck with him to the last; and it was the recordations, as we may call it, of that learning which produc'd the *Latin* that is in many of his plays, and most plentifully in those that are most early: every several piece of it is aptly introduc'd, given to a proper character, and utter'd upon some proper occasion; and so well cemented, as it were, and join'd to the passage it stands in, as to deal conviction to the judicious—that the whole was wrought up together, and fetch'd from his own little store, upon the sudden and without study. . . . It may be thought that there is one argument still unanswer'd, which has been brought against his acquaintance with the *Latin* and other languages; and that is,—that, had he been so acquainted, it could not have happen'd but that some imitations would have crept into his writings, of which certainly there are none: But this argument has been answer'd in effect; when it was said—that his knowledge in these languages was but slender, and his conversation with the writers in them slender too of course: but, had it been otherwise, and he as deeply read in them as some people have thought him, his works (it is probable) had been as little deform'd with imitations as we now see them: *Shakespeare* was far above such a practice; he had the stores in himself, and wanted not the assistance of a foreign hand to dress him up in things of their lending.<sup>22</sup>

It is amusing to see how hard the eighteenth century found it to disabuse itself of the belief that Shakspeare would certainly have imitated the classics if only he had known them. The critics should have remembered that Shakspeare could at least read English, and that many translations of the classics had been printed in London. Shakspeare could have found plenty of classic material to imitate if he had felt the slightest desire. Some of his contemporaries make a great parade on very little. Capell is beginning to glimpse the light dimly when he says that had Shakspeare known the classics he would yet have scorned to be other than himself. It is perfectly clear that Shakspeare knew many things from the classics for which he seldom found use—the unities, for instance. Had he wanted the classics, he could easily have perfected himself sufficiently in languages as did Jonson, or he could have used translations, as he sometimes did when it suited his purpose. For many of the things which he certainly knew from the classics, Shakspeare clearly did not find much use, and he probably knew many things from the classics for which he found no use at all. He does not use all that he knows, and his ignorance is in part willful. Shakspeare merely used from the classics whatever he knew and found useful. Whether he used all that would have been good for him is a wholly different question.

<sup>22</sup> Capell, E., *Mr. William Shakespeare his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1767), Vol. I, pp. 31–39, n.

We have been summing up the opinions of the more conservative. The less conservative were beginning by means of parallels to set Shakspeare up as a full-fledged classical scholar. These were now ripe to furnish Dr. Richard Farmer amusement for a clerical holiday. So in 1767 this pontifical gentleman chastised the less orthodox mightily—and deservedly—with *An Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*. After a complimentary opening to the effect that Dr. Johnson could do this better, Dr. Farmer calls the culprits upon the carpet.

One of the first and most vehement assertors of the learning of *Shakspeare*, was the Editor of his Poems, the well-known Mr. *Gildon*; and his steps were most punctually followed by a subsequent labourer in the same department, Dr. *Sewel*.

Mr. *Pope* supposed "little ground for the common opinion of his want of learning;" once indeed he made a proper distinction between *learning* and *languages*, as I would be understood to do in my Title-page; but unfortunately he forgot it in the course of his disquisition, and endeavoured to persuade himself, that *Shakspeare's* acquaintance with the Ancients might be actually proved by the same medium as *Jonson's*.

Mr. *Theobald* is "very unwilling to allow him so poor a scholar, as many have laboured to represent him;" and yet is "cautious of declaring too positively on the other side the question."

Dr. *Warburton* hath exposed the futility of some arguments from *suspected* imitations; and yet offers others, if I mistake not, as easily refuted.

Mr. *Upton* wonders "with what kind of reasoning any one could be so far imposed upon, as to imagine that *Shakspeare* had no learning;" and lashes with much zeal and satisfaction "the pride and pertness of dunces, who under such a name would gladly shelter their own idleness and ignorance."

Like the learned Knight, at every anomaly in grammar or metre,

"H' hath hard words ready to shew why,

And tell what *Rule* he did it by."

How would the old Bard have been astonished to have found, that he had very skilfully given the *trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic*, commonly called the *ithyphallic* measure to the Witches in *Macbeth*! and that now and then a halting Verse afforded a most beautiful instance of the *Pes proceleusmaticus*!<sup>23</sup>

"But, continues Mr. *Upton*, it was a learned age; Roger *Ascham* assures us, that Queen *Elizabeth* read more *Greek* every day, than some *Dignitaries* of the Church did *Latin* in a whole week." This appears very probable; and a pleasant proof it is of the general learning of the times, and of *Shakspeare* in particular. I wonder, he did not corroborate it with an extract from her injunctions to her Clergy, that "such as were but *mean Read-*

<sup>23</sup> I am afraid Dr. Farmer has not examined the Latin manuals on poetry in Shakspeare's time. The Colloquy of Erasmus entitled *Impostura* also gives some idea of the technical equipment little boys were supposed to have—and had to get.

ers should peruse over before once or twice the Chapters and Homilies, to the intent they might read to the better understanding of the people."

Dr. Grey declares, that *Shakespeare's* knowledge in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues cannot reasonably be called in question. Dr. Dodd supposes it *proved*, that he was not such a novice in learning and antiquity as *some people* would pretend. And to close the whole, for I suspect you to be tired of quotation, Mr. *Whalley*, the ingenious Editor of *Jonson*, hath written a piece expressly on this subject: perhaps from a very excusable partiality, he was willing to draw *Shakespeare* from the field of Nature to classick ground, where alone he knew his Author was able to cope with him.

These criticks, and many others their coadjutors, have supposed themselves able to trace *Shakespeare* in the writings of the Ancients; and have sometimes persuaded us of their own learning, whatever became of their Author's.<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Farmer then begins castigating the culprits. Upton had wished to correct Shakspeare's text by Plutarch in Greek; Dr. Farmer showed that the errors came from North's translation, and then exposed a similar error of Pope's. Instance after instance Dr. Farmer traces to some known source, or shows that it occurs in a work which was already translated, and hence Shakspeare did not need to use the original. Having by these methods swept away the Greek, at least once by providing Latin, not English, translations, Dr. Farmer then turns his attention to demolishing the Latin. He has no trouble in showing that many of these alleged instances of classical learning are the merest commonplaces of Shakspeare's day, hardly indicating literacy, certainly not learning. Again, he tries to show that Shakspeare uses English translations of the Latin, notably Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In tracing down these sources, he acknowledges the help of Capell, who, as we have seen, held rather a different idea of Shakspeare's training from Dr. Farmer's. Finally, Dr. Farmer reaches his conclusion.

I hope, my good Friend, you have by this time acquitted our great Poet of all piratical depredations on the Ancients: He remembered perhaps enough of his *school-boy* learning to put the *Hig, hag, hog*, into the mouth of Sir *Hugh Evans*; and might pick up in the course of his conversation a familiar word or two of *French* or *Italian*: but his *Studies* were most demonstratively confined to *Nature* and *his own Language*.<sup>25</sup>

Many absurdities of his predecessors Dr. Farmer has joyously smashed, but he has not attempted to answer many of their more

<sup>24</sup> Farmer, R., *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1567, ed. 1, copy in U. of Ill. Library), pp. 5-8. There are slight changes of wording in the second edition.

<sup>25</sup> Farmer, *Essay* (ed. 1), p. 49.

sensible points. Nor will it do to assume that because Shakspeare certainly sometimes used translations instead of originals, that consequently he always used translations instead of originals. One might use both the original and the translation as well, and the fact that a translation was available does not force Shakspeare to use it in preference to the original. Dr. Farmer had done well to heed his sentence upon others,

The only use of transcribing these things, is to show what absurdities men for ever run into, when they lay down a Hypothesis, and afterward seek for arguments in the support of it.<sup>26</sup>

But who of us is without sin? Because of his own fundamental method, Dr. Farmer should have paused to consider how it was that even some of those whom he considered barely literate in Shakspeare's age could make such a show of classical knowledge, and why the age found it profitable to make all these translations. He has turned to the works of Shakspeare's time by which to interpret Shakspeare. He should also have turned to the social machinery of that time by which to interpret the admitted facts concerning Shakspeare. Englishmen then had not merely English but frequently such a smattering of Latin as grammar school would have given. Even Dr. Farmer must permit Shakspeare some Latin. Even with him, the question is one of degree. Some Latin Shakspeare had, but how much? The admitted statements concerning it and uses of it he does not attempt to put upon the background of the grammar school training of the time. In fact, his work, while decidedly salutary, is so far as Shakspeare's learning is concerned negative, and hardly less well considered than that of those opponents which he so joyously demolishes.

Critics were not slow to point out these logical fallacies in Dr. Farmer's conclusions on the main question. In the preface to the second edition of his *Essay* in 1767, Dr. Farmer tried to laugh these critics out of court.

"Were it shewn, says some one, that the old Bard borrowed *all* his allusions from *English* books then published, our *Essayist* might have possibly established his System."—In good time!—This had scarcely been attempted by *Peter Burman* himself, with the Library of *Shakespeare* before him . . . When the main Pillars are taken away, the whole Building falls in course: Nothing hath been, or can be, pointed out, which is not easily removed; or rather, which was not *virtually* removed before: a very little *Analogy* will do the business. I shall therefore have no occasion to trouble myself any fur-

<sup>26</sup> Farmer, *Essay* (ed. 1), p. 14.

ther; and may venture to call my Pamphlet, in the words of a pleasant Declaimer against *Sermons on the thirtieth of January*, "an Answer to every thing that shall hereafter be written on the Subject."

But "this method of reasoning will prove any one ignorant of the Languages, who hath written when Translations were extant."—*Shade of Burgersdicius!*—does it follow, because *Shakespeare's* early life was incompatible with a course of Education—whose Contemporaries, Friends and Foes, nay, and himself likewise, agree in his want of what is usually called *Literature*—whose mistakes from equivocal Translations, and even typographical Errors, cannot possibly be accounted for otherwise,—that *Locke*, to whom not one of these circumstances is applicable, understood no *Greek*?—I suspect, *Rollin's* Opinion of our Philosopher was not founded on this argument.

*Shakespeare* wanted not the Stilts of Languages to raise him above all other men. The quotation from *Lilly* in the *Taming of the Shrew*, if indeed it be his, strongly proves the extent of his reading: had he known *Terence*, he would not have quoted erroneously from his *Grammar*. Every one hath met with men in common life, who, according to the language of the *Water-poet*, "got only from *Possum* to *Posset*," and yet will throw out a line occasionally from their *Accidence* or their *Cato de Moribus* with tolerable propriety.—If, however, the old Editions be trusted in this passage, our Author's memory somewhat failed him in point of *Concord*.

The rage of *Parallelisms* is almost over, and in truth nothing can be more absurd. "*THIS* was stolen from *one* Classick,—*THAT* from *another*;"—and had I not stept in to his rescue, poor *Shakespeare* had been stript as naked of ornament, as when he first *held Horses* at the door of the Play-house. . . .

Upon the whole, I may consider myself, as the *Pioneer* of the *Commentators*: I have removed a deal of *learned Rubbish*, and pointed out to them *Shakespeare's* track in the ever-pleasing *Paths of Nature*. This was necessarily a previous Inquiry; and I hope I may assume with some confidence, what one of the first Criticks of the Age was pleased to declare on reading the former Edition, that "The Question is *now* for ever decided."

Collins<sup>27</sup> says, without reference, that this critic was Warton; but Malone in 1790,<sup>28</sup> identifies the author of this opinion as Dr. Johnson; and as Smith points out, Northcote also attributes a similar opinion to Dr. Johnson.

"Dr. Farmer," said Johnson, "you have done that which never was done before; that is, you have completely finished a controversy beyond all further doubt." "I thank you," answered Dr. Farmer, "for your flattering opinion of my work, but still think there are some critics who will adhere to their old opinions; certain persons that I could name."

<sup>27</sup> Collins, *Studies*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Malone, Edmond, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (1790), Vol. I, Part 2, p. 171.

"Ah!" said Johnson, "that may be true: for the limbs will quiver and move after the soul is gone."<sup>29</sup>

As we now know, Dr. Johnson was over optimistic in thinking the controversy "completely finished" by Dr. Farmer, as Dr. Johnson himself later realized. The bludgeon of authority may settle a matter so long and so far as that authority extends. But truth alone should be the final arbiter, and I cannot see that on the main issue Dr. Farmer's rebuttal made any further progress toward truth.

Perhaps Colman's answer to Dr. Farmer in 1768, which was thus too late for the rebuttal of 1767, was the best yet made, and rightly received a place with Farmer's essay in the variorum editions. Colman in his translation of Terence had incidentally shown several parallels between Shakspeare and Terence. So on a few of these matters Dr. Farmer had taken Colman to task, though not as a principal offender. In his second edition, 1768, Colman devoted an appendix to Dr. Farmer.

It is most true, as Mr. Farmer takes for granted, that I had never met with the old comedy called *The Supposes*, nor has it even yet fallen into my hands; yet I am willing to grant, on Mr. Farmer's authority, that Shakespeare borrowed part of the plot of *The Taming of the Shrew*, from that old translation of Ariosto's play, by George Gascoign, and had no obligations to Plautus. I will accede also to the truth of Dr. Johnson's and Mr. Farmer's observation, that the line from Terence, exactly as it stands in Shakespeare, is extant in Lilly and Udall's *Floures for Latin Speaking*. Still, however, Shakespeare's total ignorance of the learned languages remains to be proved; for it must be granted, that such books are put into the hands of those who are learning those languages, in which class we must necessarily rank Shakespeare, or he could not even have quoted Terence from Udall or Lilly; nor is it likely, that so rapid a genius should not have made some further progress. "Our author, (says Dr. Johnson, as quoted by Mr. Farmer) had this line from Lilly; which I mention, that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning." It is, however, an argument that he read Lilly; and a few pages further it seems pretty certain, that the author of *The Taming of the Shrew*, had at least read Ovid; from whose epistles we find these lines:

*Hæc ibat Simois; hic est Sigeia tellus;  
Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.*

And what does Dr. Johnson say on this occasion? Nothing. And what does Mr. Farmer say on this occasion? Nothing.

In *Love's Labour Lost*, which, bad as it is, is ascribed by Dr. Johnson himself to Shakespeare, there occurs the word *thrasonical*; another argument which seems to shew that he was not unacquainted with the comedies

<sup>29</sup> Northcote, J., *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt.* (1813), pp. 90-91.

of Terence; not to mention, that the character of the schoolmaster in the same play could not possibly be written by a man who had travelled no farther in Latin than *hic, haec, hoc*.

In Henry the Sixth we meet with a quotation from Virgil,

*Tantaene animis coelestibus irae?*

But this, it seems, proves nothing, any more than the lines from Terence and Ovid, in the Taming of the Shrew; for Mr. Farmer looks on Shakespeare's property in the comedy to be extremely disputable; and he has no doubt but Henry the Sixth had the same author with Edward the Third, which hath been recovered in Mr. Capell's prolusions. . . .<sup>30</sup>

"That his *studies* were most demonstratively confined to *nature*, and his *own language*," I readily allow: but does it hence follow that he was so deplorably ignorant of every other tongue, living or dead, that he only "remembered, perhaps, enough of his *schoolboy* learning to put the *hig, hag, hog*, into the mouth of Sir H. Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time, or the course of his conversation, a familiar phrase or two of French or Italian?" In Shakespeare's plays both these last languages are plentifully scattered; but then, we are told, they might be impertinent additions of the players. Undoubtedly they might: but there they are, and, perhaps, few of the players had much more learning than Shakespeare.

Mr. Farmer himself will allow that Shakespeare began to learn Latin: I will allow that his *studies* lay in English: but why insist that he neither made any progress at school; nor improved his acquisitions there? The general encomiums of Suckling, Denham, Milton, &c. on his *native genius*, prove nothing; and Ben Jonson's celebrated charge of Shakespeare's *small Latin, and less Greek*, seems absolutely to decide that he had *some* knowledge of both; and if we may judge by our own time, a man, who has any Greek, is seldom without a very competent share of Latin; and yet such a man is very likely to study Plutarch in English, and to read translations of Ovid.<sup>31</sup>

The ever-alert Boswell carried Colman's question to Dr. Johnson.

Colman, in a note on his Translation of Terence, talking of Shakspeare's Learning, asks, "What says Farmer to this? What says Johnson?" Upon this he observed, "Sir, let Farmer answer for himself: I never engaged in this controversy. I always said Shakspeare had Latin enough to grammaticise his English."<sup>32</sup>

Obviously true, I think, especially when one knows the educational system of the time, but probably implying more training in many other things than Dr. Johnson suspected.

Farmer did not reply to Colman directly, and an incidental reply was hardly more satisfactory than his previous ones.

<sup>30</sup> Colman, G., *The Comedies of Terence* (1768), Vol. II, pp. 389-391.

<sup>31</sup> Colman, *Terence* (1768), Vol. II, pp. 392-394.

<sup>32</sup> Malone, *Variorum*, (1821) Vol. I, p. 368 n.



Dr. Warburton is certainly right in his supposition that *Florio* is meant by the character of *Holofernes* . . . We see, then, the character of the schoolmaster might be written with less learning, than Mr. Colman conjectured: nor is the use of the word *thrasonical*, . . . any argument that the author had read Terence. It was introduced to our language long before Shakspeare's time. Stanyhurst writes, in a translation of one of Sir Thomas More's Epigrams:

Lynckt was in wedlocke a loftye *Thrasonical* hufsnuffe.

It can scarcely be necessary to animadvert any further upon what Mr. Colman has advanced in the appendix to his Terence. If this gentleman, at his leisure from modern plays, will condescend to open a few old ones, he will soon be satisfied that Shakspeare was obliged to learn and repeat in the course of his profession, such Latin *fragments* as are met with in his works. The formidable one, *ira furor brevis est*, which is quoted from Timon, may be found, not in the plays only, but in every *critical* essay from that of King James to that of Dean Swift inclusive . . . Let me, however, take this opportunity of acknowledging the very genteel language which he has been pleased to use on this occasion.<sup>33</sup>

Colman's main question concerning Shakspeare's probable school-boy learning has been ignored, and Dr. Farmer continues to point out that Shakspeare might have got all his learning from other sources.<sup>34</sup> But even granting that he might—which certainly is not the case—, did he? And in cases where we cannot be certain, what are the probabilities as determined by the training in grammar school at Shakspeare's time? Colman's question, as we shall see, was not to go unheeded.

Dr. Johnson evidently thought that Farmer had gone much too far. Steevens was respectful to Farmer's *Essay*, but was not deterred from recording many classical parallels—so many indeed that Baildon says, "Steevens . . . seems to think no Elizabethan can have a phrase or idea not borrowed from Latin or Greek."<sup>35</sup> Malone is equally respectful but firm in pointing out the actual contribution of Farmer's *Essay*. On the subject of Shakspeare's education Malone says,

How long he continued at school, or what proficiency he made there, we have now no means of ascertaining. I may, however, with the highest probability assume, that he acquired a competent, though perhaps not a

<sup>33</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. IV, pp. 481-482.

<sup>34</sup> For a more detailed study of the contemporary reaction to Farmer, see Babcock, R. W., *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry, 1766-1799*, pp. 57 ff. There is an earlier survey by Evans, H. A., "A Shakespearian Controversy of the Eighteenth Century," *Anglia*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 457 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Baildon, H. B., *Titus Andronicus* (Arden ed.), p. 31. As a matter of fact, this is very near the truth for the educated Elizabethan.

profound knowledge, of the Latin language: for why should it be supposed, that he who surpassed all mankind in his maturer years, made less proficiency than his fellows in his youth, while he had the benefit of instructors equally skilful? His friend Mr. Richard Quiney, one of the aldermen of Stratford in his time, who had certainly been bred some years before our poet, at the same school, his family having been long established in Stratford, was so well acquainted with that language, that his brother-in-law, Mr. Abraham Sturley, who was also an alderman, frequently intermixed long Latin paragraphs in his letters to him, several of which I have read: nay, on one occasion I have found an entire Latin letter addressed to him; and Mr. Sturley certainly would not have written what his brother could not understand. His eldest son too, Richard Quiney, who afterwards became a grocer in London, but returned finally to his native town, where he died in 1656, sent his father, whilst he was employed in the metropolis on the business of the corporation, a Latin letter, which, though it had been required as an exercise from his master, it would have been ridiculous to send to one who could not read it. In the school of Stratford, therefore, we have no reason to suppose that Shakspeare was outstripped by his contemporaries. Even Ben Jonson, who undoubtedly was inclined rather to depreciate than over-rate his rival's literary talents, allows, that he had some Latin. Dr. Farmer, indeed, has proved, by unanswerable arguments, that he was furnished by translations with most of those topicks which for half a century had been urged as indisputable proofs of his erudition. But though his Essay is decisive in this respect, it by no means proves that he had not acquired, at the school of Stratford, a moderate knowledge of Latin, though perhaps he never attained such a mastery of that language as to read it without the occasional aid of a dictionary. Like many other scholars who have not been thoroughly grounded in the ancient tongues, from desuetude in the progress of life, he probably found them daily more difficult; and hence, doubtless, indolence led him rather to English translations, than the original authors, of whose works he wished to avail himself in his dramatick compositions: on which occasion he was certainly too careless minutely to examine whether particular passages were faithfully rendered or not. That such a mind as his was not idle or incurious, and that at this period of his life he perused several of the easier Latin classicks, cannot, I think, reasonably be doubted; though perhaps he never attained a facility of reading those authors with whom he had not been familiarly acquainted at school. From Lilly's Grammar, which we know furnished him with the rudiments of the Latin tongue, and a small manual, entitled *Pueriles*, and the *Moral Distichs of Cato*, he proceeded, as was the fashion of that age, after reading Tully's *Offices*, to the *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, and those of Virgil; and from thence, probably, to *Cornelius Nepos*, some parts of *Ovid* (whom he has cited in the *Taming of the Shrew*, and from whom he has taken the motto prefixed to his first publication), and finally, perhaps, to the *Aeneid of Virgil*. Such I imagine was the progress, and the extent of his scholastick attainment. He needed not, however, as Dryden has well observed, “the spectacles of books” to read men; and I have no doubt, that even from his

youth he was a curious and diligent observer of the manners and characters, not only of his young associates, but of all around him; a study in which, unquestionably, he took great delight, and pursued with avidity during the whole course of his future life.

That his father was compelled by the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his son's assistance at home, to withdraw him from school, at least before the year 1578, to which period I suppose him to have remained there, though it is asserted by Mr. Rowe, no sufficient proof has been produced. At the free school of Stratford he was entitled to a gratuitous education; and he certainly could be of no great use to his father, before he had attained the fourteenth year of his age.<sup>36</sup>

As usual, Malone has summed up the case soundly; and his conclusions can not be shaken. It should now appear that the best Shakspeare scholars of Dr. Farmer's day no more agreed with his extremes than they had with those of his victims.

Many years later in an essay quite worthy of Dr. Farmer himself, William Maginn<sup>37</sup> in 1839 examined Farmer's arguments to an essentially just conclusion, though not justly phrased.

He has proved, what no one of common sense ever doubted,—that Shakspeare in his classical plays did not look beyond the English translation of Plutarch, or in his historical plays beyond the popular annalist, Holinshed; and that, having made such a resolution, he adhered to their text, without further research . . . Nothing is proved of the want of learning of Shakspeare.<sup>38</sup>

I do not understand how any one who has followed the arguments in this controversy could say of Maginn that "after hitting out and about at the *Essay* for three months he left it much as he found it,"<sup>39</sup> especially when the critic himself arrives at essentially the same conclusions concerning the actual contributions of the *Essay* as does Maginn. A juster judgment on Maginn is that of Baynes,

Dr. Maginn pierced the pedantic and inflated "Essay" of Farmer into hopeless collapse . . . Dr. Maginn has abundantly exposed the illogical character and false conclusions of Farmer's reasoning on the subject. His position is indeed as extreme on one side as that of the critics he attacked is on the other.<sup>40</sup>

Hunter also in 1845 pointed out much more urbanely than had Maginn and in less detail the fundamental weakness of Farmer's positions.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. II, pp. 102-106.

<sup>37</sup> *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. XX, pp. 253-273; 476-490; 647-666.

<sup>38</sup> *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. XX, p. 663.

<sup>39</sup> Smith, *Essays*, p. xxvii.

<sup>40</sup> Baynes, T. S., *Shakespeare Studies* (1894), pp. 151-153 from *Fraser's Magazine*, 1879-80; cf. Anders, H. R. D., *Shakespeare's Books*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>41</sup> Hunter, J., *New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 313 ff.

At least, Farmer inspired a salutary caution in the use of classical parallels. It was now agreed that Shakspeare was not a learned man, and that decision can hardly be challenged if we accept their definition of a learned man as one who had mastered Greek and Latin literature in the original. Some Latin, at least, all were forced to grant Shakspeare. The question thus became how much Latin, and whether to it should be added any Greek. Steevens, Malone, and others gathered voluminous parallels to Shakspeare, and not a few of these were from the classics, though these latter might be submitted only as parallels. But it was not till the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the mode of approach implied in Colman's statement of the case and sketched by Malone was attempted in full form by Baynes, who aimed to place the facts as known to him into the background of a sixteenth century grammar school, though, as he himself points out, others, including Malone, had already made some tentative efforts in this direction.<sup>42</sup> Baynes saw that a knowledge of the probable curriculum at Stratford would throw light on Shakspeare's probable acquisition there, which could then sometimes be confirmed by reflections in Shakspeare's own works. He hesitated, however, to take Shakspeare completely through grammar school because Rowe permits business difficulties to force Shakspeare out before he had completed the studies offered there. The year 1578 was then fixed on as the most probable time for Shakspeare's withdrawal. As we have seen, these are all groundless inferences, and we are now free to give Shakspeare a complete grammar school education if he can prove himself worthy of it. As authorities on the grammar school, Baynes uses Carlisle, Brinsley, and Hoole, relying most heavily on Hoole. He traces the authors that Shakspeare shows knowledge of through the forms of the Rotherham system before Hoole revised it, up to Ovid in the fifth of nine forms. That far he feels certain, and I believe we may feel certain, Shakspeare had gone. What Baynes did, he did soundly and along right lines. But he was far from utilizing all the material on the schools which was accessible in his day, and to which there have been important additions since. Nor did he pay much attention to texts and school editions. Had he worked harder and analyzed his problem more clearly, he might have gone considerably further in defining and evaluating the effects of this grammar school education upon Shakspeare. The present study is aimed at making the problem somewhat clearer, and at indicating more fully

<sup>42</sup> Baynes, *Shakespeare Studies*, pp. 147 ff., reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*, 1879-80.

how a solution is to be attained. If a sufficient number of scholars are then willing to cooperate along these lines for a few centuries more, it may eventually be possible to evaluate with perhaps sufficient exactness Shakspeare's formal education. For I suppose it is Shakspeare's formal education or training in which we of the present day are interested rather than in his technical ability in Latin and Greek.

Since Baynes, little progress has been made. Baynes cautiously omitted to discuss the Greek. Collins then undertook by the old method of parallels to show that Shakspeare had read many of the chief Greek authors, especially the tragedians, who were in Latin translation and so available to Shakspeare's small Latin. "What I wish to show is that he was well acquainted with Latin and with the Latin classics, and, through Latin, with the Greek classics."<sup>43</sup> Even if it could be shown that Shakspeare's Latin was equal to these translations, it would still remain to be shown that his inclination was so, though Collins insists that this may be assumed. So far as I can see, the wish of Collins has been father to his thought. The parallels are numerous and for many purposes quite significant; but seldom, I think, for our present one. Anders in *Shakespeare's Books* gives a cautious summary of Shakspeare's classical and grammar school books, though his summary is not complete; no more will mine be. Fripp has added a great deal to our knowledge of Stratford grammar school background and not a few details to our knowledge of Shakspeare's acquisitions from grammar school knowledge.

We may now attempt to carry on from where Baynes left off. As has been said, it will not be possible to arrive at all which can ever be known on the problem, but it will be possible at least to make some progress. And to that progress we now turn.

---

<sup>43</sup> Collins, *Studies*, p. 16.

## CHAPTER IV

### ERASMUS LAID THE EGG; *DE RATIONE STUDII*

IN GRAMMAR SCHOOL, with what subjects would Shakspeare have come in contact, and how would they have been taught? Since we do not have the curriculum of the school at Stratford, it will be necessary first to see if its curriculum can be inferred from what we know of it in the light of the practice of other schools. We shall need, therefore, first to examine surviving sixteenth-century curricula, and then to place Stratford school upon this background. Only then can we examine Shakspeare properly on his grammar school subjects to see how far we can pass him.

I shall find it necessary, therefore, to gather at some length information from the school statutes so as to show what was the common denominator, as it were, of the Elizabethan grammar school, and to see what this common denominator indicates concerning Shakspeare's formal education. The articles by Leach in the *Victoria County Histories* furnish numerous facts, frequently in more authentic form than in Carlisle's mine of information. Watson's discussion of grammar schools to 1660 still reflects its origins from bibliography, and besides centers on the seventeenth-century theorists Brinsley and Hoole, paying comparatively little attention to the sixteenth century. Stowe<sup>1</sup> has examined most of the charters known in 1908, and gives the key to a mass of information; but his treatment is statistical rather than analytical. Neither does he appear to have been conversant with Elizabethan school methods, and consequently it is also to be feared that he has badly misunderstood some of the fundamental technical operations of Elizabethan pedagogy.<sup>2</sup> I can not, of course, supply the desired treatment of the grammar school as a whole, but perhaps I can sketch the system sufficiently for our present purpose. I shall then unexpectantly hope that someone may give us the badly needed fuller treatment. But I had perhaps best say here that a great deal more work must first be done in collecting the statutes and other fundamental facts before this fuller treatment can be satisfactorily made. It is no holiday job for a dabbler.

<sup>1</sup> Stowe, A. M., *English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*.

<sup>2</sup> Brown, John Howard, *Elizabethan Schooldays* is a pleasant summary of known general facts, but does not aim to be a technical contribution.

It will be well first of all to orient the Elizabethan grammar school. As Watson remarks,

Substantially, the Grammar Schools stood by the developments of the two subjects of the mediaeval Trivium, viz., grammar and rhetoric, letting the formal study of the third subject of the Trivium, viz. logic, drop out of the school course. They were thus, as indeed Edward Leigh in 1663 describes Eton, Winchester and Westminster, "trivial" schools.<sup>3</sup>

The essentially trivial nature of the grammar school both the theorists and the curricula of the sixteenth century recognize.

For instance, in his *The Education of Children* William Kempe gives us in 1588 a fully coordinated and philosophized scheme of the contemporary grammar school. Kempe recognizes four stages of education before university. The first of these stages preceded grammar school, and was concerned with the necessary preliminary training in the vernacular. Similarly, the fourth stage for which Kempe argues was a kind of postgraduate half year to be devoted to arithmetic and geometry. As Kempe himself recognizes, these subjects are not properly grammar school subjects, but ordinarily belong to the next stage of education. Only the second and third stages of Kempe's system concerned grammar school proper, and divided it into an upper and a lower division. Kempe calls this lower division "the second degree of Schooling, which consisteth in learning the Grammar, and knowledge of other languages" (F 3 v). The chief object of the lower division, presided over by the usher, or lower teacher, was the mastery of grammar. The boy memorized his grammar, and learned how to apply it in speaking and writing. The chief object of the upper division, under the master, was literary finish under the tutelage of rhetoric. Kempe puts it,

Then shall followe the third degree for Logike and Rhetorike, and the more perfect vnderstanding of the Grammar and knowledge of the tongues (G2v).

But the scholar was to learn the precepts of logic chiefly because they were necessary for understanding rhetoric. Thus Kempe recognizes, and builds his grammar school upon, the underlying trivium, as probably every other competent person in the sixteenth century did.

We shall see also that the surviving sixteenth-century curricula regularly make this distinction between the lower division of the grammar school under the usher, devoted to grammar, and the

<sup>3</sup> Watson, F., *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, p. xxii.

upper division under the master, devoted to rhetoric as then conceived, together with some logic, but all founded on grammar.

He who wishes to understand the principles upon which the sixteenth-century grammar school was founded in England would be very unwise to begin anywhere else than with Erasmus. To what extent these principles were original with Erasmus is of little moment for our present purpose. The important thing is that through the authority of Erasmus English grammar schools became grounded upon these principles, and from them slowly continued to evolve. First we examine the systematic theory as presented in the *De Ratione Studii*. A first sketch of the present form appeared in a collection at Paris under date of October 20, 1511, to be sold "a Iohanne Granion." The essay itself is dated "Londini Idibus Martiis," and has a prefatory letter to Guilielmus Thaleius, who seems to have been responsible for its getting into print. This edition is an unauthorized one, apparently from papers left by Erasmus in Italy in 1508.<sup>4</sup> This form of the essay is dated by Professor Allen as perhaps as early as 1497. At least, it represents the views of Erasmus many years before 1511. An edition of July 15, 1512, attached to the first edition of *De Copia*,<sup>5</sup> changes the dedicatee to Petrus Viterius, who seems to have been the actual person originally addressed. In the mean time, the whole work had been revised stylistically, and in some sections enlarged. The last third had been especially expanded under the heading *De Ratione Instituendi Discipulos*, to become three-fourths of the final form. With a few small verbal differences, this is the form printed in the *Opera Omnia* (1703-06), which I have used as a basis of translation.<sup>6</sup>

But this final form had itself been prepared a considerable time before publication in 1512. Under date of September 13, 1511, Erasmus wrote a letter to Colet enclosing an epistle, *De Ratione Studii*. Erasmus feared Colet might not approve of the program contained in the epistle,

<sup>4</sup> Allen, P. S., *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Vol. I, pp. 121, 193-194, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. I, p. 193.

<sup>6</sup> The British Museum has permitted a photo-facsimile of its edition of 1511 to the Library of the University of Illinois, the Bibliothèque Mazarine one of the edition of 1512, and the Bodleian one of the revised edition of 1514. In the meantime, Mr. J. F. Larkin under my direction has established a critical text of the work and has made a translation into English as his master's thesis in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois (Larkin, James Francis, *Erasmus' De Ratione Studii: a Critical Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Explanatory Notes*, 1941). After completing his work independently, Mr. Larkin has examined my excerpts in detail, and in a few instances I have corrected my translations in accordance with his text. He has now written his doctoral dissertation upon, "Erasmus' *De Ratione Studii*: Its Relationship to Sixteenth Century English Literature."



because you despise method and art. I attribute some importance to them, especially in a teacher.<sup>7</sup>

Colet replied,

What is it that you say I shall not approve? What is there of Erasmus that I do not approve? I have run through that Epistle of yours about Studies, not having been able as yet to peruse it leisurely; and as I read it, I not only approve it all, but I truly admire your genius, and art, and learning, and copiousness, and eloquence. I have often wished that the boys at our school could be taught in the way you explain. I have often wished too, that we had such teachers as you have most wisely described, and when I came to that passage at the end of your Epistle, in which you profess that you could bring lads to a fair capacity of speaking both languages in fewer years than those pedants teach them to construe a sentence, Oh Erasmus, how I wished then, that I had you as a teacher in our school! But I hope that you will give us some aid, if it is only in teaching our masters, when you come away from those Cambridge people. I will keep your copies, as you bid me, entire.<sup>8</sup>

Dean Colet is here referring to the ending of the authorized form, not to that of the version printed in 1511.<sup>9</sup> Thus by September 13, 1511, Erasmus had put *De Ratione Studii* at least approximately into its final form, and Colet was inviting him to put this program into operation at St. Paul's.

Erasmus was at the same time helping to procure an undermaster for Paul's. We shall see that he also wrote or adapted several texts for the school. One of these was *Copia*, to which fittingly enough the essay is regularly attached. It is thus clear that Paul's was shaped quite completely by Erasmus. Of course, not all approved. Colet writes to Erasmus about March, 1512,

I have one amusing thing to tell you. I hear that a bishop, who is regarded as one of the wiser sort, in a great meeting of people, took our school to task, and said that I had founded a useless and indeed a mischievous thing, in fact, to use his own words, a house of Idolatry. I believe that he said this, because the Poets are read there! Observations of this sort do not anger me, but make me laugh.<sup>10</sup>

The reader should not overlook the reference to "the Poets;" the objector was certainly not referring to the "Christian Poets," which some have supposed were the only poets to be taught at Paul's.

It is thus clear that this school at Paul's was founded both upon

<sup>7</sup> Nichols, F. M., *The Epistles of Erasmus*, Vol. II, p. 21; Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. I, p. 467.

<sup>8</sup> Nichols, *Erasmus*, Vol. II, p. 24; Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. I, p. 470.

<sup>9</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 530.

<sup>10</sup> Nichols, *Erasmus*, Vol. II, p. 63; Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. I, p. 508.

the ideas of Erasmus, and upon his consequent textbooks as a concrete embodiment of those ideas. When around 1530 we get definite information on the chief schools, we find their curricula organized in accordance with the principles of Erasmus and employing the texts in which Erasmus had from time to time embodied these principles. We must, therefore, first of all examine these shaping ideas. Erasmus begins his essay by making the old dichotomy of all knowledge. All knowledge falls into one of two divisions: the knowledge of "truths" and the knowledge of "words": and if the former is first in importance the latter is acquired first in order of time.<sup>11</sup>

As words versus matter this distinction underlies the oratorical systems of Cicero and Quintilian, and in various forms recurs interminably. If one is to acquire knowledge, then, he must first acquire language, and since Greek and Latin are the languages of knowledge one must needs master them.

The argument for this is two-fold. First, that within these two literatures are [*sic*] contained all the knowledge which we recognise as of vital importance to mankind. Secondly, that the natural affinity of the two tongues renders it more profitable to study them side by side than apart. Latin particularly gains by this method. Quintilian advised that a beginning should be made with Greek before systematic work in Latin is taken in hand. Of course he regarded proficiency in both as essential. The elements, therefore, of Greek and Latin should be acquired early (W).

Naturally, one begins with grammar. For Greek, Gaza is best, Lascaris next; for Latin, Diomedes is the soundest of the old, and the grammar of Perottus<sup>12</sup> the best of the new.

<sup>11</sup> Woodward, W. H., *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, p. 162. Wherever possible I have quoted Woodward's abbreviated paraphrase of the final version, marking it W; but since it is only a paraphrase, compressed at that, "by way of restraint of Erasmian redundancy of illustration," and since this concrete illustration is for the present purpose exactly the most important thing about the treatise of Erasmus, I translate with painful literalness. Woodward has also cited numerous parallel passages in other works of Erasmus. These I have used upon occasion without further acknowledgment. The reader will find much else in Woodward which does not need to be rehearsed here. He may also find it amusing to compare a list of texts recommended about 1212 (Warton, *English Poetry* (1871), Vol. III, pp. 136-137, n) with the sixteenth-century curricula we are here beginning to examine.

<sup>12</sup> The first edition recommends Sulpitius also, which was used at Winchester so late as about 1530. The University of Illinois Library has a copy of the grammar by Sulpitius with the reformations of Badius, as printed by Jehan Petit in 1505, which bears the contemporary signature in various places of William Webbe, whose oft-repeated motto was, "y ham a good chyld the wyche good louythe." The second "good" is God, as one of the variant spellings informs us. It would be interesting to know whether this good boy died young to honor the proverb, or whether he grew up—into what? I have two conjugate leaves from an unidentified edition of Perottus with English equivalents. I have located no such edition in B. M., and no edition is listed S. T. C. But clearly there was at least one edition of Perottus early in the sixteenth century for English consumption.

But I must make my conviction clear that, whilst a knowledge of the rules of accidence and syntax is most necessary to every student, still they should be as few, as simple, and as carefully framed as possible. I have no patience with the stupidity of the average teacher of grammar who wastes precious years in hammering rules into children's heads. For it is not by learning rules that we acquire the power of speaking a language, but by daily intercourse with those accustomed to express themselves with exactness and refinement, and by the copious reading of the best authors.

Upon this latter point we do well to choose such works as are not only sound models of style but are instructive by reason of their subject-matter. The Greek prose-writers whom I advise are, in order, Lucian, Demosthenes, Herodotus: the poets, Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides; Menander, if we possessed his works, would take precedence of all three. Amongst Roman writers, in prose and verse, Terence, for pure, terse Latinity has no rival, and his plays are never dull. I see no objection to adding carefully chosen comedies of Plautus. Next, I place Vergil, then Horace; Cicero and Caesar follow closely; and Sallust after these. These authors provide, in my judgment, sufficient reading to enable the young student to acquire a working knowledge of the two great classical tongues. It is not necessary for this purpose to cover the whole range of ancient literature; we are not to be dubbed "beginners" because we have not yet mastered the whole of the *Fragmenta*.

Some proficiency in expression being thus attained the student devotes his attention to the *content* of the ancient literatures. It is true, of course, that in reading an author for purposes of vocabulary and style the student cannot fail to gather something besides. But I have in my mind much more than this when I speak of studying "contents." For I affirm that with slight qualification the whole of attainable knowledge lies enclosed within the literary monuments of ancient Greece. This great inheritance I will compare to a limpid spring of whose undefiled waters it behoves all who truly thirst to drink and be restored (W).

Erasmus believes in language as an imitative art acquired by habit from contact with the best rather than as a science acquired by analysis. He himself translated the Greek grammar of Gaza into Latin and is really the father of the authorized Latin grammar in England which went under the name of Lily. Similarly, the authors whom he designates as the proper sources of learning are those, as we shall see, upon whom the English grammar school is founded. As we proceed, we shall find that his methods, and, more concretely, his texts, are the approved ones. Much of his contribution was not original, nor was his influence confined to England; but we have not time and space to devote to either of those matters.

Erasmus next considers how beginners may acquire "copy" of language from the prescribed authors.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "Erasmus Roterodamus being contented with copy and variety spurned the solicitude of

In reading the authors above mentioned for the purposes of vocabulary, ornament and style, you can have no better guide than Lorenzo Valla. His *Elegantiae* will shew you what to look for and note down in your Latin reading.<sup>14</sup> But do not merely echo his rules; make headings for yourself as well (W).

It will aid this also if you learn the grammatical figures taught by Donatus and Diomedes, if you memorize the rules and all the types of versification, if you have on the tip of your tongue a *summa* of rhetoric; that is, propositions, the "places" of proofs, exornations, amplifications, formulas of transitions.<sup>15</sup> For these aid not only in evaluating but also in imitating.

Perhaps we had best let Sir Thomas Wilson define some of these rhetorical terms for Erasmus:

The proposition is a pithie sentence comprehended in a small roome, the somme of the whole matter . . .<sup>16</sup> In deuiding a matter, Propositions are vsed and orderly applied for the better setting forth of the cause.<sup>17</sup>

The proposition technically was the third of the seven possible parts of an oration, the first being, "The Enterance or beginning," the second, "Narration." It was, therefore, the keystone of structure. Erasmus himself a little later will show to what use he proposes to put this study of propositions, as well as certain other of these technicalities, as transitions, etc.<sup>18</sup>

Wilson also is at least as urgent as Erasmus upon the importance of the "places" of proofs. He says,

The places of *Logique* as I saied, cannot bee spared for the confirmation of any cause. For who is he that in confirming a matter, will not knowe the nature of it, the cause of it, the effect of it, what is agreeing thereunto, what likenesse there is betwixt that and the other thinges, what examples may bee vsed, what is contrary, and what can be said against it. Therefore I wish that euery man should desire, & seeke to haue his *Logique* perfit, before he looke to profite in *Rhetorique*, considering the ground and confirmation of causes, is for the most part gathered out of *Logique*.<sup>19</sup>

Thus Wilson agrees strongly with Erasmus that one must have the topics, places, or *inventio* before he can attempt rhetoric proper.

To continue,

---

the Italians in writing" (Sturmius, J., *Institutionis Literatae . . . Tomus Primus, Stormanus . . . Torunij Borufforum*, 1586, p. 363).

<sup>14</sup> Erasmus was later forced to publish an Epitome of Valla's work which he had made in youth.

<sup>15</sup> In his first edition, Erasmus called only for "locos & exornationes."

<sup>16</sup> Wilson, Thomas, *The Art of Rhetorique* (1909), p. 7; cf. p. 182.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson, *Rhetorique* (1909), p. 111.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. below.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson, *Rhetorique* (1909), p. 113.

Exornation, is a gorgious beautifying of the tongue with borrowed wordes, and change of sentence or speech with much varietie.<sup>20</sup>

So here Erasmus is thinking chiefly of tropes and schemes of words and sentences; that is, *elocutio* or rhetoric proper. Amplifications and transitions probably call for no special definitions. It was chiefly upon the places of logic, exornations, and amplifications that Erasmus built his *Copia*.

From these terms it will appear that Erasmus wanted exactly what he said, a *summa* of rhetoric. As we shall see, he assumed in writing both *Copia* and his book on letter writing that those works would be preceded by such a *summa*. His chief demands center upon the topics of rhetoric-logic, and *elocutio* or rhetoric proper. We shall see that, besides Wilson, also Elyot, Kempe, and Brinsley avowedly agree with Erasmus in these demands. So would probably all competent critics have done. They could not have done otherwise. The significant part of Erasmus's statement is thus his insistence that the boys should first be given only a *summa* of rhetoric, not a detailed treatise.

Erasmus, then, is merely summing up the rhetorical elements as conventionally taught. The grammatical figures and prosody came to be supplied in the authorized grammar. The places of proofs were usually supplied by Cicero's *Topica*. As Erasmus explains in *Copia* concerning these topics or common-places,

Aristotle and Boethius have written of these most fully, M. Tully accurately enough, but hard to understand, Quintilian very briefly.<sup>21</sup>

Since the schoolmaster began with Latin, since Boethius was mediaeval and was commenting on Cicero's *Topica* besides, and since Quintilian was too brief, the choice necessarily fell upon the *Topica* of Cicero as the text upon this phase of rhetoric-logic. The other elements as demanded by Erasmus were usually supplied by *Ad Herennium*, to which Erasmus in *Copia* frequently refers. For tropes and schemes, Mosellanus in the early period and Susenbrotus in the later served as a supplement. Mosellanus makes his collection avowedly on Erasmian principles, and Susenbrotus improves upon Mosellanus. In *Copia*, Erasmus is teaching the boys to use effectively the information supplied by these elementary texts in rhetoric-logic, which themselves lead, together with Aphthonius, to the other rhetorical works of Cicero and to Quintilian. At one place or another

<sup>20</sup> Wilson, *Rhetorique* (1909), p. 169.

<sup>21</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 89.

Erasmus envisages all these. Here he demands that the boy memorize the minimum fundamental principles. In *Copia*, he shows how to study authors in the light of such principles and thereby from the authors themselves to learn the finer details systematized in these various advanced texts. It is exactly the same method in rhetoric-logic as Erasmus demanded in grammar. It is his fundamental pedagogic principle.

Erasmus continues by showing what use was to be made of this rhetorical training.

Having been instructed in these things, in reading authors you will carefully pick out any unusual word, archaism, or innovation, anything reasoned or invented unusually well, or aptly turned, any outstanding ornament of speech, any adage, exemplum, *sententia* worthy to be committed to memory. And that place must be marked out with some fitting little sign. For one must use not only varied but also suitable notes to admonish at once what the matter is. To this if anyone should decide that dialectic must be added, I shall not very much gainsay, only let him learn it from Aristotle, not from that most loquacious breed of Sophists, nor let him sit idle there, or as Gellius says wax old on the Siren reefs.

But always remember this, the best teacher of style is the pen.<sup>22</sup> It must, therefore, diligently be exercised in verse, in prose, in every type of writing. Nor is memory to be neglected, the storehouse of reading.

The reason for memorization is that it

depends at bottom upon three conditions: thorough understanding of the subject, logical ordering of the contents, repetition to ourselves. Without these we can neither retain securely nor reproduce promptly. Read, then, attentively, read over and over again, test your memory vigorously and minutely. Verbal memory may with advantage be aided by ocular impressions (W),

such as charts, tabulations, etc., of cosmography, metrics, figures of grammar, genealogies, etc.<sup>23</sup> "Lastly, I urge, as undeniably the surest method of acquisition, the practice of teaching what we know" (W); this will show us whether we really do know it.

So here in his general discussion of fundamentals Erasmus provides for making and memorizing notes upon rhetorical and some dialectical materials; that is, grammar school is built on the trivium. But above all one should learn by using these; the only way to learn to write is to write. Grammar, rhetoric, dialectic are only

<sup>22</sup> This is the dictum of Cicero, "Stylus [est] optimus et praestantissimus dicendi effector ac magister" (1 *De Oratore*).

<sup>23</sup> This is a favorite idea with Erasmus. Cf. *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, pp. 510 D ff.; Vol. IV, pp. 563 F ff.; illustrated Vol. I, pp. 672 ff.

technical means to an end, the end being to speak and write in a really literary way. Practice in imitation of the best models is the true secret. So Erasmus next turns to advice upon how to teach the pupil to use these best models.

As regards the choice of *material*, it is essential that from the outset the child be made acquainted only with the best that is available (W).

This proviso implies that the master himself should have knowledge of all pertinent materials so that he can exercise a proper choice among them.

The Master should, therefore, acquaint himself with authors of every type, with a view to contents rather than to style; and the better to classify what he reads he must adopt the system of classifying his matter by means of note-books, upon the plan suggested by me in [the second part of] *De Copia*.<sup>24</sup> As examples of the authors I refer to I put Pliny first, then Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, and, in Greek, Athenaeus. Indeed to lay in a store of ancient wisdom the studious master must go straight to the Greeks: to Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Plotinus; to Origen, Chrysostom, Basil. Of the Latin Fathers, Ambrosius will be found most fertile in classical allusions. Jerome has the greatest command of Holy Scripture.<sup>25</sup> I cannot, however, enumerate the entire extent of reading which a competent knowledge of antiquity demands. I can only indicate a few directions which study ought to take (W).

In similar manner, in order to explain the poets, the master must know classical mythology.

Where would you rather seek this than from Homer, the parent of all fables? Also, the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* of Ovid aid not a little, though written in Latin.<sup>26</sup>

The master must know cosmography, which is of use in the historians, and no less in the poets, presented most briefly in Pomponius Mela, most learnedly in Ptolemaeus, most diligently in Pliny, for Strabo is not worth much here. Vocabulary is especially to be acquired in these and other authors, for Julius Pollux is not wholly trustworthy. The teacher will also learn from archaeology. He must learn the genealogy of the gods from Hesiod or in modern times Boccacio, astrology from Hyginus, all the materials from which schemes borrow, especially history.

<sup>24</sup> This is not in the first edition, the whole section having been much expanded after Erasmus wrote *Copia*.

<sup>25</sup> The Fathers were not in the first edition. <sup>26</sup> Not in the first edition down to Hyginus.

Finally, to understand such a poet as Prudentius, the one Christian poet of real literary taste, a knowledge of Sacred History is indispensable (W).<sup>27</sup>

And indeed we may say that a genuine student ought to grasp the meaning and force of every fact or idea that he meets with in his reading, otherwise their literary treatment through epithet, metaphor, or simile will be to him obscure and confused. There is thus no discipline, no field of study,—whether music, architecture, agriculture or war—which may not prove of use to the teacher in expounding the Poets and Orators of antiquity. “But,” you rejoin, “you expect all this of your scholar?” Yes, if he propose to become a teacher; for he thus secures that his own erudition will lighten the toil of acquisition for those under his charge (W).

No mere plodding drillmaster is this ideal teacher of Erasmus, nor yet a walking encyclopedia of information. He drills encyclopedic knowledge into himself that he may always be able to adapt information to the particular need of the individual student.

Having prepared himself by such means, the master is now ready to teach others. This, the truly pedagogical section of the work, is later insertion. In the first edition, Erasmus had given only the illustration from Terence. But now he has had to think the problem through more fully in preparing *Copia*, and the early *Colloquies*. So he presents methods at considerable length. For learning to talk and to know the alphabet, follow Quintilian’s advice. Imitation is the fundamental. Let the pupil imitate the usage of the master. “The more common phrases suitable for play, for social life, for meal-times, must be early learned and be apt, and ready to hand” (W). The *Colloquies* of Erasmus himself were written to do this and a great deal besides.

Further, that diligent and learned master, and of shrewd judgment, will not be grieved, having collated all the precepts of the grammarians, to excerpt some, both the simplest and shortest that can be, and in as clear an order as possible.

After he has taught these, let the boys be invited to some author as well fitted as possible for that function [of illustrating grammar], and for the custom of speaking and writing. Here he will diligently drill in as they arise precepts already taught and the examples, to which he will also add not a little, as already preparing for greater things.

<sup>27</sup> Not in the first edition; the remainder is later insertion down to the section on teaching Terence. Erasmus was by no means so enthusiastic about the Christian poets as were Colet and Vives, the nub of his objection being that while they were indeed mostly Christian, they were unfortunately not poets. See the objections of Erasmus stated at greater length, *Opera* (1703-6), Vol. IX, p. 93 C, D. This point illustrates a fundamental difference in emphasis between these men—Erasmus was Renaissance; they Catholic-Reformation.



From hence they ought now to be exercised in themes. In which this must be especially avoided, lest, as is usual, they be of inept sense or bad phrase, but let them have some witty or delectable *sententia*, but which is not repugnant to the boyish mind, so that while doing something else, at the same time they may learn something which will later be of use in graver studies. Let the theme, therefore, which you propose to the boys have either a memorable historical story (*historia*). Which kind are these; The headlong heat of Marcellus overthrew the Roman cause, the prudent delaying of Fabius restored it. Besides, this *sententia* also is underlying, too precipitate plans usually turn out unhappily. Similarly, it would be difficult to judge which was more foolish than the other, Crates who threw gold into the sea, or Midas who thought there was nothing better than gold. Likewise, excessive eloquence was the ruin of Demosthenes and Cicero. Again, no praise of king Codrus can be equal to his merits, who thought the safety of his citizens should be redeemed at the expense of his own life. But it will not be difficult to collect plenty of this type of thing from the historiographers, especially Valerius Maximus. Or let the theme have a fictitious story, as this: Hercules prepared immortality for himself by overcoming monsters. The Muses delight only in fountains and groves; they abhor the smoky cities. Or an apologue, as; The lark correctly teaches that the business must not be committed to your friends which you can do yourself. Also; All see the wallet hanging before the breast, that which hangs behind the back no one sees.<sup>28</sup> Likewise; The fox was wise, who preferred to retain the flies which were already satiated rather than, those being driven away, to give access to empty and thirsty ones, who would drink what blood was left. Or an apothegm, as: Far different from the common run of our age was he who preferred a man without money to money without a man. Similarly: Socrates justly condemned those who do not eat to live, but live to eat. Cato has rightly disapproved those who take more pleasure in the palate than in the mind. Or a proverb, as: No cobbler beyond his last. And: It is not permitted every man to go to Corinth. But we have collected a great number of chivalries in print lest invention of these be difficult.<sup>29</sup> Or a *sententia*, as: Nothing costs more than what is bought with entreaties. And: Obsequiousness bears friends, truth bears hatred.<sup>30</sup> And: Friends who are far away are not friends. Or some striking natural characteristic of something, as: The magnet draws steel to itself, naphtha fire. Also: It is the nature of the palm that a weight being placed upon it, not only is it not flattened to earth, but it even strives upward and erects itself the higher. Further: The wonderful nature of the Polyp, which changes color to that of the bottom below by which to deceive the wiles of the fisherman. Or a notable figure, such as Climax. Riches bear riot, riot excess, excess fierceness, fierceness hatred of many, hatred destruction. Or a similitude, as: Just as if you use steel it is worn with use, if

<sup>28</sup> Shakspeare uses this apologue; cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, III, 3, 145-146, *Coriolanus*, II, 1, 42-44.

<sup>29</sup> The reference is to the *Adagia*.

<sup>30</sup> "To be officious getteth friends, plain dealing hated is" (Warner, W, *Albion's England*, x. 60).

you do not use it, it is eaten up with rust; so if you exercise your mind it is worn with labor, but if you do not use it, it is injured more with idleness and mold. Or an allegory, as: Fire must not be added to fire, oil must not be added to fire. Or a commutation (*commutatio*), as I do not think you so because I love you dearly, but I love you dearly because I think you so. Or a distribution: He is so foolish that he can not keep silent, so infantile that he cannot speak. He is too truthful to lie, too grave to wish to. But I have illustrated sufficiently. Or some exquisite elegancy, of which it is not necessary to give an example. Nothing prevents that many devices be brought to bear on the same speech, as *sententia*, historical story, proverb, and figure. Therefore, let the preceptor, whom it behooves to search diligently in good authors, collect from all kinds of places as it were flowers of this kind, and give forth his selections, or he will even change them into such form that they will be fitted to the minds of boys.

The boys are to learn a minimum of grammar. Then they are to study some good author in whom they will find examples of the rules, learning more rules as the necessity arises. For grammar is derived from authors, not authors from grammar. Finally, the boys are exercised upon various kinds of themes, mostly of a sentential nature. Ascham is later to point out that Princess Elizabeth (that is, Ascham) "cannot endure those foolish imitators of Erasmus, who have tied up the Latin tongue in those wretched fetters of proverbs."<sup>31</sup> But it was useless for Ascham to kick against the pricks of Erasmus; Erasmian methods of composition went on to be recommended by Brinsley in 1612, and still described by John Clarke a century later.

The boys next learn more difficult rules of grammar, proceeding from the less to the more difficult as they grow abler. The grammar of Theodore Gaza furnishes a good illustration of proper order. Having learned the further minimum of grammar, the boys again apply their rules in the reading of more difficult authors, especially if they have previously mastered as suggested a *summa* of rhetoric, the figures, and the forms of verses. The themes must also be more difficult.

The forms of the themes may be about as follows. Let him sometimes assign in the vernacular a short but witty argument of an epistle to be treated in either or both Latin and Greek. At times an apologue, or an interesting little narration, or a *sententia* consisting of four parts, each of the two [contrasting halves being] alike [in structure] or with a reason added.<sup>32</sup> Now an argumentation to be treated in five parts, now a dilemma in two, now an

<sup>31</sup> Giles, John Allen, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. lxiv, 192.

<sup>32</sup> The interested reader may find this and the following types explained in *De Rerum Copia*. A useful key to sixteenth-century English definitions for technical terms in general is to be found in Taylor, Warren, *Tudor Figures of Rhetoric*. It would have been much more useful if page references had been cited.

*expositio*, as it is called, to be unfolded in seven parts. At times as preluding to Rhetoric let them treat some one of its members separated. Aphthonius has written exercises of this kind. Sometimes praise, vituperation, fable, similitude, comparison. Sometimes figure, description, distribution, *sermocinatio*, *subjectio*, *notatio*. At times let them be ordered to make verse into prose, prose into verse. Meanwhile, let them imitate in words and figures an epistle of Pliny or Cicero. Rather frequently let them set forth the same *sententia* in varied words and figures. Sometimes let them vary the same thing in Greek and Latin, meter and prose. Sometimes let them vary the same thing in five or six kinds of verse which the master shall have designated. At times, let them break up the same *sententia* into as many places and schemes as possible. There is a great deal of fruit in translating Greek. Wherefore it is fitting that they be exercised in this manner very frequently and diligently.

Here are the various types of compositional exercises, such as epistles, Aphthonian themes etc.

At the same time, let the boys be reading authors to supply models and materials for imitation. Here they may exercise their invention by locating suitable materials for embellishing some theme. Let the master,

at times set the argument of an epistle suasive, dissuasive, hortatory, dehortatory, narrative, gratulatory, expostulatory, commendatory, consolatory. And he will indicate the nature of each kind, some common places, and formulas, then the argument being set, also the peculiar ones. Sometimes he will give as it were a declamatory theme in diverse kinds, as if he should order them to vituperate Julius Caesar, or praise Socrates in the demonstrative type. Likewise the best things should be learned immediately. Felicity is not in riches. The mother should nurse with her own milk what she has borne. One should or should not learn Greek. One should or should not marry. One should or should not travel—all in suasive type. Similarly M. Horatius to be unworthy of punishment, in the judicial. But he who has undertaken the province of teaching will not regard it as a burden to indicate first to those who are just entering this exercising ground in how many propositions that argument can be treated. He will also show the order of the propositions, and in what way one is connected with another. Next by what reasons each proposition ought to be supported, by how many confirmations each reason. Then circumstances and places, whence these may be sought. Next with what similars, dissimilars, examples, comparings, *sententiae*, proverbs, fables, apologues each part may be filled up. Let him set forth also the schemes if any seem to be especially fit which would render the oration either wittier, or more ample, or clearer, or more pleasing. If anything should be amplified, let him teach the method, whether by common places, or by those reasons which Quintilian has distributed into four forms. If any affects [*affectus*] are involved, he will direct by what means

they must be treated. And also he will instruct in the ways of connecting, what would be the best transition. From exordium to narration, from narration to division, from division to reasoning, from proposition to proposition, from reason to reason, from the argument to the epilogue or peroration. Let him show also certain formulas by which one may most easily open or close. Finally, if it is possible, let him indicate some places in authors, whence they may be able to take something for imitating, on account of the affinity of materials. When that shall have been done seven or eight times, they will now begin (as Horace says) *to swim without a bladder*, and it will be sufficient to assign only the bare theme, nor will it be necessary always as for infants to put pre-chewed food into their mouths.

Nor will that kind of exercise displease me which I see was in use with the ancients, as that themes be selected from Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Virgil, or even sometimes from histories. For instance, that Menelaus at a Trojan assembly demand the return of Helen. Or Phoenix persuade Achilles to return to battle. Or Ulysses persuade the Trojans that they return Helen, rather than have war. In which kind some declamations of Libanius and Aristides survive. Also that some friend persuade Cicero that he should not accept the condition offered by Antony, which argument is in Seneca; that Phalaris should persuade the Delphians that they consecrate the brazen bull to his god. To this variety belong the letters which circulate in the name of Phalaris and Brutus. In emending, he will praise if he see anything more than usually well invented, treated, or imitated; if anything omitted, or misplaced, if anything too much, or lacking, if anything too obscure, or even if anything not elegantly enough expressed, he will admonish. And he will show how it can be changed, as he frequently will order it to be changed. He will especially stimulate the minds of the learners by comparison of progress, a kind of emulation being aroused among them.

Thus from simple sentential themes, the boys now advance to epistles and the minor forms of prose composition as outlined by Aphthonius, which are also spoken of as themes. One must, therefore, note each time in which sense the term "theme" is used. One might write a theme in prose or verse in each of the different forms of composition. The boys also throw verse into prose, and prose into verse.<sup>33</sup> The epistles are classified according to the standard rhetorical divisions, with systematic application of all the standard rhetorical devices. Erasmus later constructed on these principles a textbook on letter writing which long remained the standard in English grammar schools. The boys are also directed in detail as to how to construct the various other forms. As we have seen, Erasmus had shortly before published his *De Duplici Copia* explaining all these precedent elementary operations, and preparing for a proper use of Aphthonius,

<sup>33</sup> For Erasmus, verse as well as prose was only rhetorical exercise (*Opera*, Vol. III, p. 104, Dff.). Cf. Woodward, *Erasmus*, pp. 123-124.

*Ad Herennium*, and the rest. But always, authors are to be read who will supply suitable materials.

Epistles are to remain throughout the sixteenth century usually the first extended form of composition, following simple sentential themes, and followed or accompanied by the minor forms as directed by Aphthonius, which are also themes, leading up to the formal oration as taught by Cicero and Quintilian, while verse exercises are to accompany the prose.<sup>34</sup> Grammar schools of the second half of the sixteenth century regularly call for the full-fledged oration as the capstone of the prose system, but Brinsley advises early in the seventeenth to be content with the declamation or Chreia as taught by Aphthonius, and to leave formal oratory for the university. The sequence in forms of prose composition demanded by Erasmus is the sequence which sixteenth century grammar schools will in general follow. Erasmus prescribes only incidentally that the boys shall write verse; one wishes he had entered more fully upon the methods of teaching that art. But Erasmus wrote little poetry; he constructed no textbooks on the subject. His chief interests lay elsewhere.<sup>35</sup> In all this work of composition, Erasmus insists that the important thing is to learn from the practice of outstanding authors. The technical aids of grammar, logic, and rhetoric are only means to that end, not ends in themselves. So one should read, read, read; and write, write, write.

Therefore in this higher stage Erasmus again discusses the reading of authors.

Now in reading lectures upon authors I would not wish you to do what the common run of professors with a kind of froward ambition nowadays does, namely, that upon every passage you attempt to present everything known,<sup>36</sup> but those things only which may be needful for explaining the passage under consideration, unless occasionally for the sake of alluring on it may seem good to digress. If you require of me the method of this process also, this would seem to me to be the best one.<sup>37</sup> In the first place, to win the interest of the auditors let him present in a few words the praise of him he is beginning to read. Next let him show the pleasure and utility of the matter. Then let him explain and differentiate the name itself of the literary type, if as frequently happens, it should have various significations. If he is to inter-

<sup>34</sup> Hoole still follows this compositional order.

<sup>35</sup> "But Erasmus, like most humanists, has nothing of the poet in his composition" (Woodward, *Erasmus*, p. 113).

<sup>36</sup> Mediaeval ideal against modern, pedant against teacher.

<sup>37</sup> The section on Terence was in the first edition, but has been revised. In *De Conscribendis Epistolis* (1522), Erasmus also directs how to read an author (*Opera* (1703-6), Vol. I, pp. 447-448).

pret a comedy of Terence, for example, first let him lecture a bit on the condition and genius of the author, of the elegance of his style. Then how much of pleasure and utility the reading of comedies should hold. Next what the term itself signifies, whence derived, how many kinds there are of comedies, and what are the laws of comedy. Further, let him explain as clearly and briefly as possible the gist of the argument. Let him explain carefully the kind of verse. First let him sketch roughly, then let him explain details more fully. Moreover, if any noteworthy elegance, if any archaism, if any novel usage, if any Graecism, if anything rather dark or rather far fetched, if the order is more difficult or confused than usual, if any etymology, if any derivation or composition worthy of note, if any orthography, if any figure, if any rhetorical devices, if any ornamentation, if anything ill done, let him diligently call attention. Then let him compare similar passages from authors, if anything contrary, if anything like, if anything imitated, if anything alluded to, if anything adapted from some one else, or borrowed, as there are many borrowings of the Latins from the Greeks, let him not keep that silent. Finally, let him come to the philosophy and apply the stories of the poets aptly to conduct, or demonstrate as examples, as of Pylades and Orestes for the commendation of friendship, the story of Tantalus for the detestation of avarice. On these, Eustathius, the interpreter of Homer, will aid the teacher not a little. And so it will come to pass (if only the preceptor be of dexterous genius) that even if anything should come along which might injure that age, not only will it not hurt manners, but even bring some utility; that is, their minds in part being diligently bent upon annotation, in part distracted to higher thoughts.

Erasmus then explains at length how to teach Virgil's second bucolic as an illustration of the friendship theme.<sup>38</sup> He first fortifies the minds of his hearers by the thought backed with a dozen or so adages that "like will to like." Then comes an assortment of adages on contraries, followed by numerous examples of friendships that failed, with the reason of failure emphasized in each case. Next is an assortment of friendships that succeeded, with the reason of success each time indicated. After much more of the same kind, the teacher finally interprets this second eclogue of Virgil as an ill-matched friendship between Corydon the countryman and Alexis the courtier, etc., at great length. If this eclogue is properly moralized in this fashion, nothing evil should come into the minds of the boys, unless one of them has brought an already evil mind to the task.

Erasmus next considers a further stage of studying drama.

Speaking generally, it is advisable to introduce every new book read by indicating its chief characteristics, and then setting out its argument. The

<sup>38</sup> This was not in the first edition; nor was most of the remaining matter. One meets this theme interminably in the sixteenth century; no wonder Shakspeare uses it. See Mills, L. J., *One Soul In Bodies Twain*.

characteristics of *Epigram* are aptness and point; of *Tragedy* emotion, the various types of which and their exciting causes must be distinguished. In a great play the argument of each speech, the logical fence of the dialogue, the scene where the action is laid, the period, and the surroundings, call for attention in due order. *Comedy* suggests a different method of introductory treatment: a more familiar setting, lighter, less strenuous emotions, are common to every comedy, though each play will require its own prefatory discussion. In beginning the "Andria," the master will note the contrast of Chremes and Simo, as types of old age, of Pamphilus and Charinus as examples of young men. And so through other plays (W).

Most important is it that the student be brought to learn for himself the true method of such criticism, that he may distinguish good literature from mediocrity. Hence the value [to the instructor] of acquaintance with the judgments to be found in the oratorical writings of Cicero [*De Claris Oratoribus*] and Quintilian; in Seneca [in Antonius Campanus,] and in the old grammarians such as Donatus. Once acquired, this power of insight into the mind of the great writers will lead to a habit of general criticism of character and situation. The student will put such questions to himself as these: Why did Cicero feign to be afraid in his defence of Milo? Why did Vergil depict Turnus as a second hero? But enough to indicate what I mean by literary criticism (W).

One further counsel, however. The master must not omit to set as an exercise the reproduction of what he has given to the class. It involves time and trouble to the teacher, I know well, but it is essential. A literal reproduction of the matter taught is, of course, not required, but the substance of it presented in the pupil's own way. Personally I disapprove of the practice of taking down a lecture just as it is delivered. For this prevents reliance upon memory which should, as time goes on, need less and less of that external aid which note-taking supplies (W).

The fundamental end of elementary teaching is composition written and oral. It is to be attained through imitation of the best ancient models in each kind of composition. From these one learns the grammar, logic, and rhetoric requisite to composition. So each time one gets enough of systematic minima in grammar, logic, and rhetoric to begin to understand what these authors have done. He then learns directly from the concrete applications of the authors, not from the abstract principles of the theorists. Thus at each stage Erasmus provides for the preliminary minimum of theory, the illustration from authors, and the application in actual composition, both oral and written. Of these, the imitative application is the fundamental objective.

It should be noticed, also, that Erasmus makes two stages of these processes. In the first stage, the boy gets oral composition by memorizing phrases for all the ordinary operations of life, learns the

simplest rules of grammar, studies simple authors as models for speaking and writing, and constructs simple themes as his written composition. In the second stage, the boy masters the more difficult rules of grammar. If he has not already done so in the lower stage, he now masters also the chief points of rhetoric, the figures of grammar, and the forms of verses preparatory to higher types of written composition. These types are to be epistles and the fourteen minor forms of Aphthonius. Authors read will correspond, as Pliny and Cicero to serve as models for epistles, etc., leading to Cicero and Quintilian as guides in oratory. Verse is to be written as well as prose. The great Latin authors serve as models, and there is a passing reference to Greek, which would also come at this stage. Here are the two stages of grammar school, especially in the Ipswich-Paul's system, as later we shall see in some detail.



## CHAPTER V

### ERASMUS LAID THE EGG; HIS TEXTBOOKS AND APPROVED AUTHORS

IN THE TREATISE *De Ratione Studii* by Erasmus is the fundamental philosophy of the grammar school in England. On these general principles it was organized and by these methods it was taught. What is more, the strategic textbooks in the system were suggested, prepared, or approved by Erasmus. He was at the beginnings of the authorized grammar, which was constructed upon his specifications, and taught by his methods. When the final form of this essay was published in 1512, he had for some time been connected with Dean Colet, and had been helping with his plans for Paul's school. Apparently in 1510, before the first form of this essay by Erasmus was published in 1511, Dean Colet voiced the same fundamental position on grammar as Erasmus, in a prefatory letter to a little treatise in English on the eight parts of Latin speech; that is, the accidence proper, which he had prepared for his school at Paul's. The earliest known surviving form of it is the *Ioannis Coleti . . . aeditio, una cum quibusdam G. Lilij Grammatices rudimentis*, 1527, preserved at Peterborough and reprinted by Blach in Vols. XLIV and XLV of the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*. Wolsey also reprinted this work in 1529 with instructions attached for his masters at Ipswich, the title being *Rudimenta Grammatices et Docendi methodus*, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum. This work, expanded and revised, received by 1548 the standardized title *A shorte introduction of grammar*, and formed the first part of the authorized grammar. To it was regularly attached a considerable amount of moral material, including Lily's *Carmen de Moribus*.

As the title of the edition of 1527 makes clear, the work consists of two parts, the *Aeditio* of Colet and the *Rudimenta* of Lily; and these two parts are still demarcated. At the end of the treatment of the eight parts of speech occurs, "Explicit Coleti aeditio."<sup>1</sup> Then begins, "Guilelmi Lilij Angli Rudimenta."<sup>2</sup> Thus the work consists of an

<sup>1</sup> Blach, S., "Shakespeares Lateingrammatik," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLV, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Two copies of this work of Lily's, apparently printed separately, are listed in S.T.C. Mr. Plimpton had a copy of *Guillelmi Lilij Angli Rudimenta*, which he says "was printed by Richard Pynson in 1512 or 1513" (Plimpton, G. A., *The Education of Shakespeare*, p. 87), and of

accidence in English by Colet, so described by Colet himself, and the rudiments of construction or syntax, also in English, by Lily.

Dean Colet in his "lytell prohemie" points out that there are similar works both in Latin and in English.

In whiche lytel warke yf ony newe thynges be of me, it is alonely that I haue put tese partes in a more clere ordre, and haue made them a lytel more easy to yonge wyttes than (methynketh) they were before . . . In whiche lytel boke I haue lefte many thynges out of purpose, consydering the tendernes and small capacitye of lytel myndes: And that I haue spoken, also, I haue affyrmed it none otherwyse, but as it happeth moost comynly in latyn tongue. For many be the excepcyons, *and* harde it is ony thyng generally to assure in a speche soo varyous.<sup>3</sup>

From a statement at the end of the *Aeditio* it is apparent that Dean Colet's whole concept of the proper function of formal grammar is that of Erasmus.

Of these viii partes of speche in ordre well construed, be made reasons and sentences, and longe oracyons. But how and in wat maner, and with what construccyon of wordes, and all the varietees, and diuersitees, and chaunges in latyn speche (whiche be innumerable), if ony man wyl know, and by that knowlege attayne to vnderstande latyn boke, and to speke and to wryte the clene latyn, Let hym aboue all besyly lerne and rede good latyn authours of chosen poetes and oratours, and note wysely how thy wrote, and spake, and study alway to folowe them, desyryng none other rules but their examples. For in the begynnynge men spake not latyn, by cause suche rules were made, but contrari wyse, bycause men spake sūche latyn, Vpon that folowed the rules were made. That is to saye, latyn speche was before the rules, not the rules before the latyn speche: wherfore welbeloued maysters and techers of grammer, after the partes of speche sufficiently knowen in your scholes, rede and expounde playnly vnto your scholers good authours, and shewe to them euery worde, and in euery sentence what they shal note and obserue, warnynge them besyly to folowe and to do lyke, bothe in wrytynge and in spekyng, and be to them your owne selfe also spekyng with them the pure latyn veray present, and leue the rules. For redyng of good boke, diligent informacyon of taught maysters, studyous aduertence and takynge hede of lerners, heryng eloquent men speke, and finally [besy] imitacyon with tongue and penne, more auayleth shortly to gete the true eloquent speche, than all the tradicions, rules, and preceptes of maysters.<sup>4</sup>

---

which he reproduces in facsimile the first page (p. 84). A copy or copies alleged to be by Pynson of this approximate attributed date were sold and resold at the beginning of the century. See *Book Auction Records*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 243; Pt. II, pp. 261-262; Vol. III, p. 91; and *Book Prices Current* (1898), p. 61; (1902), p. 95; (1903), p. 422; (1904), p. 590; (1906), p. 174. I do not know whether in any instance the attributed date and printer are correct.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 73-74.

<sup>4</sup> *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLV, p. 55.

These fundamental positions are exactly those of Erasmus, and they are eventually to shape the instructions to the authorized grammar.<sup>5</sup> Since Dean Colet dates his letter to Lily as of August 1, 1510,<sup>6</sup> these opinions apparently precede those of Erasmus into print, but Erasmus and Colet were so associated at this time that the ideas may have arisen from the theorist Erasmus. Colet and Lily together had given the simple rules demanded by Erasmus for the elementary stage of learning, and their work revised and expanded was to become the authorized *Short Introduction*. Thus the first part of the grammar conforms to the specifications of Erasmus.

Erasmus had also a hand in the construction of the Latin Syntax for Paul's which finally became the nucleus of the second part of the authorized grammar, entitled from at least as early as 1549 *Brevis-sima Institutio*.<sup>7</sup> In a letter of 1515, Erasmus tells of the origins of the work. Dean Colet had asked Lily to write a Latin Syntax in Latin. Lily had done so, and Colet had then sent the work to Erasmus for approval. Erasmus had revised it to such an extent that Lily did not feel himself entitled to place his name upon it. So Dean Colet had published it with an introductory recommendation to Lily for use at Paul's, but without naming an author. A copy printed by Pynson in 1513 under the title *Libellus de constructione*<sup>8</sup> is in the Bodleian at Oxford. Gerardus Noviomagus writes in 1514 that he suspects the work is that of Erasmus,<sup>9</sup> and evidently it was at once reprinted under his name. Then in an edition of 1515, entitled *Libellus De Octo Orationis Partium Constructione*, Erasmus explained his connection with the work.<sup>10</sup> This work, thoroughly revised and with ends reversed, appears in the authorized *Brevis-sima Institutio* as the section *De Constructione octo partium orationis*. Presumably, therefore, this nucleus of the Latin Syntax was satisfactory to Erasmus, who is thus at the bottom of the second part of the authorized grammar also. For

<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot also agrees, *The Boke named the Gouernour* (1531, University Microfilms, \*1000, from B. M., G. 735; S. T. C. 7635), folio 30 v ff.; Croft's ed., Vol. I, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>6</sup> So given in the edition of 1527, but as 1509 in Wolsey's edition of 1529. Since Lily became formally master on July 27, 1510 (Leach, A. F., "St. Paul's School," *The Journal of Education* (London, 1909), Vol. XXXI, p. 508), and since Erasmus was assisting in procuring an under-master in 1511 as well as in establishing a curriculum, the correct date would appear certainly to be 1510.

<sup>7</sup> Watson, probably following Thomas Hayne, fails to notice that Lily wrote both an English and a Latin syntax, thus confounding confusion (Watson, F., *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, pp. 247 ff.). His account of the grammar is particularly ill-starred.

<sup>8</sup> Incidentally, S. T. C. lists it under Colet, who had nothing to do with actual authorship, and under Erasmus, who revised it; but not under Lily, who actually wrote it.

<sup>9</sup> Knight, Samuel, *The Life of Dr. John Colet*, p. 130n.

<sup>10</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, pp. 167-168.

both parts, Erasmus laid the egg and Colet and Lily hatched it—for the second part Erasmus even helped with the hatching, if not indeed with that of the first also.

It will be seen that Lily contributed the syntax of the first part in English and the nuclear syntax of the second part in Latin. Thus the resultant work deservedly came popularly to bear his name. But he made still other known contributions to the second part as finally authorized. As Knight phrases it, Lily also contributed,

short *Rules* for distinguishing the *Genders of Nouns*, called from the first Words *Propria quae maribus*; and likewise for the *Inflexion of Verbs*, and *Indication of their praeterperfect Tense and Supines*, called *As in praesenti*; making the Rules more compendious, and the Lines smoother, than had been in any of the former *Grammatical Systems* with which the Schools abounded.<sup>11</sup>

These had been published in a volume together at least as late as 1539 under the title *G. Lili de generibus nominum, ac verborum praeteritis*.

The further history of the grammar may be briefly summed up here, the details being relegated to an appendix.<sup>12</sup> Wolsey in 1529 says upon the title page that the Colet-Lily first part was already prescribed for all schools in England, "oībus aliis totius Anglię scholis p̄scripta," and in the same year there was certainly a movement to prescribe a uniform grammar before the end of 1530. The chief rival of Lily, the *Accidentia* of Stanbridge, seems to have held on till about 1534. In or about that year all rivals of this first part and of the materials which were to form the second part apparently cease publication. The Colet-Lily-Erasmus materials had by 1534 won the victory. Apparently, the official decision had been made in or about 1529 and was by 1534 completely in effect. In 1540, the second part of the authorized grammar under the title of *Institutio Compendiaria Totius Grammaticae* was formed by a commission. In effect, it combined two collections which had grown up in the 'thirties, the one around the Lily-Erasmus *Libellus*, and the other around the two other treatises of Lily. These two collections were combined, revised, and supplemented to form the second part of the only authorized grammar. Then by 1542 the Colet-Lily first part was further revised, seemingly by David Talley alone, though approved by the commission. Apparently in 1545, both parts received still further revision and were thereafter always published with a prefatory letter on the

<sup>11</sup> Knight, *Colet*, p. 133.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Appendix II.

proper use of grammar, preceding the first part. Minor alterations continue thereafter to creep in. First the materials are authorized, and then they are revised into one absolute form. Uniformity has finally been attained even in detail.

The finally authorized grammar thus grew out of the idea of Erasmus to present the minimum essentials to be memorized. That remained the guiding principle as the grammar shaped itself further additions in actual teaching. It evolved through pragmatic tests. The revisers of 1540-42 were only codifying the results of more than a quarter of a century of experience with the nuclear elements which had been constructed on the ideas of Erasmus. By 1545, the experiment could be closed, since a satisfactory solution had by pragmatic tests been obtained—in typical English fashion.<sup>18</sup> The building thus erected stood for some three centuries, and out of its ruins other goodly buildings have since been constructed.

The authorities are still committed to the ideas of Erasmus, as their instructions of about 1545 show. According to these, the pupil first memorizes the *Accidence* proper in English; that is, the eight parts of speech, learning to decline or conjugate any possible word. This should occupy about a quarter of a year. The boy then memorizes the *Concords* in the same way. He now has most of the first part of the grammar, which is in English. Here memorization of the grammar by rote is supposed to cease, a different method being pursued with the rules in English, and with all the second part of the grammar, which is in Latin. The boy now begins to

learne some pretty book wherein is conteyned not onely the eloquence of the tungue, [but] also a good playne lesson of honestee and godlynesse.

He first is given some sentence in English to be made into Latin, without seeing or construing it in the book. He then memorizes any rule from the grammar which may be required by the sentence. In this way he would eventually memorize all the grammar as the occasion arose. When the boy gets his English into Latin

as nyghe as can bee with the woordes of t[he] booke, than to take the booke and construe it, and so shall he [be] least troubled with the parsyng of it, and easilyest carry his les[s]on in mynde.

The book is thus in Latin. Here and always the pupil keeps repeating what he has learned, and the master keeps examining upon the parts

<sup>18</sup> Incidentally, no one was completely satisfied with the result—which is also good English tradition.

and rules, thereby preparing the pupil for "making" Latin, and speaking it. This "redynesse of makyng and speakyng" will be aided by causing the boy every day to turn some part of an English book into Latin, which he cannot do without the rules of his grammar. This forces him to put his knowledge into actual use.

So the boy first memorizes by rote the minimum essentials of grammar. He then reads, writes, and speaks Latin, memorizing further rules as the occasion demands. This is the Erasmian concept, but well buttressed by incessant drill against the boy's capacity of forgetting. One memorizes by rote only the minimum essentials, but those essentials are drilled in by constant repetition. One then learns the finer points of grammar from systematic reading, instead of spending years in memorizing all the rules by rote before reading is begun. And as we have seen already and shall see, the authors read were those prescribed by Erasmus. We shall have innumerable hints, too, that these authors, Terence, Virgil, and the rest, were taught, at least theoretically, as Erasmus suggested they should be. For it is clear that Erasmus had a genuine literary interest, and that he thought these works should be taught first as literature, only secondarily as morality, even though the works should be selected and taught so that morality would not suffer. Here was literature for love as well as for religion. It is probable that in spite of Erasmus many a preaching schoolmaster placed reformation above renaissance, yet renaissance was always there for anyone who was susceptible to it, as was William Shakspeare—and many another.

Erasmus had also supplied a rhetorical-logical guide as a companion to the grammar, in his *De Duplici Copia Verborum Ac Rerum*, "Londini, Anno MDXII. III. Calend. Majas." This he dedicated to Colet, who had procured him to write it for Paul's.<sup>14</sup> Thus the grammar and the *Copia* are the twin pillars of the system at Paul's to support the trivium of grammar and rhetoric-logic. The one is constructed upon Erasmian principles, and in part by Erasmus; the other is constructed by Erasmus. The authors from whom these principles are derived are those selected by Erasmus, and they are studied grammatically and rhetorically by Erasmian methods. Here then in grammar, rhetoric-logic, and authors is the whole framework of the grammar school built squarely upon the ideas of Erasmus.

Erasmus also wrote a textbook on letter writing, which elsewhere

<sup>14</sup> But Erasmus had been working on the problem for many years before. See Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. I, p. 510.

we shall examine more in detail. It will be remembered that Erasmus thought epistles should be the first extended compositional form, following simple themes. So in his text he plans for the study of epistles to follow a compendium of rhetoric,

posteaquam suis tradiderit compendio artis Rhetoricae praecepta, studebit illos brevibus, & Epistolaribus argumentis frequenter exercere.<sup>15</sup>

After lengthy instructions on the proper method of teaching epistolary composition, Erasmus discusses in detail how to construct by variation the different parts of an epistle, thence proceeding to the different types of epistles, referring them to the three oratorical forms, suatory, encomiastic, and judicial. Thus, as Erasmus himself points out, he expects the boy previously to have had some rhetorical compend to explain the terms and types which he uses. So Erasmus in *Copia* and *Modus* has provided the basic compositional and oratorical texts for upper grammar school to supplement the technical compends of rhetoric and logic. The whole framework of the English grammar school was based upon the ideas and texts of Erasmus.

Within the framework, Erasmus contributes a very great deal more. He had prepared in 1514 a little religious pamphlet for the boys at Paul's, *Institutum Hominis Christiani*.<sup>16</sup> This is regularly found in the later editions of the Cato collection which Erasmus published in 1513.<sup>17</sup> It is not likely that any English grammar school boy of the sixteenth century ever escaped this Cato collection in the first and second forms of grammar school. Even Farmer assumed without proof that Shakspeare had Cato, and it is equally safe to assume that the text was the collection by Erasmus. Erasmus had demanded Latin composition both oral and written as soon as possible. For the colloquial needs, he had supplied his huge collection of *Colloquies* on all kinds of subjects, from which school-boys learned phrases and the ways of life itself, all in good literary Latin. For written composition, the pupil would begin with simple themes. For theme material, both simple and in the various extended compositional forms, Erasmus furnished a collection of adages, another of similes, and another of apothegms to be used according to his suggestions on teaching, and to those in *De Duplici Copia*. These texts and methods remained the standard throughout the century and

<sup>15</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 352.

<sup>16</sup> Watson, *Grammar Schools*, p. 30 appears to confuse this little work with the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*.

<sup>17</sup> It is also attached after Lily's *Carmen* at the end of the first part of the authorized grammar as published in 1542.

helped to give English writers their strongly marked sentential set. Had Erasmus never lived, Shakspeare's comedians had lacked perhaps most of their "five sentences."

In fact, then, Erasmus has in nearly every instance prepared the preliminary steps to the proper classical author, and frequently he has even prepared the author himself. We have seen that he prepared the Cato collection. He also had a hand in a current translation of Aesop, and was principal translator into Latin of a grammar school collection from Lucian. In 1532 he published his Terence, though without specific grammar school apparatus. He had also made some notes upon *De Officiis* which remained standard throughout the latter half of the century in the grammar school collection of Cicero's moral philosophy. He prepared, too, an epitome of Valla's *Elegantiae* which had great vogue, and a translation of Gaza's Greek grammar. He had a hand in editing various other school authors which need not be enumerated here. The name of Erasmus is written all over the sixteenth century grammar school in England.

Both by his plan and by his texts Erasmus makes his system for upper school clear. The first extended compositional form was the epistle, for which Erasmus wrote a text. This text assumes a *summa* of rhetoric as Erasmus also demanded in his plan. Thus the boys would master the topics, Cicero's *Topica* being in the sixteenth century the usual text. About the same time, they would memorize the tropes and schemes of *elocutio*, using regularly in the early period Mosellanus, and in the later Susenbrotus. The text of Erasmus upon the epistle probably itself supplied sufficient other rhetorical information for this form. After the epistle, or along with it, came the theme, usually with Aphthonius as guide. Finally came the oration, with *Ad Herennium*, Quintilian, and Cicero as possible mentors. As soon as the boys had mastered the *summa* of rhetoric requisite to the epistle, they were also ready to begin varying, with the *Copia* of Erasmus as guide. This text and process may thus be taken as early as the epistle, as Erasmus evidently expects, or at any time thereafter. Similarly, the poetic process may begin in parallel with the epistle and continue throughout grammar school, or it may be deferred by a stage or so.

Sir Thomas Elyot in the *Gouverneur* gives some idea of this system in prose for the oration. Sir Thomas says that the tutor of a prince shall firste rede to hym some what of that parte of logike that is called *Topica* / eyther of Cicero / or els of that noble clerke of Almaine / which late



floured / called Agricola: whose warke prepareth inuention / tellynge the places / from whens an argument / for the profe of any mater / may be taken with litle studie: And that lesson with moche & diligent lernyng / hauyng mixte there with none other exercise / will in the space of halfe a yere be perfectly kanned.

Immediately after that / the arte of Rhetorike wolde be semblably taught / either in greke out of Hermogines / or of Quintilian in latine / begynnynge at the thirde boke / and instructyng diligently the childe in that pte of rhetorike / principally whiche cōcerneth persuation: for as moche as it is most apte for consultations. There can be no shorter instruction of Rhetorike / than the treatise that Tulli wrate vnto his sōne, which boke is named the partition of rhetorike.

And in good faythe to speake boldly that I thinke: for him that nedeth nat / or doth nat desire to be an exquisite oratour / the litle boke made by the famous Erasm<sup>9</sup> (whom all gentill wittis are bōuden to thanke / and supporte) whiche he calleth *Copiam verborum et Rerum* / that is to say / plētie of wordes and maters / shall be sufficient.<sup>18</sup>

Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Tully would furnish the models, of course.

So for Latin prose Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531 envisions the same general processes and texts as had Erasmus in 1511 and following. We have already seen that Sir Thomas Wilson at the middle of the century agreed on general principles, though he does not mention texts. We shall see that the schools used the texts referred to in Erasmus and Elyot, though they seldom trouble to do more than allude to the process, without specifying details. But Durham, in 1593 does give details,<sup>19</sup> and as we shall later see, it follows this system, which is the regular one for the sixteenth century.

We shall see also that the Paul's-Ipswich curriculum was built squarely on the list of Latin authors given by Erasmus in *De Ratione Studii*, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust. This list of Erasmus remains the basic list for the sixteenth—and a few centuries besides—except that Ovid was regularly added, as Erasmus himself does in the following discussion, and sometimes Justin, while Cicero later was given a place next to Terence and eventually supplanted him. Erasmus was not among the most ardent of the Ciceronians, and that fact had an important influence on the grammar schools of England—and Shakspeare.

There is very satisfactory evidence that for Latin authors Englishmen in general at this period approved the list of Erasmus. The day-

<sup>18</sup> Elyot, *The Governour* (1531), fol. 35v-36r; Croft, Vol. I, pp. 72-74.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. below pp. 412-13.

book of John Dorne at Oxford in 1520 offers concrete evidence of what Englishmen were at that time consuming in a university community.

Dorne sold that year thirty-seven copies of various works of Cicero, the same number of Terence, thirty of Aristotle, twenty-nine of Vergil, twenty-three of Ovid, fourteen of Lucan, twelve of Aristophanes (one being in Greek), nine of Lucian (one in Greek), eight of Horace, six of Sallust, eight of Pliny, three of Aulus Gellius and one of Tacitus and of Persius . . . .<sup>20</sup> The outstanding feature of this list of sales of books, however, is the place occupied by the writings of Erasmus. One-ninth of the whole sales were of books written or edited by him. If the small primers, almanacs, ballads and so on and the grammars written by two popular Oxford grammar-school teachers be excluded, one customer out of every seven came to buy a book written by the great humanist. It is instructive, also, to notice what books of his command the largest sale. These are *Colloquia*, *De Constructione*, *Copia*, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* and *Adagia*.<sup>21</sup>

Since these best-sellers were all grammar school texts, they were popular for exactly the same reasons as "the grammars written by two popular Oxford grammar-school teachers," and indicate no sentimental attachment to Erasmus whatever. These statistics, however, do give some idea of the predominant influence of Erasmus through his prescribed texts. For the Latins, Dorne's day-book shows that Terence and Cicero are well in the lead as usual, with Virgil and Ovid in second place, Lucan in third, Horace, Pliny, and Sallust in fourth, while Aulus Gellius, Tacitus, and Persius are among those mentioned.

In order to understand the reasons for this demand in Oxford, we shall do well to examine the provisions made in 1517 by Bishop Richard Fox for Corpus Christi College there. Bishop Fox desired to have three public lecturers, one each in Latin, Greek, and Divinity.

Of the above three, one is to be the sower and planter of the Latin tongue, and to be called the Reader or Professor of the Arts of Humanity; who is manfully to root out barbarity from our garden, and cast it forth, should it at any time germinate therein; and he must, on all common days and half-holidays throughout the year, during an entire hour, or a little more, beginning at about eight o'clock in the forenoon, publicly lecture in the Hall of our College, or elsewhere at some public place in the University, if it seem good to the President and a majority of the seven Seniors, and clearly interpret some part of the underwritten authors; namely, on Mondays,

<sup>20</sup> Lindsay, T. M., "Englishmen and the Classical Renaissance," *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, pp. 21-22.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 22.

Wednesdays, and Fridays, Cicero's Epistles, Orations, or Offices, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, or Suetonius Tranquillus, at the will of the President and Seniors. But when his hearers have made such progress in the above authors, that they wish and are able to mount to higher things, and it seems good to the President and Seniors, and the majority of the auditors also, then we permit Pliny, that luminary in natural history, Cicero *De Arte*, *De Oratore*, or *De Partitionibus*, the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, or The Declamations, or some such exalted writer to be read and explained in the room of the above-mentioned authors and works. But on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, or Plautus are to be explained by him. And on every feast day in the afternoon, at any hour to be assigned by the President and Seniors, at a full meeting of all, he is publicly to read and explain Horace or Persius. Nor, however, do we forbid him to change these lectures, with the consent of the President and Seniors, and to explain on consecutive days what we have hinted at for reading on alternate days; and, besides, to interpret on the same day some part of a poet, together with an orator. Furthermore, three times during every week of the year, and four times only at his own election, during the expected periods of the vacations, on days and at hours to be limited by the President and Seniors, he is to read privately, in some place of our College to be appointed by the President, to all of the household who wish to hear him, either the elegancies of Laurentius Vallensis, or the Attic Lucubrations of Aulus Gellius, or the Miscellanies of Politian, or some such author, at the pleasure of the President and the majority of the auditors.<sup>22</sup>

Bishop Fox then prescribes similarly for his lecturer in Greek, but we need not pursue that subject here, since St. John's, Oxford, which we are soon to examine, takes over the Greek, "except that Herodian and Homer are additions and Plutarch is omitted. There is also no mention of the Grammar of Theodorus."<sup>23</sup>

Thus Bishop Fox wished the boys once again to cover at the college level the Latin authors they had read in grammar school, but with advanced guides. Nor was Bishop Fox without a follower in making such provisions. When Sir Thomas Pope founded Trinity College, Oxford, in 1555, he adapted this curriculum and routine for his two Readers, the one in Humanity, the other in Logic. Chapter 14 lays down the rules for the disputations, but we do not need to sum them up here. Then chapter 15 gives the rules for the lectures.

*Item*, since it is not possible to attain to perfection except from the beginnings, nor can there be any durable structure which does not rest upon firm and well laid foundations, and I desiring the youth of my college to be first fitly taught especially in the purity of Latin speech, and in the rudiments of

<sup>22</sup> Ward, G. R. M., *The Foundation Statutes of Bishop Fox for Corpus Christi College*, pp. 99-100, quoted in Gee, J. A., *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>23</sup> Stevenson, W. H. and Salter, H. E., *The Early History of St. John's College Oxford*, p. 452.

generous arts, by the which they may thereafter the more easily and safely apply themselves to graver studies, wish, ordain, and direct that this method of teaching be forever observed in the hall of the foresaid college by those who shall be the instructors of the foresaid youth in the same, namely that on all working and part-working days falling within the period of the terms, he who is engaged in teaching skill in Latin speech, occupying in reading and examining, the time in the afternoon from three o'clock to five, or if a holyday occur on the morrow, from two to four, or some other two hours which may seem to the President more suitable, shall read publicly and then interpret something from the underwritten authors to the scholars and commoners, and others desiring to listen; namely, at the discretion of the President and seven of the Seniors, or at least three of them, he shall interpret on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday Cicero *De Officiis*, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius Tranquillus, Florus. And if the auditors shall have progressed sufficiently so that they desire and can proceed to the more sublime, and that shall appear profitable to the President and the Seniors aforesaid, as also to the greater part of the students, then I permit to be read and explained Pliny *On Natural History*, Titus Livy, Cicero *De Arte Oratoria*, *De Oratore*, or *De Partitionibus*, Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, or *Declamations*, or some other sublime selection of the kind in the place of these authors or works. But on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, let him interpret Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, or Plautus. But I do not forbid that, with the consent of the aforesaid President and Fellows, he may change entirely these aforesaid lectures, and what we have directed to be read on alternate days, to explain those on successive days, and besides some part of a poet may be interpreted on the same day with an orator, but if perchance it should seem most to the benefit of the auditors any lecture may be transferred to Greek, being assigned by the judgment and consent of the aforesaid.<sup>24</sup>

The duties of the logic lecturer, who was to teach Arithmetic, Geometry, Logic, and Philosophy are also laid down in detail, though we need not repeat them here.<sup>25</sup> But we should notice the provision for work in the humanities during the Long Vacation. On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday,

After noon, either the *Elegantiae* of Laurence Valla, or the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, or the *Miscellanies* of Politian, or the art of oratory, or if necessary of versification, or something of this kind to be assigned by the judgment of the President and the major part of the Seniors.

The other three days were to be devoted to certain forms of practice.

<sup>24</sup> I translate from a photographic copy of the pertinent sections of the printed but not published statutes, granted to the University of Illinois Library by the proper authorities at Trinity College.

<sup>25</sup> For a summary of complete routines, see Blakiston, H. E. D., *Trinity College*, p. 59, n. 1 and surrounding discussions.

It will be noticed that Sir Thomas Pope's curriculum and routines are not independent of those of Bishop Fox. Ultimately or proximately Pope rests upon Fox or Fox's model. There is a third set of statutes, of almost the same date as Pope's. Sir Thomas White began founding St. John's, Oxford, in 1555. His statutes are of particular interest for our purposes because Thomas Jenkins, William Shakspeare's principal schoolmaster, was educated at St John's. In a way, therefore, St. John's has more right than any other to claim such college education as Shakspeare had by inheritance from Jenkins. Consequently, it would be decidedly worth while to know exactly what Jenkins learned at St. John's. It is thus of interest to note that Sir Thomas White<sup>26</sup> had a more "grown-up" program than either Fox or Pope.

Sir Thomas White provided for three professors: one of Greek, one of rhetoric, and one of dialectic and logic. Of these three, each at his appointed time was to interpret and explain publicly

the grammar of his language, or the rudiments of his art, or some of the below-written authors; namely, among the Greeks Isocrates, Lucian, Philostratus, Herodian, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, or some other author of this language approved by the President and Deacons (*Decanos*). Among logicians Caesarius, Porphyry, Aristotle, Rudolph Agricola, or some other writer modern or old of this art, who, being of approved faith, either is accustomed publicly to be cited or taught in the university in disputation, or shall be considered suitable by the judgment of the President and each Deacon.<sup>27</sup> Among the rhetoricians likewise, the rhetoric of Aristotle, the works of Cicero, all such as shall seem best, the rhetoric of Hermogenes, the sixteen books of the *Institutions* of Marcus Fabius Quintilian, his *Declamations*, the *Orations* of Demosthenes, the *Orations* of Isocrates, the rhetoric of George Trapezuntius, the rhetorical tables of George Cassander, Sallust, Caesar's *Commentaries*, Virgil, Lippus Brandolinus on letter writing or some other author of polite learning, as shall be pleasing to the President and Deacons.<sup>28</sup>

There might also be a lecturer in natural philosophy or metaphysics. The scholars should not consume their holidays in loafing,

<sup>26</sup> White was basing, however, upon Fox at Corpus Christi (Stevenson and Salter, *St. John's College*, p. 452).

<sup>27</sup> In 1557, Queen Mary permitted for dialectic after an introduction the predicables and predicaments of Porphyry, and Aristotle's *Dialectica*, while Rodolphus Agricola *De Inventione* was also approved. All other dialectics were rejected. Aristotle alone was permitted in moral and natural philosophy. For theology, part of the Bible and the Master of Sentences (Wilkins, David, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, Vol. IV, p. 158).

<sup>28</sup> I have translated from *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (1853), Vol. III, pp. 49-50.

but in writing verses and epistles, in the precepts of eloquence, the poets, orators, or historians according to the judgment of the lecturer, to whom they are to show immediately what they have composed at the aforesaid times, to be approved or corrected at his censure and judgment.<sup>29</sup>

The Bachelors studied some mathematics during vacations. All conversations were to be in Latin. Greek is given full and separate standing; the rhetoric and logic must be of an advanced nature, so that many of the grammar school authors are no longer mentioned. The Latin and Greek which Thomas Jenkins acquired under this system in addition to that which he had acquired in some London grammar school should have rendered the "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*" which he imparted to William Shakspeare quite respectable. The guinea's stamp is wholly authentic; we would like to know more of the metal.

The authors prescribed for the humanities by Fox and Pope are grammar school authors. A still more concrete illustration of actual books used is to be found in the note-book of Alexander Nowell while he was at Cambridge at the end of the 'thirties.<sup>30</sup> The statutes of Queen Elizabeth for Cambridge under date of September 25, 1570, show clearly what the grammar school work was supposed to head up into and by consequence why grammar school authors appear at the university level. It was directed that the theological lecturer should teach sacred letters; the legal the pandects, or the English ecclesiastical law, which is to be set forth. The lecturer in philosophy was to teach the problems, morals, and politics of Aristotle; Pliny; or Plato. Of Medicine, Hippocrates or Galen. Of mathematics, if he teaches cosmography, Mela, Pliny, Strabo, or Plato; if arithmetic, Tonstall or Cardanus, etc.; if geometry, Euclid; if astronomy, Ptolemy. The professor of dialectic the elenchs of Aristotle, or the topics of Cicero. The lecturer of rhetoric Quintilian, Hermogenes, or some of the other oratorical works of Cicero. All these books must be explained in the vulgar tongue according to the ability of the audience. The professor of the Greek tongue Homer, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Euripides, or other of the more ancient; and art together with propriety of language. Of Hebrew the scriptures.<sup>31</sup> As to sequence, the first year was to be devoted to rhetoric, the second and third to dialectic, the fourth was to add philosophy.<sup>32</sup> For that first year in

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>30</sup> See below, pp. 173 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, Vol. I, p. 457.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 459.

rhetoric, the university could but use and emphasize the same rhetorical system and texts which had been taught in grammar school.

A schedule similar to those of Fox and Pope made about a century later by Dr. Richard Holdworth for his pupils at St. John's, Cambridge, shows the same duplication of authors.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, since grammar school had covered nearly all Latin literature, university could but repeat, if it used Latin literature at all. So John Dorne at Oxford in 1520 was selling the favorite authors both in grammar school and in college.

An examination of authors quoted in one of the most used grammar school texts shows the same relative popularity of authors. In summing up the sources of the quotations in *Paruulorum Institutio ex Stanbrigiana Collectione* (1520),<sup>34</sup> Gräder says,

Betrachten wir nach diesen Ausführungen die Zitate der Parvulorum Institutio, so werden wir uns nicht wundern, dass die meisten von ihnen aus Terenz (61) und Cicero (52) und zwar meist aus dessen Briefen, ferner aus Sallust und Vergil entnommen sind. Ausserdem finden sich noch in geringer Anzahl Beispiele aus Horaz, Plinius, Gellius, Ovid, Plautus, Ennius, Livius, Valerius, Lucanus, Quintilian, Servius, Diomedes und Valla.<sup>35</sup>

Here is another illustration of fundamental authors for grammar schools in England about 1520, when these examples were for the most part inserted.<sup>36</sup>

Erasmus also gives in one of his letters a list of Latin authors whom he uses for his own private guidance.

In Poematibus Maronem, Horatium, Nasonem, Juvenalem, Statium, Martialem, Claudianum, Persium, Lucanum, Tibullum, Propertium, autores habeo. In soluta oratione Tullium, Quintilianum, Salustium, Terentium (sic).<sup>37</sup>

Some of these, it would appear, Erasmus did not approve for grammar school consumption. The reason for disapproval in most cases is not hard to guess.

For at the opposite extreme from the approved list of Erasmus was the *index expurgatorius* of these classic Latin authors, conveniently summed up for us in 1560 by Thomas Becon.

<sup>33</sup> Morison, S. E., *The Founding of Harvard College*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>34</sup> The *Institutio* covers exactly the ground of Lily's *Rudimenta*; i.e., as Ward heads Lily, "The Construction of the Eight Parts of Speech." Both are in English with illustrations from the classics. In *Institutio* these illustrations came in for the most part c. 1520.

<sup>35</sup> Gräder, Wilhelm, *Paruulorum Institutio ex Stanbrigiana Collectione*, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Erasmus, D., *Epistolarum . . . Libri XXXI* (London, 1642), p. 1973.

Some writers in many places of their works are wanton and dishonest, as Martialis, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius,<sup>38</sup> Cornelius Gallus, and such-like; some wicked and ungodly, as Lucianus, &c. From the reading of these and such-like filthy writers, is convenient that the youth do abstain; lest by the reading of them they make shipwreck both of their faith and manners, and in their tender years drink in such corruption as shall be noisome unto them all their life after. For, as he saith: "Evil words corrupt good manners."<sup>39</sup>

A little further on, Becon adds Ovid's *De Arte Amandi*. Sir Thomas Elyot<sup>40</sup> had long before noted the objections to Terence and presumably Plautus, to Ovid, Catullus, Martial, and the love poets generally.

A few years later than Becon, John Stockwood, schoolmaster at Tonbridge, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross May 10, 1579, is also specific as to some of the vain works which should not be, but were, taught in grammar school, his phraseology indicating that he is following Becon.

It concerneth therfore the duetie of the Magistrate to haue a vigilant and watchful eye against al vaine and vnprofitable bookes, that the both bying & selling of them be vtterly vpon great penaltie forbidden, & then doubtles wil there be vniuersally more tyme spent in the exercise of holy scripture and word of God. And heere for the discharge of myne owne conscience, & for the behoofe & benefit of the church of God in time to come, I am grievously but yet iustlie to cōplain against many of the mē of mine owne coate and profession (that is too saye) Schoolemaisters. For whereas this facte of Christ ought to direct vs, principally to teach such things as may further the soules of oure schollers vnto godlines and vertue, we for the most part do not only not read vnto them such Authors whereby their minds may be instructed vnto Christian vnderstanding, but doo set foorth vnto them such filthie wryters as may lead them headlong vnto al kind of vile lewdnes, insomuch that if (beloued) as many of you as vnfeinedly do feare God, did throughly vnderstande what horrible beastly Authors are taught in some schooles, you had I think, rather see your children murdered and slaine before your eyes, then that vnweeting and vnweening vnto you, their tender minds shoulde be nouselled vp and infected with such lothsome filth & deadly poyson, that by meanes thereof, if God in great mercy preuent them

<sup>38</sup> These had long been condemned; see Benoist, A., *Quid de Puerorum Institutione Senserit Erasmus*, p. 82.

<sup>39</sup> Becon, Thomas, "Catechism," *Parker Society*, p. 382. He quotes, however, a passage from Juvenal approvingly and later sets up Cicero as the supreme model of style.

<sup>40</sup> Elyot, *The Governour* (1531), fol. 49 v ff.; Croft, Vol. I, pp. 123-124. Webbe much later mentions Elyot, and echoes him to the letter (Webbe, W., *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (Arber, 1870), pp. 42 ff.). Vives also discusses these objections (*Ioannis Lodovici Vvici Valentini, de Disciplinis Libri XX* (Coloniae, 1536), pp. 309, 314; Watson, F., *Vives: On Education*, pp. 127, 136). Mosellanus in 1518 is also emphatic (Seybolt, R. F., *Renaissance Student Life*, p. 30).



not with his grace, they shal smacke and taste therof al their life after to their eternal and euerlasting perdition & destruction. For a wicked thing once learned in youth, is very hardely rooted out in age. And such moste shameful filthines is there in many, and the same the chief of our schole booke, that in things most secret both in mā and woman, no bawd, no ruffian, no not hel it selfe can possibly spew out more detestable and loth-som filthe.

And albeet I confes that there is in some teachers such a hatred of filthines, that they ouerpasse such most foule places in the authors: yet who is so ignorant, that hee knoweth not that the nature of man is to striue most vntoo that which it is most forbidden: & that boyes are most desirous too vnderstande that place which they shal perceiue their master to haue ouerslipped, herein resembling not vnfitly the nature of swine, which delite rather too wallow in the stincking mire, thē to ly in the sweet & pleasant grasse: wherefore if the Apostle haue willed that al our talk be vnto edifying, and that whatsoeuer we do, the same we do to the glory of God: if the holy Ghost the Author of al truth & wisdom haue assured vs, that euil words do corrupt good māners, let *Tibullus*, *Catullus*, *Propertius*, *Gallus*, *Martialis*, a greate parte of *Ouid*, with the most horrible beastlines of *Priapus* ioyned too the end of euery *Virgil*, together withal other filthy *Poets* & comedies, be sent again to *Rome* frō whēce they firste came: may rather you most honorable and Godly Magistrates with speede take order, that they may be vtterly forbidde, & that other godly, learned, & eloquent wryters both in verse & proase wherwith the lord abundantly hath blessed these oure dayes and tymes, may be taught and read in their roomes and places. For what an oversight is this, when as we haue plentiful increase of such autors, out of which together with the purenes of the tounge, schollers may be instructed in godlines and Christian religion, omitting and letting go these, they teach such as by reading whereof, for a little finenes of the tounge their schollers must withall drinke vp whole riuers of most vile & stincking water. Those teachers which of conscience seeke to reforme these notorious abuses (as al good teachers ought too do) heare for their labour at the handes of the scorneful, Puritan, Precisian, singular in his owne conceit, and what not: It is therefore to be wished that the godly Magistrate wil diligently consider of this necessarie poynt, and as they regard the glory of God, the profit of his Church the benefit of thousands of moste toward youthes, the hope of this land in tyme to come, so that they consulte vppon a speedie redres of this greate euil and daungerous infection, the which God graunt they diligently may doo.<sup>41</sup>

Small wonder that some, as Stockwood himself tells us, misunderstood his exact meaning, saying among other things,

Secondly that I should teach that there is no godly Parent, but that hee had rather haue his childe murdered before his face, then send him too schoole to learne his Grammer: Thirdly, that I would haue no other Authors read in Schooles, but only the Scriptures.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Stockwood, John, *A very fruitfull Sermon preached at Paules Crosse the tenth of May last*, etc. (1579), K5r ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, A5v.

He then points out that he inveighed only against vile and filthy books,<sup>43</sup> and had proposed the substitution of more pious and chaste moderns. Besides the authors specifically named as anathema, Stockwood is doubtless thinking at least of Plautus in his reference to "other filthy *Poets & comedies*," and I am not certain that he would not also have included Terence.

Parts of Terence, at least, Stockwood regarded as dangerous. In his objections to plays, he says in 1578,

For if hee that behelde but the filthie picture of Iupiter in a shower of golden raine descending unto *Diana*, coulde thereby encourage himself vnto filthinesse: shall we thinke that flocks of as wyld youths of both sexes, resorting to Enterludes, where both by liuely gesture, and voices, there are allurements vnto whordom, they can come away pure, and not inflamed with concupiscence?<sup>44</sup>

Saint Augustine<sup>45</sup> had given this exploit of Chaerea's in *Eunuchus* a bad preeminence which was not lost on Stockwood. Stockwood's prejudice against acting is sufficiently notorious without further exhibition.

Also, in this sermon at Paul's Cross in 1578, the year before the long passage we have quoted, Stockwood had already taken schoolmasters to task for too great reliance upon heathen writers.

I would haue you, that setting aside all care of religion in your schollers, to make it your only profession to reade them prophane Authors, shewe me the example but of one person, whome, eyther *Tullie* his Offices or *Aristotle* his Ethickes, or *Plato* his Preceptes of maners, euer yet made a godly and a vertuous man. I am not against the teaching of prophane writers: I knowe they haue their vse. But I vtterlye mislike youre preposterous, backwarde, and euerthwarte (*sic*) care in labouring, chiefly about these, onmitting (*sic*) that whiche shoulde be formoste, namelye instruction out of the worde.<sup>46</sup>

No wonder contemporaries called Stockwood, as he himself proudly intimates, "Puritan, Precisian, singular in his own conceit, and what not."

The "magistrates" of the Privy Council were at least partially sympathetic with Stockwood's suggestion of substituting sound moderns for filthy ancients. On April 21, 1582, they ordered the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners to substitute Ocland's patriotic effusions for some of the infectious heathen poets.

A letter to the Commissyoners for Causes Ecclesiasticall in London that whereas there hathe bene of late a booke written in Latyn verse by one

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, A6v ff.

<sup>44</sup> Stockwood, John, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse on Barthelmew day, being the 24. of August. 1578.*, p. 135.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. below, p. 114.

<sup>46</sup> Stockwood, *Sermon*, p. 91.

Christofer Ockland, intituled *Anglorum prelia*, which, as he enformeth, hathe bene by him at his great charges aboute half a yere sithence imprinted and published, and nowe againe lately imprinted with the addytion of a shorte treatise or appendix concerning the peaceable government of the Quenes Majestie; forasmuche as his travell therein with the qualitie of the verse hathe receyved good comendacion, and that the subjecte or matter of the said booke as he is worthie to be read of all men, and especially in the common schooles, where divers heathen poetes are ordinarily read and taught, from the which the youthe of the Realme receyve rather infectyon in manners and educatyon then advauncement in vertue, in place of which poetes their Lordships thincke fitte this booke were read and taught in the grammer schooles, their Lordships therefore have thought good, as well for the commoditie of the said Ockland and for the incoring of him and others that are learned to bestowe their travell to so good purposes, as also for the benefitte of the youthe and the removing of such lascivious poetes as are commonly read and taught in the said grammer schooles, requiring them uppon the receipt hereof to write their letters unto all the Busshoppes throughe the Realme to geve commaundement that in all the grammer and free schooles within their severall Dyoces the said bookes *de Anglorum proeliis* and peaceable governement of her Majestie maye be, in place of some of the heathen poetes nowe read among them, as *Ovide de arte amandi, de tristibus*, or suche lyke, may be receyved and publickly read and taught by schoolemasters unto their schollers in some one of their formes in the schooles fitte for that matter.<sup>47</sup>

By reason of his age, Shakspeare was spared at least this—unless, indeed, he later had to teach Ocland. But if we may judge by the fact that apparently no part of this work had an edition after 1582, it would seem that this order did not stay long in force. Perhaps it is significant also that in the printed form there is no mention of Ovid as the offending author to be replaced. In some way, the zeal of the Lords against him had been cooled. Being men of some pretensions to scholarship, the bishops could have mustered little enthusiasm for this example of crude insularity, even though it was promulgated in the name of patriotism at a time when men's feelings were much inflamed.

Incidentally, it was the duty of the bishops to see that the proper grammar and catechism were being used. They too examined and licensed the schoolmasters. They were thus the enforcing officers for general regulations concerning the grammar schools. Under Queen

<sup>47</sup> Dasent, J. R., *Acts of the Privy Council*, Vol. XIII, pp. 389-390. See the order as printed in some copies of Ocland, quoted in Warton, *English Poetry* (1871), Vol. IV, p. 232. It is said that an act of Privy Council in 1582 ordered Polydore Vergil's *Angliae Historia* to be read in schools (*The Cambridge Bibliography*, Vol. I, p. 375) but I do not know the authority for this statement. I suppose this annotation was intended for Ocland, the second item above Vergil.

Mary, at least, the schoolmaster was also to be "admonished as to the books which he ought to read."<sup>48</sup> In this case, the bishop apparently might in effect prescribe the curriculum. We have seen that the Convocation of Canterbury was in 1529 moving toward a uniform grammar. One would like to know exactly to what extent the bishops shaped the general curriculum. As we shall see, the uniformity of the cathedral schools on the Eton-Winchester pattern, as well as the general uniformity of curricula, also indicates a central regularizing influence.

It is apparent that the puritanic prejudice naturally had not confined itself to plays. Plays were merely one type of objectionable material. In 1633, Prynne calls the bede-roll of objectors, ending with those of England.

*D. Humphries of true Nobility. Booke 2. D. Rainolds Overthrow of Stage-plays. pag. 122. 123. Thomas Beacon, BB. Babington, BB. Hooper, Ioannis Nyder, M. Perkins, Dod, Elton, Lake, Downeham, Williams, and all other Expositors on the 7. Commandement, together with most Commentators on Ephes. 5. 2, 3, 4. have expresly condemned and prohibited Christians to pen, to print, to sell, to read, or Schoole-masters and others to teach any amorous wanton Play-bookes, Histories, or Heathen Authors, especially Ovids wanton Epistles and Bookes of love; Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Martiall, the Comedies of Plautus, Terence, and other such amorous Bookes savoring either of Pagan Gods, of ethnick rites and ceremonies, or of scurrility, amorousnesse & prophanesse; as their alleaged places will most amply testifie to such who shall peruse them at their leisure.*<sup>49</sup>

Here is indeed an imposing array of authorities. But Prynne's actual list is from Becon and Rainolds only. We have seen how Becon in 1560 had placed all of Prynne's list upon his *index expurgatorius* except Plautus and Terence. Stockwood, who is not on Prynne's list, had in 1579 by implication ruled out Plautus, if not Terence. It remained for Rainolds in 1599 to make a frontal attack upon these two sons of perdition. Because of his thesis, Rainolds naturally must disapprove Terence, and as naturally brings to bear all the authority tending to oppose that author.

St Austin reprooving the course of the world which traineth vp their children in *Poëts* wanton tales of *Iupiters adulteries*, and vseth to defend their custome by saying, *Hence are wordes learned, hence is eloquence gotten: for-sooth, saith hee, belike wee could not know these wordes, imbrem aureum, and gremium, and fucum, and templa coeli, and the rest there written, unlesse*

<sup>48</sup> Watson, *Grammar Schools*, p. 18.

<sup>49</sup> Prynne, William, *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), p. 916.

*Terence had brought in a lewde young man proposing Iupiter to him selfe for an example of hooredome, while hee beholdeth on the wall a certaine painted table, wherein was this picture; how Iupiter sent a golden shower, they say, of olde time into the lappe of Danaë, vnder the colour thereof to beguile a woman. And see how he stirreth vp himselfe to lust as it were by the instruction of a heavenly maister. But what God? saith hee. Even that God which shaketh the sanctuaries of heaven with thunder. Should not I, who am a mortall wretch, doe the same? Yes in deed I did it, and gladly. No, no, saith S. Austin, those wordes are not learned the more conveniently by meanes of this dishonestie: but this dishonestie is wrought the more confidently by meanes of those wordes. Thus did that discreete and godly Father iudge of causing such devices of Poëts to bee learned by children yea although the Poëts were as good as Terence and the childrē as well inclined as himselfe. For him selfe it is, of whom hee confesseth that hee learned many profitable wordes in vaine, Poëticall fantasies; but such as both may bee learned in thinges not vaine, & that is a safe way wherein children ought to walke. On which consideration sundry men of note in our memorie also, not onely among professors of purer religion, but even among the Papists, haue advised Scholemasters & instructors of youth either not to read Terence to their Scholers, or if they will read him, not to read him all. Ludovicus Vives, having declared in generall out of Plutarch touching the reading of Poëts, that, vnlesse you vse it most warily, it hurteth; and therefore, if a childe may be allowed to meddle with it, their writings would be purged first, & filthy matters be wholly cut out of them: Doth wish the same concerning Terence in speciall for those thinges which might defile the mindes of children with such faultes and vices, as naturally wee are prone to. Ignatius Loiola,<sup>50</sup> a man no worse minded in certaine pointes then were the olde Iewish Pharises, whose sect in his offspring of Iesuits hee hath renued, did forbidde Terence to bee reade in schooles (vnlesse he were purged) least hee should more anoy their manners by his wantonnes, then by his Latin helpe their wittes. Georgius Fabricius, not seeing how he may be well purged to this purpose, because the conditions of fond or bad persons, as of lovers, hoeres, murmurers, mizers, fretters, ruffians, varlets, flatterers, boasters, bawdes, and scyophants, that is, the most of those things which Comedies entreate of, belong to stronger mindes, and to an age confirmed and stayed with some iudgement, not to vnskilfull children, before whom they are better omitted and concealed; Fabricius therefore grounding him selfe vpon the iudgement of Aristotle, and Quintilian, both applyed to Terence, resolveth that hee is not to bee read at all to youths of tender yeares. Wherevnto a light of our vniversitie and country, D. Humfrye, subscribeth and agreeth, in that vpon occasion of shewing how Noblemens children and Gentlemens should bee brought vp in learning, he saith that they may haue Terence reade vnto them, but then, when they shall be grown in age and iudgement.<sup>51</sup> Though douting least even then too the poyson of his*

<sup>50</sup> Rainolds might also have added Savonarola, for he "allowed the reading of Homer, Vergil, Cicero, but detested not only Catullus and Ovid, but also Tibullus and Terence" (Watson, F., *The Zodiacus Vitæ*, pp. 70-71).

<sup>51</sup> Ascham, too, condemned the matter of Terence and Plautus, as also the meter, but retained both authors for "word and speech" (Ascham, R., *The Scholemaster* [1570, copy in U. of Ill. Library], pp. R3 ff.).

*filthines* may be more forcible then the *couëter-poyson* to be vsed against it he addeth that *hee would not graunt him this place neither in their education, but that Tullie had made good account of him, and profited in eloquence by him.* Now the same reasons, that, in choise of autours to be read by vs, exclude so fine a Poët, and send vs vnto purer fountaines of good literature: doe likewise in the practise of style, the frame of speech, and imployment of memorie, exclude such points and matters as *Terence* is excluded for, and commend vnto vs more commendable arguments to exercise our wittes, our tounge, our pennes in.<sup>52</sup>

If gold rust, what will iron do; if Terence is excluded, what hope for Plautus or any plays at all? Rainolds says that Quintilian

would haue no *amatorie poëmes*, neither *Comedies*, no not *Menanders*, that is, the best of all to be read by his youth: you as if *Phaedras* amorous speech expressed by *Seneca* were nothing without a peece of maistruous cloth<sup>53</sup> sowed to it, doe occasion yours to make them selves familiar and well acquainted with *Plautus*, one farre beneath the best . . . He would haue his youth to commit most excellent thinges and wordes to memorie; you pester yours with filth, such filth in *Rivales* (I am ashamed to reherse it) as can not be matched, I thinke, sure very hardly, throughout all *Plautus*.<sup>54</sup>

Both Terence and Plautus are now roundly condemned, the first unqualified condemnation, I believe, of Terence so far known for England. As we shall see, the grammar school statutes and curricula with one accord prescribe Terence, though he was in various ways inoculated.

Rainolds has made the most of Humphrey's hesitation upon Terence, and we may feel certain that if there had been other unfavorable opinions in England Rainolds was not the man to overlook them. No doubt here is the worst that to 1599 had been said on the subject. Prynne in 1633 joins together the lists of Becon and Rainolds, who with Humphrey head his list of authorities. So far as I can find, his other authorities before 1600 simply give general prohibitions against naughty books, etc., but do not specify authors. Yet I do not claim to have made an exhaustive search, for I confess sympathy with the boy's excuse in Horman's *Vulgaria*, "I can not but nappe / whyl he precheth."

Some of these condemned authors I have not found mentioned in the statutes and curricula at all, as Tibullus, Propertius, and Gallus. Nor do I find *De Arte Amandi* by Ovid, though the *De Tristibus*, mentioned by the Privy Council with disapproval, is nearly as popu-

<sup>52</sup> Rainoldes, J., *Th' overthrow of Stage-Plays* (1599), pp. 122-124.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Isaiah XXX, 22 and Geneva comment.

<sup>54</sup> Rainoldes, *Stage-Plays*, pp. 121-122.

lar as the *Metamorphoses*, and Clarke tells us early in the eighteenth century that these two were still the customary works for beginning poetry.<sup>55</sup> Of the others, Terence was universally taught, though variously inoculated. The wanton and dishonest Martial also managed to make himself indispensable as the master of the epigram, and even Catullus is required at Eton and Westminster. Catullus in the texts of the time was likely to mean also Tibullus, Propertius, and Gallus, since the four were frequently printed together; and we do not need Stockwood to tell us what the boys would under such circumstances do. It is likely, therefore, that Becon and Stockwood are correct in saying that these authors were at times at least easily accessible to the grammar school boys. It is evident that a simile recorded by Robert Cawdray in 1600 puts the attitude of the schoolmasters rather aptly,

As in slaughter, massacres, or murther, painted in a Table, the cunning of the Painter is prayesd, but the fact it selfe, is vtterly abhorred: So in Poetrie wee follow elocution, and the proper forme of words and sentences, but the ill matter we doo worthily despise.<sup>56</sup>

Further, between the fully approved list as given by Erasmus and the fully disapproved as phrased by Becon and Stockwood, there was also an intermediate group from which, as we shall see from time to time, selections were sometimes made; but these are the chief.

Here is but the merest sketch of what the English grammar school in its genesis at Paul's and elsewhere owed to Erasmus. Doubtless, also, Erasmus himself owed a great deal in the original shaping of his ideas to Colet and other Englishmen. We should not be content with this sketch, for it was through the grammar school curriculum as shaped by Erasmus that his soul went marching on, in spite of the narrower zeal of the reformers, to propagate and mould that Renaissance which is distinctive of England. Without Erasmus, we might have had the John Milton of popular concept, but not William Shakespeare.

It should now be apparent that the sixteenth-century schoolmaster under the tutelage of Erasmus and others knew what he wanted to attain, and perfected his methods accordingly, to give systematic and cumulative drill upon all phases of his desired objective. There was nothing haphazard or unconsidered about him. In

<sup>55</sup> Clarke, John, *An Essay Upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools* (1720), pp. 44-45.

<sup>56</sup> Cawdray, R., *A Treasure or Store-house of Similies* (1600), p. 538.

grammar school, the boy must learn to read, speak, and write the Latin language under the tutelage of grammar and rhetoric-logic. To this end, the best authors of antiquity were studied grammatically and rhetorically, the aim being to enable the boy to speak and write as did the masters of literature. Thus the grammar school provided an intensive and detailed literary training based upon the best Latin authors. The grammar school visualized by Erasmus and the sixteenth century was not merely grammar school, but also rhetorical or literary school. The mechanical means by which these admired authors attained their literary effects were supposed to be drilled into every learned grammarian. Whether anything came of it would depend, of course, upon the particular grammarian. That a great deal did come of it we have the Renaissance to show.

These men planned consciously and worked systematically and unrelentingly to create a Renaissance and a Reformation. A Renaissance and a Reformation were created. In the Reformation, the church, whose devoted servants these schoolmasters were, took the lead. But in the Renaissance the fundamental propagation, at least in England, was the work of the schoolmasters. If we are to understand the creation but especially the propagation of the Renaissance, we must clear up the function of the Elizabethan grammar school.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE EGG WHICH ERASMUS LAID AT PAUL'S

WE HAVE NOW examined the ideas of Erasmus upon the functions and methods of grammar school. We have seen that he was closely connected with Dean Colet in founding Paul's, and furnished or took oversight of most of the basic texts used in that school. It remains to examine in some detail the curriculum at Paul's as a concrete embodiment of the theories of Erasmus.

Unfortunately, the early history of Paul's curriculum still rests in wholly unnecessary obscurity. It is thus obligatory first of all to clear up the fundamentals at Paul's. We can then examine the theory and textbooks of Erasmus to give us a fair picture of the original idea. This will make it possible to watch the idea evolve at Paul's and elsewhere through the century. Of course, we can give here but the barest sketch, and the educational experts should then attend to their sadly neglected duty by carrying the matter to a detailed conclusion. Sufficient for our purpose if we can but outline the process.

Because of its predominant influence, it is absolutely necessary to clear up the fundamental principle at Paul's. Since Dean Colet's statutes keep echoing through those of numerous grammar schools in the sixteenth century, it is only fair to suspect that the curriculum is also reflected. It was the grammar evolved at Paul's by Colet, Lily, and Erasmus, which under the name of Lily became by 1540 the only allowed one, and retained its primacy almost to the present day. Since the grammar was the very backbone of grammar school, this book tended to shape the curriculum. Paul's curriculum must have been a powerful influence. Unfortunately, no identified early curriculum for Paul's has hitherto been forthcoming, but it can now be shown that a suggestion made long ago by Strype and approved by Knight<sup>1</sup> is correct, and that Wolsey's famous curriculum of 1528 at Ipswich is only a copy or a close adaptation of Paul's.<sup>2</sup>

Strype (Paul's 1657-61) and Knight (Paul's c. 1696) would have no difficulty in recognizing a familiar friend, since as Paul's boys in the second half of the seventeenth century they had been subjected to practically the same curriculum. Our earliest known complete curriculum for Paul's belongs to this period, being supposed to date

---

<sup>1</sup> Strype, John, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1733), Vol. I, p. 118; Knight, *Colet*, p. 127n.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Appendix III.

1672-97.<sup>3</sup> At that time, Paul's had eight forms, four in lower school and four in upper. The lower school was devoted entirely, of course, to Latin. This curriculum shows the typical sixteenth century routine, with morning lessons upon the grammar, and afternoon lessons upon authors. For the first four forms, morning lessons the first four days of the week consisted of drill upon the parts of speech from the authorized Latin grammar. Afternoon lessons were upon authors and vocabulary. All four forms had *Nomenclatura* on Wednesdays for vocabulary. The first form used *Sententiae Pueriles* on the other three days. The second form used Cato on Monday and Thursday, Aesop on Tuesday. The third form used Ovid, *De Tristibus* Monday and Thursday, Erasmus, *Colloquies* on Tuesday. The fourth used Ovid, *Metamorphoses* on Monday, Ovid's *Epistles* on Tuesday, and Justin on Thursday. There was an "Exercise read every day"; that is, on each of the four working days. This exercise was given the day before. So Monday's exercise was set on Saturday morning, the routine for that period being, "Forming of verbs & Catechising every Saturday per Annum in Fourmes & exercise for Munday." The draft shows that all four classes formed verbs on Saturday mornings till ten, then worked upon the catechism, which in the third and fourth forms was in Latin, the direction being, "Afterwards the Latine Catechism is said by heart." Finally, the exercise was set for Monday. For the first form, this exercise consisted of verses from the Proverbs; for the second, from the Psalms or on Tuesdays and Thursdays "English Examples"; for the third and fourth, from Proverbs or Psalms, except that "an English dictamen" might come on Wednesday and that on Tuesdays the fourth turned "a story in Heathen Gods"<sup>4</sup> into Latin, and turned verses and proved them. The first and second forms rendered the work of the week on Friday mornings and declined

<sup>3</sup> McDonnell, Michael F. J., *A History of St. Paul's School*, pp. 265-266. I am indebted to the authorities of Trinity College, Cambridge, for permitting a photostat of the manuscript of this curriculum (o. 10. 22) to be made for the Library of the University of Illinois. James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, No. 1474, Vol. III, p. 515, dates the statutes and this curriculum as "Cent. xvi-xvii early," but the curriculum certainly is not earlier than the latter part of the seventeenth century, as shown by the textbooks referred to, etc. There is a first draft of this curriculum (o. 1. 42; James, No. 1066) for the first four forms, from which this copy was made. The draft furnishes numerous small details which have not been carried over to the fair copy. The draft was probably itself based on some earlier statement of the curriculum.

<sup>4</sup> This text was probably *The Poetical Histories Being a Compleat Collection Of all the Stories necessary for a Perfect understanding of the Greek and Latine Poets and other Ancient Authors*, translated from P. Galtruchius (Pierre Gautruche) by Marius D'Assigny, 1671. It is said that there was an earlier English edition under another title in 1670 (De Backer, Augustin and Aloys, *Bibliothèque De La Compagnie De Jésus* (1892), Part I, Vol. III, p. 1288).

nouns substantives and adjectives on the afternoons. The third and fourth forms spent all of Fridays in repetition; the fourth also turned verses and proved them.

Grammar and godly matter are here yoked together. Latin grammar may be continued in the fifth form, the first of the upper school, as was regular in the first half of the sixteenth century, whereas in the seventeenth it appears frequently, perhaps usually, to have been confined entirely to the lower school. In not more than the first five forms out of eight, the boys master their Latin grammar. Their first authors are very "moral," being *Sententiae Pueriles*, Cato, and Aesop. These were reinforced by their exercises, which consisted principally in turning the Proverbs and Psalms into Latin, though "English dictamen" might be used as supplements. So "moral matter" was used both for the process from Latin to English and from English to Latin. The boys also studied colloquial as well as written Latin, with Erasmus, *Colloquies* as guide. Throughout, they acquired vocabulary by systematic study of the *Nomenclatura*. From "moral matter" they proceeded gently into unmoral or immoral matter as represented by the *De Tristibus*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Epistles* of Ovid. These were to "induce" the boys to poetry, and had long been standard works for that process. Consequently, the boys are already in the fourth form turning and proving verses, preparatory to beginning composition in verse in the fifth form, the first of upper school. The most remarkable thing here is the relative lack of emphasis upon spoken Latin, only the *Colloquies* of Erasmus being mentioned, and Terence having been dropped from his pride of place as the first guide to colloquial Latinity completely out of the curriculum.

As has been said, upper school consisted of four forms. Grammar, of course, persevered. In the fifth form, some Latin grammar might be continued, and Greek grammar was begun, to continue through the sixth, with some work possible in the seventh, to be supplanted in the eighth by the Hebrew grammar. There would besides be rhetorical "rules" of various kinds connected with the different verse and prose types of composition, though these are not indicated. In the fifth form, the boys continued with the study of poetry, the authors being Virgil Tuesday and Thursday, and Martial Monday and Wednesday. Their exercise was on Monday and Tuesday to turn the Psalms into Latin verse for themes—rather a fitting chore for one who is to become a Christian poet as was John Milton. On Wednesday the exercise was to turn a psalm into prose, on Thursday a story

in heathen gods as for the fourth form. Instead of the psalms, "moral themes" might be written in Latin, prose or verse as required. The themes of the week were now collected on Fridays. Sallust might on Mondays represent the historians or orators as an alternative to Martial, and should probably somewhere have been accompanied by Caesar at least, though that author is nowhere mentioned.

Virgil and Martial continued as the poets for the sixth form, with "A morall Theme for Latin verse or other exercise." On Saturday, "A divine Theme" was set, which appears Monday as "Proses collected." On Wednesdays and Thursdays, "A morall Theme" was required, with no specification as to verse or prose, and on Thursday this might be a dictamen. Here are the Aphthonian themes on moral and divine matters, leading in prose to orations. In Greek, the boys began the grammar in the fifth and continued in the sixth and seventh. The Greek Testament was "Construed & Examined" on Tuesdays as the first Greek author.

In the seventh, the boys continue their Greek, with the grammar and the Minor Poets<sup>5</sup> as alternates, and the Greek mythology of Apollodorus as a possibility on Tuesdays and Thursdays. For Latin, Horace is the poet on Tuesdays and Thursdays; and Tully's *Select Orations* become the model in prose on Mondays and Wednesdays. There was still a divine theme for Monday, and moral themes on the other three working days, though this might on Tuesdays be a "Declamation" instead. The boys are thus advancing to the full-fledged oration, with Tully as guide. Presumably, they are also writing a certain amount of verse along with their continued study of poetry.

With the eighth form, "A Part in Hebrew Psalter or Gram̄ar" becomes the morning work, this being the only specification for Hebrew. In Latin, the study of poetry continues in the eighth form with Persius and Juvenal as the classics, supplemented by Aratus,<sup>6</sup> I suppose in Latin translation for the poetics of Astronomy and meteorology. No other Latin author is mentioned, but in Greek Homer also served as a model of poetry. Similarly, Demosthenes continued in Greek the work of teaching the boys oratory, which had been begun by Tully in the preceding form. Dionysius was also a possibility. The exercises of the boys continue to be a divine theme for Monday and

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to Ralph Winterton's *Poetae Minores Graeci*, 1635, etc.

<sup>6</sup> "Outside the school, let the pupil read privately the *Phaenomena* of Aratus and the *Coelestis Historia* of Julius Hyginus" (Watson, *Vives: On Education*, p. 169, cf. pp. 130, 159, 160). There had been an "Oronologia" bought for the Library in 1582-3.

moral themes the other three days, with a declamation as a possible alternate on Tuesdays. Presumably a certain amount of verse exercise continues in these themes, but no division is made.

So throughout the upper school the boys have probably written both verse and prose for their moral themes. They began turning verses in the fourth form and writing verses in the fifth, and would doubtless have continued to write verse just as they continued to study poets throughout upper school. Similarly, the boys were writing prose themes by the fifth form, doubtless of the Aphthonian variety, and then worked up to the oration in the succeeding forms, both in Latin and in Greek. The epistle is not mentioned, but must have been studied not later than the fifth form. It must be remembered that this is only a skeleton curriculum, giving merely the framework. Into this basic framework many other authors and texts would have been fitted. But, at least, we now know the basic organization of Paul's curriculum at the end of the seventeenth century. And the curriculum published by Wolsey in 1529 is unmistakably an earlier form of the Paul's system, as Strype and Knight, who had recently been through it, noticed.

Wolsey published in 1529 a version of Paul's grammar, the section which was later to become the first part of the authorized text, with the instructions for his school at Ipswich attached and dated September 1, 1528. According to its title page, this was to be the approved grammar, not only at Ipswich but throughout all England: "oibus aliis totius Anglię scholis p̄scripta."<sup>7</sup> Palsgrave by 1529 and perhaps as early as 1526, had referred to the opening of an order of Wolsey's on this matter. "We haue begon to ordayne that oone maner off grammar schould be taught thorowe all the realme."<sup>8</sup> So Wolsey was by and about 1528 attempting to make Lily's the only authorized grammar.

From another quarter, we have evidence that in the year 1529 there was a movement afoot for a prescribed uniform grammar. The Convocation of Canterbury which was begun November 5, 1529, after reciting the ills resulting from lack of good order, ordained that,

<sup>7</sup> Fiddes, R., *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (1724), p. 316, note m, jumbled this statement into the letter to mean that Wolsey addressed the schoolmasters of England with these instructions. He also reprinted Wolsey's letter to Ipswich (*Collections*, pp. 130-131) from an edition of 1537. Warton, T., *The History of English Poetry* (1778; Park's copy; University of Illinois Library), Vol. II, p. 434, then elegantly rephrased the statement of Fiddes in his work to pass it to the present time. Carlisle also accepted the statement (*Grammar Schools* (1818), Vol. II, p. 522).

<sup>8</sup> Carver, P. L., *The Comedy of Acolastus*, p. xxxvii.

For the common benefit, therefore, of the whole province of Canterbury, with the approval of this holy council, we ordain, in order that after a year from the date of the publication of these presents, there shall be one uniform method of teaching throughout the whole province of Canterbury, no author of grammar rules or precepts shall be put before boys being taught grammar, except the one which the archbishop of Canterbury with four other bishops of the province, four abbots and four archdeacons to be named at this synod shall next year prescribe for boys to read.<sup>9</sup>

So the whole province of Canterbury was to have a uniform grammar before the end of 1530.

Such a move had evidently been considered a possibility so early as April 1, 1525, since a deed of that date at Manchester provides for a schoolmaster,

able to teche childeryn gramyer after the Scole use maner and forme of the Scole of Banbury in Oxfordchire nowe there taught, wiche is called Stanbryge gramyer, or after suche Scole use maner as in tyme to cum shalbe ordeyned universally throughe oute all the province of Canterbury.<sup>10</sup>

Stanbridge was the rival of the Colet-Lily, *Aeditio-Rudimenta*. The uniformity of grammar teaching which in 1525 is contemplated as a possibility is by 1530 to become a fact for the province of Canterbury. And Wolsey intimated in 1529 that the Colet-Lily, *Aeditio-Rudimenta* was the prescribed grammar for all England. Within a short time after 1530 the rivals of the Colet-Lily cease to be printed, and the latter eventually becomes with revision the first part of the authorized grammar. We shall see, also, that the other Lily-Erasmus nuclei get enlarged and revised into the second part of the authorized grammar.

It is thus clear that the system at Paul's occupies a fundamental position in the sixteenth century, and that this publication of it by Wolsey along with the grammar must also have had its influence in molding other curricula. In translation, Wolsey's instructions run:

In what Order the Boys, admitted into our School, are to be taught; and what Authors they are to read.

#### The Method of the first Class.

In the first Place, we think it proper that our School should be divided into eight Classes. The first is to contain the most ignorant Boys, who are to be carefully instructed in the eight Parts of Speech. Let your principal Attention be to form their tender Articulation, so as in a full, elegant Tone

<sup>9</sup> Leach, A. F., *Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1909*, pp. 446-447.

<sup>10</sup> Victoria County Histories, *Lancashire*, Vol. II, p. 583.

of Voice they may pronounce the Elements they are taught; for it is possible to mould their rude Materials into any Form. *Horace* tells us, that a Vessel keeps long the Odour which it first receives.

*Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem  
Testa diu.*

Therefore it would be highly blameable not to exert all your Abilities to do Justice to Youths of this tender Age.

#### Of the Second Class.

After this Set of Youth has made a tolerable Proficiency in those Rudiments, it is our Pleasure, that they be call'd up to the second Class, there to be accustomed to speak *Latin*, and to translate into that Language, from their Mother-Tongue, somewhat that is pretty and pertinent, and upon such a Subject as to convey a sensible, elegant Meaning, accommodated to the Capacities of Boys. As soon as this is translated they are to transcribe it in *Roman* Characters; and you are every Day to take Care, that all the Boys of this Form keep their Books very correct, and very fairly transcrib'd in their own Hand-writing.

If you should be of Opinion, that any Author, besides the Rudiments, should be put into the Hands of those young Pupils, let it be the Precepts of *Cato*, or *Lilly's* Admonitory Verses, were it for no other End than to form their Pronunciation (*sic*).

#### Of the Third Class.

Of all Authors proper to form ordinary Conversation to a pure, neat, polish'd Stile, who is more pleasing than *Aesop*? Who more profitable than *Terence*? Both of them agreeable to Youth, even by the Quality of their Subjects.

We add, that we shall not at all disapprove of your recommending to this Class, the Book which *Lilly* compos'd concerning the Genders of Nouns.

#### Of the Fourth Class.

When your fourth Form comes to pass in Review, where can you find for them a General preferable to *Virgil*, the Prince of Poets? You will find even your Account in their pronouncing his majestick Lines in a deep, full Articulation.

*Lilly* will instruct this Order in whatever is proper for them to know, concerning the Preterites and Supines of (irregular) Verbs. But, though I acknowledge this to be a necessary Part of Study; yet I could wish it were so managed, as that it may not employ the most precious Part of the Day.

#### Of the Fifth Class.

Now I imagine that you are impatient to know what Rule of Study we will enjoin to this Form. Well; you shall be satisfy'd. In the first Place, I think proper to put you upon your Guard, that tender Youth are neither to suffer severe Whippings, nor sour-looking Threats, nor any Kind of Tyranny; for, by such Treatment, the Fire of Genius is either extinguish'd, or, in a great Measure, damp'd.

You are chiefly to recommend, to this Form, the Reading of *Cicero's* Select Epistles; which we think are not to be excell'd as to Practicability and Advantage, in acquiring a rich and copious Stile of Language.

#### Of the Sixth Class.

The Reading of History, of *Salust*, or of *Caesar's* Commentaries, seems to suit the sixth Form; it will not be improper that they join with this Study the Syntax of *Lilly*; and, by the bye, that they apply themselves to the defective and anomalous Verbs, and to the Study of Heteroclites of all Kinds.

#### Of the Seventh Class.

Let the seventh Form diligently peruse the Epistles of *Horace*, the Metamorphosis of *Ovid*, or his Book of Fasts; and in the mean Time apply themselves to some poetical or epistolary Compositions. They will likewise find great Utility, by some Times throwing Verse into Prose, and reducing Prose to harmonious Numbers. The deeper to imprint what he has heard, let each Boy repeat it, either to yourselves or to others. Towards Night let him digest some curious, pertinent Matter, which next Morning he is to give an Account of to his Master.

In the mean Time, the Mind is to be relax'd, and Labour to be mix'd with Diversions; but such Diversions as may become a Gentleman, and a Man of Letters. Pleasure is to mingle even with Study itself, that the Boy may think Learning rather an Amusement than a Toil. Particular Care is to be taken not to hurt the Genius of a Boy, by overstretching it, nor to fatigue him by too long Lessons. Both Extrems are hurtful.

#### Of the Eighth Class.

Lastly, When the Youths have, by such Exercises, attain'd to some Knowledge of the Language, let them then proceed to arrive to the higher Rules of Grammar, such as the Figures, as they are laid down by *Donatus*; *Valla*, upon Elegance; and several ancient Writers, who treat upon the *Latin* Tongue. In reading those Works, we particularly recommended to you to endeavour to make yourselves Masters of every Passage requiring immediate Explanation.<sup>11</sup>

Wolsey then lifts from the *De Ratione Studii* of Erasmus the long description of how to teach Terence, which has caused many a learned critic to attach Terence to the eighth form in Wolsey's school, when he belongs in the third. Wolsey adds:

Sometimes you ought, in the *English* Language, to throw out a short Ground-Work for an Essay; but let it be somewhat that is elegant. *Lastly*, If you please, you are to lay before them certain short Rules, by which they may more conveniently handle the Subject assign'd them.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Philipps, J. T. *A Compendious Way of Teaching Antient and Modern Languages* (1750), pp. 345-350.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.



Throughout, Wolsey is embodying in concrete application to forms the *De Ratione Studii*, and in effect lifts a passage on teaching Terence from that work. As a matter of fact, the coincidence might be due to a closer connection. Wolsey may be quoting or rephrasing the pattern laid down for Paul's by Colet or by Erasmus himself, or by Colet rephrasing Erasmus. At any rate, Wolsey's curriculum embodies in detail the ideas of Erasmus more fully than any other surviving curriculum, and it will appear that Wolsey is copying Paul's.

There is an amusing piece of evidence that the first four forms at Paul's were some years later much as those laid down by Wolsey for Ipswich in 1528. The evidence is presented by blushing Robert Laneham in his memorable letter of 1575, describing the festivities at Kenilworth. Lest "Ye marvel perchauns to see me so bookish," Laneham explains,

Let me tell yoo, in few woords: I went to Scool, forsooth, both at *Pollez*, and allso at *Saint Antoniez*: In the fifth foorm, past *Esop* fabls, I wys, (and) red *Terens*, vos istaec intro auferte, and began with my *Virgill* Tytire tu patulae. I coold my rules conster and pars with the best of them syns.

He then improved his languages by trading abroad, and his literature by reading stories.<sup>13</sup> Incidentally, we know that Shakspeare was considerably more "bookish" than Laneham, and had at least as good opportunities at self-education.

Since Laneham left school to enter trade and become a Gentleman Mercer, it is fairly to be inferred that his final schooling was at Paul's.<sup>14</sup> Now it will be observed that of the classical authors Laneham mentions, Aesop<sup>15</sup> and Terence were required at Ipswich in the third form, and Virgil<sup>16</sup> in the fourth. Thus Laneham had completed the first four forms of this curriculum, as he says he had done at St. Anthony's and St. Paul's, where he had only entered the fifth form. Other items of Laneham's learning are also regular for the first four forms. He "coold" his rules; i.e., he had memorized at least the first part of his Latin grammar. In Wolsey's system, one finished the first part of his grammar by the end of the second form, but completed his grammar proper only in the sixth form after having omitted it in

<sup>13</sup> Laneham, R., *A Letter* (1784), p. 88; Nichols, John, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I, p. 483. <sup>14</sup> McDonnell, *Paul's School*, pp. 49, 109.

<sup>15</sup> McDonnell, *Paul's School*, p. 49 is sadly in error when he uses Laneham as an argument for Greek at Paul's. As we shall see, Aesop was used almost universally in Latin translation, as clearly was the case with Laneham.

<sup>16</sup> Evidently the *Bucolics* as in other schools.

the fifth. This was true also at Winchester, but Eton completed the work by the end of the fourth form, and the Eton system finally prevailed. Laneham presumably means that he has completed the whole grammar. If so, Paul's had apparently in this respect conformed to what was general practice in Laneham's time, completing the grammar rules by the end of the fourth form. When we get definite information toward the end of the seventeenth century we have seen that some work in Latin might be done along with the Greek in the fifth form, but that the bulk of the work had been completed by the end of the fourth. It is likely that Paul's had early conformed to this universal system of practically completing the Latin grammar in the lower half of grammar school, merely dividing according to its eight forms, instead of six or seven. Laneham had also learned to construe and parse, as of course was universal, and boasts that he could perform these operations "with the best of them syns." But he lays no claim to the poetic, rhetorical, and oratorical accomplishments of the upper forms, since he had only entered the fifth. Shakespeare had very much the advantage of Laneham.

There are still other confirmatory hints as to the early content of Paul's curriculum. It will be remembered that Lily himself in his *Carmen de Moribus* impresses upon the memories of the boys some of the things they must do intellectually to be saved, and Wolsey prescribes that the *Carmen* be taught first thing. Lily expected the boys to take dictates and write poetry, to memorize and render their lessons, to speak only Latin, and that not barbarous, and to learn grammar and eloquence from such classics as Virgil, Terence, and Cicero, whom if they do not know they will live in Cimmerian darkness. Lily places the same emphasis as Erasmus and Colet upon imitation of good authors as the source of good Latin, not memorized rules. This was one of the fundamental reasons for his bitter disagreement with Robert Whittinton, who ridiculed those who attempted to learn grammar from authors instead of from precepts. Here in Lily's *Carmen* are allusions to the normal processes of school routine. The classical authors named are those of the third, fourth, and fifth forms of Wolsey's curriculum at Ipswich, Aesop and Cato of the lower forms being translations for moral ends. These are also the authors that Laneham had mastered, except that he had not completed the fifth form and so lays no claim to Cicero. Here again is strong indication that Wolsey gives us Paul's curriculum, and that Lily taught it by the normal processes.

Indeed, if we put Dean Colet's instructions of 1518 upon the background of Erasmus and what we know of early practice at Paul's, it is apparent that the good Dean has by some been sorely misinterpreted. Once more his words must be repeated.

As touchyng in this scole what shalbe taught of the Maisters and lernyd of the scolers it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particuler but in generall to speke and sum what to saye my mynde, I wolde they were taught al way in good litterature both laten and greke, and goode auctours suych as haue the veray Romaine eliquence Joynyd withe wisdomes specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chaste laten other in verse or in prose, for my entent is by thys scole specially to increase knowlege and worshipping of god and our lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children And for that entent I will the Chyldren lerne first aboue all the Cathechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made or sum other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyldren more spedely to laten spech And thanne Institutum Christiani homines which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke callid Copia of the same Erasmus And thenne other auctours Christian as lactancius prudencius and proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus and suche other as shalbe taught convenyent and moste to purpose vnto the true laten spech, all barbary all corrupcion all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poysenyd the old laten spech and the varay Romaine tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was vsid whiche also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes, I say that fylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more rathyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I vtterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best and instruct the chyldren in greke and Redyng laten in redyng vnto them suych auctours that hathe with wisdomes Joyned the pure chaste eloquence.<sup>17</sup>

The good Dean expressly indicates that he does not intend to lay down a curriculum, since that passes his wit to devise. But a man of his position naturally did feel competent to advise on the moral instruction to be given in the school, and upon that subject he expresses himself positively and in detail. That the sixteenth century approved his position most heartily is shown by the many times that other foundations borrow his very words. Besides, when one can submit a *Paradise Lost* in evidence, no one should feel obliged to offer apologies for him. For one needs only to read Leach's summary of the matter to see what a powerful shaping influence these Christian

<sup>17</sup> Gardiner, R. B., *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School*, pp. 382-383.

Poets had been upon Milton, or better still, read both the Christian Poets and Milton.<sup>18</sup>

Dean Colet recommends certain authors specifically for their Christian sentiment, expressed in Latin that he considered suitable. He forbids certain kinds of Latin authors, because of the corruption with which they distained even the Roman tongue used by Tully, Sallust, Virgil, and Terence, as by several of the early saints and doctors of the church. The classic authors mentioned are, therefore, by implication incidentally approved.

When, therefore, in 1558 John Deane adapted the whole of this section for his school at Witton, he slightly rephrased the part on authors thus,

I will that the Children learn the Catechism, and then the Accidence and Grammar set out by King Henry the Eighth, or some other if any can be better to the purpose to induce Children more speedily to Latin Speech, and then *Institutum Christiani Hominis* that learned Erasmus made, and then *Copia* of the same Erasmus, *Colloquium Erasmi*, *Ovidii Metamorphoses*, *Terence*, *Tully*, *Horace*, *Salust*, *Virgil*, and such others as shall be thought most convenient to the purpose unto true Latin Speech, etc.<sup>19</sup>

Deane calls Colet's authors by the names they had come to have; adds the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Horace; and omits the roll of "Christian Poets." This is what the Paul's system had become by 1558, and essentially had doubtless originally been. Though Dean Colet denied that he was capable of laying down the curriculum, yet he had come so near to doing so that his own words needed only a little trimming when Deane wished to use them for that purpose.

Of these classic authors mentioned by Dean Colet, Terence is in the third form of the Ipswich curriculum, Virgil in the fourth, Cicero in the fifth, Sallust in the sixth. The Dean has given Wolsey's complete list through the sixth form, except Caesar for the sixth form, as also Horace and Ovid for the seventh. It does not follow, of course, that he in any way disapproves of these omitted ones. At least, it is clear that Dean Colet is approving incidentally Wolsey's curriculum practically through the sixth form. It should be noted too that Dean Colet places Terence in his list, and we should add that by 1528 Paul's had acted plays both of Plautus and of Terence, while in 1527 their master presumably wrote and certainly had the boys perform

<sup>18</sup> Leach, A. F., "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1907-1908, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, p. 131.

at court a Latin morality play ridiculing Luther and his wife.<sup>20</sup> Terence, Plautus, and acted drama were not frowned upon at Paul's. It is important to note, also, that Dean Colet expected the boys to use the *Copia* of Erasmus, which he had requested the author to write. That means that the boys were expected in the upper forms to have the regular rhetorical and logical training. We shall see later<sup>21</sup> that by 1582 Paul's was using the regular grammar school texts, showing thereby that at that time it had the regular grammar school curriculum. I believe enough evidence has now been presented to make it clear that Wolsey is giving us at least essentially the curriculum at Paul's.

It is probably also significant that Wolsey attaches to this curriculum the instructions of Erasmus on how to teach literature, with Terence as an example. We must remember the intimate connections of Erasmus with the establishing of Paul's in its first years. In the midst of these beginnings, was published in 1511 the first form of his *De Ratione Studii*, from which or the revision Wolsey borrows either directly or indirectly, for the express purpose of laying down the proper subject-matter and general methods of a grammar school curriculum. Erasmus had doubtless further clarified his mind on the matter by his discussions with Dean Colet and possibly with Lily. At any rate, the curricula of English grammar schools are founded squarely upon the authors designated by Erasmus, and the methods pursued in teaching them are those suggested by him. Further, the texts which Erasmus wrote for Paul's and elsewhere became almost universally the grammar school texts of England. Surely Paul's deserves more study than has yet been forthcoming. Certainly we shall not understand the evolution of grammar schools in sixteenth-century England until we know definitely the very prominent role Paul's played. I believe, however, it is now clear that Wolsey in 1528 gives us, at least approximately, the instructions for Paul's curriculum at that date. It may even be significant that nothing is said by Wolsey of religious instruction. At Paul's that was supposed to have been cared for by a chaplain, and hence would not originally have been described under the duties of the two schoolmasters, the number which was also provided by Wolsey. I do not know whether this evidence ought to be interpreted as indicating that when Wolsey borrowed the system the chaplain at Paul's had not yet been brought into the school proper.

<sup>20</sup> McDonnell, *Paul's School*, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. below, pp. 422ff.

It is important to notice here that Wolsey's curriculum in 1528 uses these Latin authors in almost exactly the order of Erasmus. Terence came in the third form as the first of the strictly classical writers, Virgil came in the fourth, Cicero in the fifth, Sallust and Caesar in the sixth, Horace and Ovid in the seventh. Thus Horace has been advanced to the seventh form and Ovid has been added as a companion to him. With exception of Ovid, this is the list of Erasmus; and the authors are studied in his order, except that Horace has been transferred to the later forms. This transfer is for the purpose of preserving the types of literature, with poetry in the seventh form. One should have no doubt as to the fundamentals of Paul's curriculum, or whence they were derived.

Now finally, I believe, we can see what lies behind the Ipswich-Paul's system, and who was really responsible for that curriculum. The first form was to learn the eight parts of speech, or *accidence* proper; here the *Aeditio* of Colet in English. This was the direction of Erasmus, and as we have seen, Colet constructed the book in accordance with Erasmian specifications, and directed that it be used exactly in the fashion prescribed by Erasmus. Wolsey insists also upon care that the boys articulate clearly. In the second form, the boys continue learning the rudiments. The term shows that Wolsey is thinking of the *Rudimenta* of Lily in English, which was joined to the *Aeditio* of Colet to form together the nucleus of what became the first part of the authorized grammar. The boys are now ready, as Erasmus directed, to begin both oral and written composition. They were to learn to speak Latin and were to translate from English into Latin, "somewhat that is pretty and pertinent," but suited to the capacity of boys. The boys then transcribed the Latin into notebooks in their fairest hands. While Wolsey does not specify the text, he is thinking of such a book as the *Colloquies* of Erasmus for the oral work, and his instructions to translate in order to learn grammar is in accord with the Erasmus-Colet instructions. If the boys take any Latin author in this form, it is to be Cato or Lily's own *Carmen*. Erasmus had prepared Cato for this purpose, and Lily's instructions in the *Carmen* would be needed immediately, being, as they were, the rules of the school. These rules, as we have seen, embody Erasmian directions. So the boys now get composition both oral and written, and also begin the study of Latin authors to form their style. All this is exactly Erasmus.

In the third class, the boys read Aesop and Terence. Erasmus had

helped translate Aesop into Latin, and suggests several themes from him. He had placed Terence first among classical Latin authors, as he is being put first in this curriculum. Wolsey is indeed echoing the very words of Erasmus upon Terence. This class now takes up Lily on the Genders of Nouns, which is in Latin. By the third form the work is solely in Latin, and a classical author can be used. The Latin pump has been primed.

In the fourth class, Virgil follows Terence, as in Erasmus. It will be remembered that Erasmus uses both of these authors to illustrate how authors should be taught. Again Wolsey insists upon careful oral reading. Lily on the Preterites and Supines of irregular verbs serves for grammar, but is not to occupy the most precious part of the day. Wolsey follows Erasmus in his insistence that formal grammar is not of supreme importance. Here is the lower school.

The boys are now ready to place the chief emphasis upon authors for imitation, where Erasmus thought it should be placed. So the guiding principle in the upper school is types of literature. Naturally, epistles come first, and as naturally Cicero's select epistles serve as models for "acquiring a rich and copious Stile of Language." This for the fifth class.

The sixth studies History, with Sallust and Caesar's *Commentaries* as the authors. It is only now that the boys polish off their formal grammar with a study of the Lily-Erasmus Latin summary of the eight parts. Hitherto, Lily's *Rudimenta* in English has enabled them to learn the grammar of their authors. They also master now defective and anomalous verbs; in fact, heteroclites of all kinds. Lily had intended to supply a text on heteroclites, and Robertson did so; but no text is here mentioned. It will be noticed that grammar has in this system followed the authors as Erasmus had insisted. So the boys get the necessary minimum for beginning work, learn from their authors, and finally consolidate their information. Thus grammar is spread out over practically the entire curriculum instead of being concentrated in the lower school.

With the grammar rules proper completed in the sixth form, the seventh class takes versification for its rules and studies poetry, with the Epistles of Horace, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* as the models. It will be remembered that the order of Erasmus was Terence, Virgil, Horace. So it is here, though Horace is placed much later in the curriculum. Erasmus does not place Ovid in his list, but elsewhere he envisions the teaching of Ovid. These authors serve as

models both for poetical and epistolary composition. As Erasmus recommends, the boys turn verse to prose and prose to verse. Inserted is the requirement of memorizing something over night to be repeated in the morning as Erasmus had recommended, and a statement upon gentlemanly relaxation.

In the eighth and final class, the boys concentrate upon rhetorical matters for their rules; that is, oratory. They now study the figures as given in Donatus, in Valla's *Elegantiae*, and in various ancient writers. Here is the list of Erasmus for this process, and here is the Erasmian caution to explain every passage in need of explanation. No author is mentioned, but, of course, Cicero would be predominant here.

Within this curriculum are hints of procedure, and at the end some general directions. Wolsey instructs that the masters shall give in English the groundwork for an elegant essay, together with directions upon handling the particular subject. Here is the theme of Erasmus handled in the Erasmian manner. Epistles were at least studied in the fifth form; and poetry, including poetic epistles, was written in the seventh, with an oratorical capstone in the eighth. On teaching authors, Wolsey has lifted the directions of Erasmus on Terence.

This Ipswich-Paul's curriculum is founded very exactly upon the principles of Erasmus. Authors are the fundamental. The boy gets enough grammar to begin reading, and perfects it as needed by actual observation from the authors as models. Similarly, authors serve as models for oral and written composition. The written composition is based on the theme, expanding into the different types of composition as epistle, poetry, oratory. It is all very close to Erasmus. Of course, Wolsey has given only the skeleton. Many other things would be found in the detailed curriculum. But the skeleton is from the closet of Erasmus.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND ABOUT 1530

IT IS A LUCKY ACCIDENT that Wolsey preserved for us in his directions for Ipswich the early curriculum at Paul's, for even at the time he was founding his school certain changes in organization were taking place. By an equally lucky accident, we have also two early copies of the Eton curriculum and one of that at Winchester. Edmund Flower had founded a school at Cuckfield, and by his will of July 11, 1521 provided an endowment. Then by an indenture of October 1, 1528, William Spicer provided for an increased endowment. Among other things, he stipulated that the schoolmaster,

shall teach the scholars in the said school grammar after the form order and usage used and taught in the Grammar School at Eton near Windsor from form to form according to the acts and rules there made kept and used, and to keep the houres of learning in the said school as near as he can.<sup>1</sup>

Consequently, a copy of the Eton curriculum is attached in accordance with this provision. It is thus regularly dated 1528. But since Spicer is only supplementing the foundation of Flower a few years before, it is quite possible that the school was already on the Eton model, and hence that this is the Eton curriculum some years before 1528, though the grammatical texts of Whittinton prescribed in it indicate a date hardly earlier than 1520.

A second copy of the Eton curriculum was made for Saffron Walden about 1530. The school here had been founded in 1525 with the proviso that it should follow "the ordre and use of techyng gramer in the scolys of Wynchester and Eton." In pursuance of this order the authorities had about 1530 procured the time tables of these schools.<sup>2</sup> The two copies of the Eton curriculum supplement each other nicely to establish quite fully the school routine, on which the Paul's-Ipswich system affords little light. The Winchester curriculum also furnishes a great deal of varied information. From these four curricula, coming as they do so close together, it is possible to see at

---

<sup>1</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, pp. 594-597 has printed the complete document, but with many errors. Leach has also summarized these statutes with corrections in *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, Vol. II, pp. 416-419; and in *The Victoria History of the County of Buckingham*, Vol. II, pp. 176-178. They have been reprinted from the original in *Etoniana*, July 19, 1911. This reprint I quote, omitting the editor's emendations where they are incorrect or doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 448 ff.

what stage of development the grammar schools had arrived by 1530.

These four schools are all built on the same fundamental principles, having the same general curriculum and routines. Since this is the trivium, the curriculum is organized upon the grammar, including prosody, and upon the works on rhetoric-logic. Grammar necessarily came first, and was taken up in time-honored order. The boys must first learn to parse and construe in order to begin reading the Latin. Almost necessarily, at least the elements of parsing and construction would be in the vernacular. So the boys would require first an *accidence* covering the inflections and conjugations of the eight parts, and an elementary syntax centered upon the fundamental principles of construction. There were two chief rival sets of texts by Englishmen for doing this. The older set was by Stanbridge, and consisted of three parts; the *Accidentia*, the *Gradus Comparationum*, and the *Parvula*. The other set consisted of the *Aeditio* of Dean Colet, and the *Rudimenta* of William Lily, these being the texts developed for Paul's. The *Accidentia* and *Gradus* of Stanbridge together cover the same general ground as Colet's *Aeditio*, and the *Parvula* corresponds to Lily's *Rudimenta*. The *Accidentia* consists of a catechism in English upon the eight parts of reason or speech. The definitions are not illustrated with paradigms in full form, though the case endings, etc., *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*<sup>s</sup>, and the four regular conjugations are included. The *Gradus* deals with comparatives and the irregular verbs, being thus sometimes referred to as *Sum*, *es*, *fui*. The corresponding material is in the *Aeditio* of Dean Colet. It will be remembered that the *Aeditio* of Colet was revised into the *accidence* of the first part of the authorized grammar. So this material was shaping itself into traditional form early in the century. Similarly for constructions, the *Parvula* of Stanbridge corresponds to the *Rudimenta* of Lily, giving in English the simple rules of construction.

The first business of the boy was to memorize these elements of the two fundamental grammar operations of parsing and construction, and to begin to apply them in learning to read, write, and speak Latin. So he must first memorize his *accidence*, and then keep repeating and using it till there could be no possibility of his ever losing it. Since this was individual work, these beginners may not be organized as a form, but may be referred to as "learners of the *Accidence*," below the first form as in the Cuckfield copy of the early Eton curriculum. In the Saffron Walden copy of the Eton time table,

the work of these beginners is attached to that of the first form. But the Paul's-Ipswich system speaks of these "learners of the Accidence" as being in the first form. This gives Paul's an extra form. Since the Eton system also provides for a seventh form, it in reality has eight groups as is the acknowledged case at Paul's. Winchester also includes the accidence in the work of the first form.

Consequently, in the Paul's-Ipswich system and at Winchester, both the accidence and the rules of construction were supposed to be memorized by the end of the second form; at Eton by the end of the first form. In this latter system, one continued to drill upon his accidence the first thing in the morning through the first three forms; that is, through the lower school. Over the same period, he would be getting also first his elementary rules of construction in English and then the more detailed rules in Latin. Through the lower school, therefore, the boy is drilled constantly on both his accidence and his syntax, beginning in the vernacular but working as soon as possible into Latin. At the end of lower school, he was supposed to have a thorough grasp both upon the accidence and upon the essential parts of nearly or all of the syntax in Latin. No wonder the Elizabethan dramatists, even Shakspeare, could quote at will more or less learned tags from Lily's Grammar—by their time the only approved one—with full expectation of being understood. He who knew not that knew nothing. It was the very foundation of all learning and was treated accordingly. In the Paul's-Ipswich system, and at Winchester, however, the work in the Latin syntax, as we shall see, is spread pretty well over the curriculum, and there was evidently less emphasis upon formal grammar. Wolsey says of grammar,

though I acknowledge this to be a necessary Part of Study; yet I could wish it were so managed, as that it may not employ the most precious Part of the Day.

At Eton and at Winchester it occupied the first hours of the morning through the lower school, the most precious part of the day and of schooling. And the Eton-Winchester idea won the victory.

But to return to the first form at Eton, the second at Winchester and in the Paul's-Ipswich system, by the end of it the boys were supposed to have memorized both the accidence and the rules of construction in English. At Eton and Winchester the texts were those of Stanbridge, which must thus be completed by the end of the first form at Eton, the second at Winchester. So at Eton the boys were

aroused in summer at five, were in the classroom by six to be drilled upon the various operations connected with the grammar till breakfast at nine. In winter, the day began an hour later. The work of the "learners of the Accidence" below the first form was just that. These "learners" and the boys through the third form; that is, the whole lower school, first were drilled upon the accidence, apparently for about an hour, each Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. Then

the Learners of the Accidence shall labour their Lessons, which Lessons the Master shall hear more often or more seldom after his discretion, and to the more profit of the Scholars.

Since this is individual work, school routine can not well be applied. Similarly, for the conventional repetition at the end of the week, it is ordered,

that upon Saturday in the morning, every one of them rehearse and render by heart to the Master all the lessons that they have learned all the week before; and, if Saturday be Holy-day, that then the said render be made the working-day next before.

The work of the week must be rendered at the end of it, in spite of holydays.

When these beginners had memorized the accidence, they were ready for organized work as the first form. They now begin their working day by drill upon these "parts," along with all the other boys of the lower school. This done, they must next repeat their own daily stint of English rules from the *Parvula* of Stanbridge, thus getting the principles of construction. This lesson had, of course, been "read" to them the day before. When the boys have repeated these rules, the teacher directs them in constructing easy Latins to illustrate each one. The Latin was, of course, first a "vulgar" or "English," before it was turned into a Latin. One of the early Eton masters, William Horman, in his *Vulgaria* has left a collection of such vulgars as he used at Eton, together with their Latins, accompanied by a description of how they came into existence. The curious may be referred to the collection itself for a very concrete idea of what vulgars and Latins were. This particular collection also furnishes a great deal of interesting gossip about schoolboys and school processes. But the boys at Eton at this period began with a smaller and easier group of vulgars by Stanbridge, as is shown by another provision.

If the Master's discretion shall think the babies able easily to overcome it, he may give to them also some Latin words of Stanbridge's Collection, or some other small and light matter in Latin.

The reference is to the *Vulgaria* of Stanbridge, which consisted of two parts. The first is intended to furnish vocabulary. Stanbridge begins at the top of the head and furnishes lists of words systematically covering the body in most familiar detail. After these lists, come strings of words in verse pattern to aid memorization, with English equivalents interlined. The second part consists of simple phrases and sentences in English, with Latin equivalents, for colloquial purposes. From this, the boy would get not only illustrations of his rules, but also Latin phrases for his daily occupation, even in its "most vulgar" details. Incidentally, these vulgars are said in the edition of 1519<sup>3</sup> to be "*iuxta consuetudinem ludilitterarij diui pauli*," according to the custom of Paul's, showing that the same method was pursued at Paul's as at Eton. So from this source or some other, perhaps including their own invention, the boys would make vulgars into Latins to illustrate their rules. The boys then wrote down the vulgars and Latins, apparently even if they were already in print, so as to memorize them for repetition at three in the afternoon. Having begun at six to drill upon their parts, having repeated their daily stint of rules, and having made vulgars and Latins to illustrate the rules, the boys of the first form now at nine had appetite, no doubt, for much more breakfast than they received in the fifteen minute intermission.

Breakfast over, the boys continue their routine. Some boy selected by the teacher from the form above first reads and explains the rule which is to be memorized for repetition the next morning before breakfast. The teacher is watchfully waiting over the pupil-teacher, of course, to see that knowledge is not contaminated at its source. This boy is being taught to teach. Erasmus and Lily both insisted on this process of teaching as the best way to learn. So where a single boy is selected as here, the chore was quite logically assigned usually to the dullard, who was most in need of this further aid. This feature of requiring pupil-teaching is prominent in all these early curricula. After the rule is given, the remainder of the morning till eleven the boys spend in memorizing their lessons. Then at one o'clock after the noon intermission, the boys begin repeating their lessons. First comes the rendering of vocabulary work. Then, the "babies shall

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted by Miss Beatrice White in *Early English Text Society*.

render their Latins by heart, construe them, and answer to the parts of them." Here is the regular routine of the first four days. For the lower school, drill on parts and rules comes before breakfast, and Latins to illustrate the rules are made at the same period. After breakfast, the rule for the next day is set, and the boy spends the remainder of his morning memorizing his lessons. In the afternoon, he begins at one to render from memory the work which was set after nine, and at three to render the Latins which had been set before nine. So he renders in the afternoon all the work set in the morning except the rule, which was to be rendered the next morning before breakfast.

Perhaps the reader will be amused to know how the "babies" were supposed to perform these operations of construing and parsing. Of course, the schoolmaster was alert at every opportunity to stuff the boys with what Brinsley calls "moral matter." The common method of using proverbial sentences for this purpose is systematized by Anthony Huish in his *Priscianus Nascens* of 1660, so that nothing may be left to chance. The first declension is illustrated with the proverbial phrase, "*Medulla terrae*. The marrow [or fat] of the earth." This was to be construed thus, "*Medulla* the marrow [or fatt] *terrae* of the earth"; and then parsed thus,

*Medulla* marrow, is a Noun Substan. Common of the first declension, because the Gen. Sing. endeth in *ae*. It is of the feminine gender, and declined like *Musa*. thus. Or, if you will, you may put the English after every case, thus. *Sing. Nom. haec Medulla*, the marrow, *Gen. Medullae* of the marrow. *Dat. Medullae* to the marrow. *Accus. Medullam* the marrow. *Voc. O medulla* O the marrow. *Abl. a medullâ* from the marrow, &c. Or else with the English before the Latine, thus. *Sing. Nom. The marrow medulla. Gen. of the marrow medullae. Dat. to the marrow, medullae. &c.) medulla* is the Nom. case Sin. because you may put *a* or *the* before it in the English: &c. it speaketh but of one.

The boy was next supposed to perform a similar operation on *terrae*, and then to proceed gradually to more and more difficult fields to conquer till finally no example, proverbial or otherwise, could hold any terrors for him.

As the work of the morning at Eton is rendered in the afternoon, so the work of the whole week is rendered upon Friday and Saturday. Along with the repetition at the end of the week came the religious instruction and a certain amount of further original work on grammar. On Friday before breakfast the boys memorized Stanbridge's *Gradus*, or *Sum, es, fui* as it was frequently called, this cor-

responding to the routine in grammar the preceding four days. After breakfast, came examination upon the understanding of the rules of the week, corresponding to the period of teaching and learning them between breakfast and dinner during the week. Then in the afternoon came repetition or reciting of the rules of the week, just as during the week the afternoons had been devoted to repetition from memory of the work taught in the morning. Before breakfast, also, the boys had been given some religious material to memorize along with the grammatical.

The Master, or some Scholar of an higher Form in the presence of the Master, shall declare to them one little piece of the *Pater Noster*, or the *Ave Maria*, the *Credo*, or the treatise of the manners called *Quos decet in mensa*, or the *Ten Commandments*, the *Seven deadly Sins*, or of the *Five Witts*, or of some other proper thing in Latin meet for babies and especially such as is meet for Christian people to learn, as *The Articles of Our Belief* or anything like.

Thus before breakfast on Friday the boys received original work, either religious or classical. The remainder of the day was devoted to review of certain phases of the work of the week.

We may pause briefly to notice how this material at this time was supplied. The Colet-Lily, *Aeditio-Rudimenta* of 1527 has a collection of such matter prefixed. It begins with articles in English to be propounded to the parents of offered pupils. Then follow in English, The artycles of the Faith . . . The seuen sacramentes . . . Charyte. The loue of god . . . The loue of thyne owne selfe . . . The loue of thy neyghbour . . . Penaunce . . . Howselinge . . . In sekenes . . . In deth . . . Preceptes of lyuynge;

in Latin,

Simbolum Apostolorum . . . Oratio dominica . . . Salutatio Angelica . . . Oratiuncula ad puerum Jesum Scholae praesidem.

At the end is the "Carmen Gvillelmi Lili ad discipulos, de moribus," and some commendatory verses. In the edition of 1566 are attached in Latin the "Carmen de Moribus," and in verse form,

Symbolum Apostolorum . . . Precatio Dominica . . . Decalogvs . . . Baptismvs . . . Coena Dominica . . . Pver Orans Ante Cibvm . . . Pver Orans Post Cibvm.<sup>4</sup>

In an edition of 1599, "imprinted at London by the assignes of Iohn Battersbie,"<sup>5</sup> and owned by the Library of the University of Illinois,

<sup>4</sup> *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 65-72; Vol. XLV, pp. 75-80.

<sup>5</sup> Not in S. T. C.

all this material except Lily's *Carmen* has been omitted, as is then and thereafter regularly the case. The equivalent religious material had thus come to be supplied in other ways. In early days, then, the minimum religious and moral training was attached to the grammar, where the interested reader may easily find it in Blach's reprint.<sup>6</sup>

But to return to the system at Eton, the original work given before breakfast Friday was examined and repeated at the same time Saturday, just as during the week the boys had received in the morning and returned in the afternoon. This was a thrifty way of using the otherwise unroutined period before breakfast these two days. After breakfast on Saturday, the first form repeated its Latins for the week, just as on Friday it had been examined in and had repeated its grammar assignments for the week. But on Saturday it uses the forenoon session only for this work. So Saturday afternoon is filled in with "busy work."

At Afternoon, they shall learn, and recite, or read Legends or the Psalter, to be more prompt in Reading.

Saturday afternoon could not be fully routined because of the proviso concerning "remedies" or holidays.

The Scholars shall have no Remedy but once in the Week, and that shall never be on the Friday; and also after Two of the Clock, because they may render most of their learning ere they depart the School[,] without the assent of one of the Controllers.

Friday being sacred to grammar might not be touched without the consent of authority, nor could any other week-day before two o'clock. The "remedy" was most likely to be given after two on Saturday. While Dean Colet forbade any "remedies" or extra holidays at Paul's, yet he himself noted,

Of halidayes and halfe halydayes all noumbred togyder in whiche ys no teachinge ther be yn the hole yere vii<sup>xx</sup> and xiiij,<sup>7</sup>

or one hundred and fifty-three. He thought that the church had already provided holidays enough for the boys, though the boys themselves probably preferred some other type of holiday. After the change, the Mercers decided on July 28, 1573, that

The boys may have license to play every Thursday afternoon, "so that one of every of the forms in the Upper School by turn one after another first make an epistle to their Master for the same."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For a sketch of this system of religious training, see Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakspeare's Petty School*, 1943.

<sup>7</sup> Lupton, J. H., *A Life of John Colet, D. D.* (1887), p. 166.

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, p. 10.



Later, it was rather generally the custom to provide remedies after two or three on both Thursday and Saturday, where they would least interfere with the routine of the week. When, in the second form, the authors for construction are fitted into this routine, the system will be complete.

The Saffron Walden copy of the Eton time-table shows that approximately the same routine continued for the first form about 1530. Since this is a skeleton time-table for the seven forms, no mention is made of the beginners, but they are provided for nevertheless in connection with the first form as in the earlier curriculum. For the first form still drills through the week both upon the parts and the rules of Stanbridge, and uses his *Vulgaria* for vocabulary and Latins. On Friday, it memorizes *Quos decet in Mensa* and doubtless other similar works as prescribed in the earlier list, to be repeated on Saturday as there. Nothing is said of further grammatical work as in the earlier curriculum, but Stanbridge's *Gradus* would have to be worked in as there, or in the regular work of the four days. As before, rules are rendered on Friday afternoon and Latins on Saturday. So far, the work evidently remains essentially the same, and the routine practically the same.

By the end of the first form, then, in the Eton system the boy had memorized his accidence and rudiments, his parts and rules, in English. The accidence had been memorized before the boys were organized into the first form. How long this preliminary process usually required at Eton I do not know, but the preface to the authorized grammar about 1545 prescribes this routine, and sets a time limit upon it. Richard Cox, who prepared the copy of the Eton curriculum about 1530, was in 1545 the tutor of Prince Edward, and is suspected of having participated in this revision of 1545.<sup>9</sup> At any rate, here is the authoritative statement on practice, which remained in the grammar some three hundred years. According to this statement, the average boy should have mastered the preliminary work upon the parts or accidence proper in not more than a quarter of a year.

But the Eton system in 1530 was somewhat different in its divisions into forms from the Winchester, and Paul's-Ipswich systems. The reason for this division at Eton is probably to be found in the original statutes,

---

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix II.

The Scholars shall be poor and needy boys of good character, with a competent knowledge of reading, of the grammar of Donatus, and of plain song, and not less than eight years old or more than twelve. Specially well-read boys shall be eligible up to the age of seventeen. . . . Every Scholar shall be 'dismissed' the College on the completion of his eighteenth year, unless his name be on the indenture for King's, in which case he may stay on until the age of nineteen.<sup>10</sup>

This presumably is the reason that the boys got their *Accidence* out of form; they had at least originally been supposed to have it before entrance to the school.

The other schools of 1530, however, included the work of the *Accidence* in the first form, thus having a slightly different system of division. In the Paul's-Ipswich system, the boys memorized Colet's *Aeditio* and began upon Lily's *Rudimenta* in the first form. In the second form, they completed the *Rudimenta*. So far as formal grammar was concerned, they were at the same stage at the end of the second form as the Eton boys were at the end of the first. The Paul's-Ipswich boys were also to make and write Latins upon their rules. In the second form, they were

to be accustomed to speak *Latin*, and to translate into that Language, from their Mother-Tongue, somewhat that is pretty and pertinent, and upon such a Subject as to convey a sensible, elegant Meaning, accommodated to the Capacities of Boys. As soon as this is translated they are to transcribe it in *Roman* Characters; and you are every Day to take Care, that all the Boys of this Form keep their Books very correct, and very fairly transcrib'd in their own Hand-writing.

The *Vulgaria* of Stanbridge, which is said in 1519 to be according to the custom of Paul's, would supply colloquial Latins to the first need. This text would doubtless be accompanied or followed by similar work as well. The boys were also to have in English "some-what that is pretty and pertinent" to translate into Latin.

It should be noticed that these are essentially the instructions later attached to the authorized grammar evolved out of the Paul's corpus of grammar. There the boys are to have

some prety book[e,] wherin is conteyned not onely the eloquence of the tungue, [but] also a good playne lesson of honestee and godlynesse,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Lyte, H. C. M., *A History of Eton College* (1911), pp. 581-582.

<sup>11</sup> *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (1548), "To the Reader." From a photostat of the only known copy, that in Lambeth Palace Library. I am indebted to the proper authorities for permitting a photostat to the Library of the University of Illinois. My quotations are regularly from this, the first known edition of the preface.

which was in Latin but with English equivalent given. They are also to have, according to the first known edition to contain these instructions (1548), "an englishe booke, as the Psalter, or Salomons Prouerbes, or Ecclesiasticus" to turn into Latin, as the boys in the Paul's-Ipswich system were to do by 1528. When we remember that at the end of the seventeenth century Paul's boys were still using the Psalms and Proverbs for their English book to turn into Latin, I think it is clear that the custom was already established by 1528, and passes with their corpus of grammar into the first instructions to the authorized grammar, though the mention of specific suggested texts was then soon omitted. It will appear from later evidence that Shakspeare was trained on these texts, and so presumably by this method.

In the Paul's-Ipswich, as in the Eton system, the boys were to write out the resultant Latins neatly in notebooks, as Lily in his *Carmen* also insists that Paul's boys must do. They would then proceed to memorize, but the routines of the Paul's-Ipswich system are not at this period recorded. The boys would also doubtless memorize the vocabulary that Stanbridge had furnished in the *Vulgaria*.

So far, the boys of the Paul's-Ipswich system have covered the same material as the boys at Eton, only using Colet-Lily for their grammar instead of the corresponding works of Stanbridge. But they also have time to begin work upon authors before the end of the second form. They were to begin with "the Precepts of *Cato*, or *Lilly's* Admonitory Verses." Lily's *Carmen de Moribus* sums up the rules of Paul's school, and shows that the boys followed the regular routines.

Since these instructions are of fundamental importance, it will be well to quote pertinent sections in the words of William Hayne's construe.

Let a penknife, quills, ink, paper, books be implements always ready for thy studies. If I shall propose thee any thing, thou shalt write it; but every thing rightly: and let no blot be or fault in thy writings. But thou shalt not commit thy Latins or Verses to loose papers, which it is meet thou hadst written in books.<sup>12</sup> Oftentimes repeat to thyself things read, and meditate of them in thy mind. If thou doubttest, sometimes ask these, sometimes others. . . . Thou plying thy lesson shalt speak with a low voice; all the while thou art saying with me, thou shalt be loud with thy voice. And whatsoever thou repeatest to me, let them be learned at thy fingers ends, and

<sup>12</sup> Such a book of dictates survives from Winchester in the 'sixties; see below, pp. 321 ff.

thy book laid aside rehearse every word. And let no body prompt any word to thee a saying, which bringeth no small hurt to a child. If I demand any thing, thou shalt endeavour to answer so that thou mayest deserve praise and commendation by thy answers. Thou shalt not be commended for too fast a tongue, or too slow: the mean is a grace, which to keep delighteth. And as often as thou speakest, be mindful that thou speakest in latine, and avoid barbarous words as things very dangerous. Besides, teach thy fellows so often as they shall ask thee, and bring forwards the ignorant to my desire. He which teacheth the unlearned, although he were most unlearned, may be better learned than the rest in a short time. But thou shalt not imitate foolish authors of barbarism, the exceeding great disgrace of the Latine tongue. Whereof none is so foolish or so barbarous in speech, whom as an Author the barbarous multitude alloweth not. If thou wilt rightly know the Laws of the Grammar, if thou desirest to learn to speak very eloquently in thy speech, see thou learnest the most famous writings of ancient men, and the authors which the better sort of Latinists teacheth. Sometimes Virgil wisheth to embrace thee, sometimes Terence himself, sometimes withall the work of Cicero wisheth thee. Whom he that hath not learned hath seen nothing but dreams, and striveth to live in great ignorance.<sup>12</sup>

Like Wolsey, Lily insists that the boys copy out their dictated Latins of all kinds in books, not on loose and easily lost papers. Their lessons were to be memorized and repeated from memory. They were to speak always in Latin, but avoiding all barbarity of speech. Their models were to be the best authors of antiquity, not bare precepts of ignorant grammarians. Clearly, the boys of Paul's followed the usual routines of memorization and repetition, however they were organized. For their first authors, they began upon the *Carmen* and Cato. We shall learn elsewhere how they would have studied these.

The Winchester curriculum of 1530 is like that at Paul's-Ipswich, in that the work upon the accidence is done in the first form, with a consequent overlapping of the rudiments into the second. The first form began its morning by repeating a part and a verb from the accidence of Stanbridge—as the early curriculum had expressed it, *Nomen* with *Amo*, *Pronomen* with *Amor*, etc. When it had memorized the accidence and had come to the rules, the usher read the rules for the day and the boys made Latins upon them. These Latins and the rules were then repeated in the afternoon. This was the routine of the first four days of the week. On Friday morning the boys had Stanbridge's *Gradus Comparationum* as at Eton. They also began memorizing Cato here, four verses at the time. On Friday after-

<sup>12</sup> Haine, William, *Lilies Rules Construed* (1678, personal), pp. 89-91.

noon, they repeated the rules of the week. On Saturday morning, they repeated their *Gradus* and Cato. On Sunday, they might have a fable of Aesop. They were thus making a gentle beginning at their first authors quite early.

In the second form, the boys completed Stanbridge's *Parvula* for their rules, and did also "ij verses of his vocables;" that is, had two lines of his metrical arrangements of words in the *Vocabula*. This pretty certainly means also that the boys used Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* for colloquial Latins to illustrate the rules, as was regular. They would, of course, continue to drill upon their accidence, having "a verbe sett up over nyght, and makith vulgaris on it." Besides these vulgars and Latins directly to illustrate the parts and rules, they also make a beginning at themes;

they have a theme to be made in laten, the which Latyne one of the said forme at the pleasure of the master makith openlie dyverse ways. And after that they write the Masteris owne latyne.

Here is an excellent description of how boys wrote Latins, and finally received the authentic form to copy in their notebooks and memorize. It will be noticed that the simple "theme" or *sententia* as proposed by Erasmus is beginning in elementary form at the very earliest possible opportunity.

With grammar and Latins first attended to, the boys next turn to authors, of whom they had some slight taste at week-ends in the first form. Now Aesop becomes their regular subject for constructions during the week. The teacher would read, construe, and parse the lesson of the day. The boys spent the remainder of the morning memorizing as usual, and the afternoon in repetition. Then on Friday morning they would get their four lines of Cato to be rendered at the same time on Saturday. On Friday before noon they would be examined on the understanding of their rules, and after noon would render them. After rendering Cato on Saturday morning, the boys would then be examined upon and would render the Latins of the week. Apparently, the repetition and examination of authors for construction and parts came Saturday afternoon, presumably before two or three o'clock, when a "remedy" probably began. On Sunday, the boys of the second form presumably had some Aesop, as did those of the first and third.

In all four of these curricula, the essentials have been exactly the same. The boys must first memorize their accidence in English. They

then memorize their rules of construction, also in English, make and memorize illustrative Latins upon them, and begin acquiring a vocabulary. When they have mastered these rudiments, they are ready to begin upon authors in Latin, by modelling upon whom they are to perfect themselves in various forms of Latin composition, both oral and written. From the authors, they are supposed to learn grammar, but they also continue to supplement with formal grammar, which is itself now to be in Latin.

Though the authors of the Latin grammars are different in the different schools, yet the materials are necessarily of the same classifications, and are covered in nearly the same sequence. At Eton, when the Cuckfield copy was made, Robert Whittinton was the author. Whittinton had revised some of Stanbridge, and had proceeded to compile the requisite parts of Latin grammar for the further work. Thus Stanbridge in English and Whittinton in Latin together furnished complete precepts in grammar for the schools. After Whittinton's violent tilt with William Horman, former master at Eton, one is surprised to find Whittinton's works on grammar prescribed for that school. Perhaps their quarrel was in some way embittered by this fact.

The second form at Eton begins its day with the common drill for the lower school upon parts. It also reviews the English rules with the first form, but making more difficult Latins to illustrate them. For its advanced rules, it memorizes in Latin the *De Nominum Generibus* and the *De Heteroclitis Nominibus* of Whittinton. It would repeat its stint each morning and be given the assignment for the next day. After breakfast, the second form receives its lectures for the day. Cato according to the new interpretation; that is, the collection prepared in 1513 by Erasmus, is read, construed, and parsed for them. The boys spend the rest of the morning mastering their Latins and their Cato. In the afternoon, comes first the repetition of Cato, from one to three. Repetition is, of course, from memory, with construction and parsing. The remainder of the afternoon is devoted principally to repetition of the Latins of the morning in the same way. Here is now the full typical routine of a working day. There is, as usual, complete repetition on Friday and Saturday. Before breakfast Friday the second form evidently had the same religious and classical work as the first, since it is required to repeat this work with the first form on Saturday. After breakfast on Friday, it reads

the rules of the week; in the afternoon it renders its construction of Cato. Before breakfast on Saturday, it repeats with the first form the Latins of the week, which they had constructed together.

Here, then, is the routine for day and week. Indeed, there is a paragraph in the instructions explicitly giving this routine for the day.

In every of the said Forms the Rules shall be said in the Morning, and by and by more Rules given unto them: After Nine of the clock, the Construccions shall be given all: After One of the clock, the Construccions shall be heard; About Three of the clock, the Latins shall be rendered; the Master may begin to hear at what Form it pleaseth him, so that the tender babies and young Scholars be not forslowd, but ever taught plainly and substantially, soberly and discreetly entreated, and handled without rigour or hastiness in deed, word, and countenance. The Master also must attend that his Scholars keep a due and whole pronounciation of their words without precipitation, and that they use to speak Latin continually in every place.

It will be noticed that this schedule begins with the rules at seven. The preceding hour had been spent on parts and verbs by all through the third form. In the fifth and sixth forms, a slight further adaptation of this routine was necessary. For now the boys write weekly verses and epistles, etc., instead of daily Latins. So the fifth form provides for authors to be read in the morning after nine and repeated after one, but at three

In the stead of Latins, they shall construe Virgil, or Sallust, or Horace, or any other meet for them.

Here Ovid's *Epistles* and some other work which the original copyist could not decipher received thorough drill, while these other authors were read less intensively. Richard Cox supplements our knowledge of daily routine in 1530.

They come to schole at vj of the Clok in ye mornyg they say Deus misereatur with a Colecte; at ix they say de profundis & go to brekefast. With in a quarter of an howre cum ageyne & tary xi & then to dyner, at v to soper, afore an Antheme & De profundis.<sup>14</sup>

There are also provisions against lapses from Latin speaking and against other faults that boyish flesh is heir to. These two statements together give us the daily routine in detail.

And this routine is regular for the sixteenth century. Mulcaster gives us the philosophy of it.

<sup>14</sup> Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 450.

The morening houres will best serue for the memorie & conceiuing: the after noone for repetitions, & stufte for memorie to worke on.<sup>15</sup>

So the morning hours were to be used for getting, the afternoon for repeating and setting, this being the usual sixteenth century routine.

The same general routine continues at Eton in 1530, but with some significant changes. Lily's *De Generibus Nominum* is now substituted for the corresponding work of Whittinton. Since Lily had not written a work on heteroclites, there is no provision for them. Aesop has also become the subject for constructions for the first four days, and Cato is relegated to the place of religious instruction on Friday morning, to be repeated on Saturday at the same time. This solution involves a slight shifting of the week-end routine. Earlier, the new work, religious or otherwise, occupied the time before breakfast on Friday, and was repeated at the same time on Saturday. Then the rules came in the forenoon of Friday and the constructions in the afternoon, leaving the Latins for forenoon Saturday. Now in 1530 original work occupies the whole forenoon of Friday, being probably religious before breakfast, and religious-classical after; and consequently all Saturday morning is required for the repetition of Friday morning's original work. So repetition of rules is forced to the afternoon on Friday and repetition of Latins to the afternoon Saturday, with no specific provision for the repetition of authors for constructions anywhere. As has been said, the subjects for constructions are now Aesop and Cato. No mention is made of Aesop in the earlier Eton curriculum, but he would almost certainly have been given following or along with Cato in the second or third form.

Because of the differing organization into forms, the Paul's-Ipswich boys do not reach the grammar in Latin till the third form. The boys begin, of course, with Lily's *De Generibus Nominum*. For authors, they get Aesop, equally of course, but also have time for the next author above Cato and Aesop; that is, Terence. Wolsey says,

Of all Authors proper to form ordinary Conversation to a pure, neat, polish'd Stile, who is more pleasing than *Aesop*? Who more profitable than *Terence*? Both of them agreeable to Youth, even by the Quality of their Subjects.

This statement belongs conventionally to Terence, and was probably

<sup>15</sup> Mulcaster, Richard, *Positions* (1581, copy in University of Illinois Library), p. 233; Quick, R. H., *Positions: by Richard Mulcaster* (1888), p. 231. John Brinsley assumes this double cycle (*Ludus Literarius* [1627, copy in University of Illinois Library, also 1612], pp. 194, 195, etc.).



borrowed from Erasmus, whose statement on the teaching of Terence is later lifted into Wolsey's instructions. The boys are now trying in the lower school to polish their conversational style on the model of Terence, as a prelude to more literary efforts.

Winchester is much like Paul's in its subjects, and for the same fundamental reason of organization. The third form at Winchester continues the same routine as in the preceding two forms. The boys now begin their grammar in Latin, studying first, of course, genders and heteroclitics, but using the old grammar of Sulpitius instead of Lily or Whittinton. Winchester had probably used Sulpitius for many a year. The usher reads and explains the assigned section to the boys first thing. Then he examines them upon their verb which had been set them overnight, and they make vulgars upon it. Next<sup>16</sup> they make a theme in Latin as explained in the second form. Their authors for construction are Aesop on Monday and Wednesday; Lucian's dialogues in Latin translation on Tuesday and Thursday. There would be the regular repetition in the afternoon. At the weekend, rules were examined Friday morning, rendered Friday afternoon. Lily's *Carmen* was rendered first thing Saturday morning, so must have been read to them at the same time Friday. Then on Saturday morning came examination and repetition of their Latins. They would have rendered their authors for construction, Aesop and Lucian, at the conventional time for them here, Saturday afternoon. "The Sondag a dialogue of lucyane or a fable of Esope to be seid withowt booke and construed." These boys had to work on Sunday as well as all week. For authors, they have spread Cato out over the first two years and Aesop over the first three, with some Lucian in Latin translation the third. The boys at Winchester have thus covered exactly the same materials at the end of the third form as the boys at Paul's, except that they have used different grammars, have studied the heteroclitics, and have substituted Lucian for Terence. This substitution makes them abnormally late in reaching Terence, the acme of colloquial Latinity.

The story of essential uniformity continues at the next stage. This is the third form in the Eton system. In the Cuckfield copy, the grammar rules for the third form are from Whittinton's preterites, supines, and defectives. The boys continue to make Latins, but there

<sup>16</sup> Someone has inadvertently inserted "none" following "after;" but the routine, the position of the item, and the parallel phraseology show that this operation was at its regular place in the morning.

is no hint as to their particular nature, though they would be some form of "theme." For authors, the boys now come to Terence, and the *Colloquies* and *Similitudes* of Erasmus. The similes are connected with their themes, as we shall later see. The boys at Eton are here intensifying their study of colloquial Latinity. They had used Stanbridge's collection of colloquial vulgars as the basis for their Latins in the first and second forms. Now in the third they come to the colloquies of Erasmus and must begin to master Terence himself, the acme of colloquial eloquence. No doubt this concentration upon colloquial polish in the third form is the reason that Dr. Cox about 1530 has "prepositors," "ffor spekyng of Laten in the thred forme & all other." By the third form the boys were under surveillance to speak Latin everywhere, not merely in the schoolroom as in the previous year or so. The first objective of grammar school composition is spoken Latin, with Terence as the model. It is not wholly accidental that Nicholas Udall became master at Eton the midsummer of 1534, just after he had published his *Floures of Terence*, with a prefatory dedication dated Feb. 28, 1533-34, a text designed to aid in the process of mastering Terence. The colloquies of Erasmus are a storehouse of essays on varied phases of life, most of them, as Erasmus later alleged, with a moral intent, yet seldom hurt by that alleged purpose. Much of the collection, no doubt, was over the heads of these nine or ten year old boys, but they doubtless understood enough of it to make some of them want to understand more, which is the great virtue of a textbook. Part of a textbook ought to be over the heads of all the class anyway—"A man's reach." Here in Erasmus was a storehouse for all purposes, well worth reading still.

Since the fourth form is tied to the third at Eton, we may examine it also here. For rules, it proceeded to Whittinton's syntax, which he called *De concinnitate Grammatices*. This rounded off its formal work in the grammar proper. All its other work was with the third form, "to the intent that the better learned may instruct the lesser learned." The boys tarry long upon Terence and Erasmus, for this is the end of formal grammar and the lower school. They are supposed now to be able to speak and write grammatical Latin fluently. Upper school will attempt to teach them to speak and write eloquently.

The same general arrangement for the third and fourth forms continues in 1530, but with a few readjustments. In the third form, Lily's preterites have been substituted for Whittinton's. Of authors for constructions, only Terence is named in the time-table, though the

subsidiary texts would, no doubt, continue. Latins are required, but without statement of their nature. The week-end routine is slightly readjusted, as before. "Most proper Hymmys" or "Properest hymmys"<sup>17</sup> are the original work of Friday morning, rendered Saturday morning. Rules are rendered Friday afternoon and Latins Saturday afternoon.

Similarly in the fourth form the Lily-Erasmus *Libellus de constructione octo partium orationis*, a syntax in Latin, has supplanted the corresponding syntax of Whittinton. Terence continues for constructions, but Latins are only twice a week, showing that they were now of some extended form. In fact, the type has been stated as "Wrytyng of a theme," but the statement has inadvertently been dropped to the top of the next form, where it does not belong. But, as usual, the week-end routine has been changed somewhat. Now Virgil's *Bucolics* are read on Friday morning and repeated at the same time Saturday, while rules are rendered Friday afternoon, and Latins Saturday afternoon. It will be remembered that Erasmus discussed the teaching of Terence and Virgil's *Bucolics* as the first two Latin authors.<sup>18</sup> The Eton curriculum is following his advice.

The Paul's-Ipswich system follows a similar progression. In the fourth form, it also takes the next step in grammar with Lily's preterites and supines as did the third at Eton in 1530. Having had Terence in the third form, the boys now continue with Virgil in the fourth, current practice as established by Erasmus and the statement of Laneham making it certain that the work was the *Bucolics*. Incidentally, Wolsey commends Virgil thus, "You will find even your Account in their pronouncing his majestick Lines in a deep, full Articulation." Wolsey was insistent throughout on attention to a finished delivery. Since the Paul's-Ipswich system now at its halfway point ceases its systematic study of grammar, deferring the final stages till later, and since the organization of upper school begins with the fifth form on a different principle, we have come to the same dividing point as at Eton. In the first four divisions of lower school, the boys of the two systems have covered the same classical authors in the same relative order, Cato, Aesop, Terence, and Virgil's *Bucolics*. But the Paul's-Ipswich boys have lagged behind with their grammar, and are deferring the final stages till the middle of the

<sup>17</sup> Those of Prudentius, I suppose.

<sup>18</sup> Around 1525, Palsgrave reported that he had read with Henry Fitzroy the first Eclogue of Virgil and the first two scenes of *Adelphi* by Terence (Carver, *Acolastus*, p. xxxi).

upper school. In various ways, it is evident that they have laid less stress upon formal grammar and perhaps more on authors. In other respects, the indications are that the work of the two systems has probably been quite similar.

Winchester continues to show its fundamental agreement, with variations. In the fourth form, the rules are the preterites and supines as usual, and again the grammarian is Sulpitius. These rules are given to the boys first thing by the fifth form before seven o'clock, when the master comes in. The usher is doubtless present, since he would be expected to arrive and begin the operations of the lower school at six. But he was busy in declaring rules to the still lower forms. The fifth form for the first three days of the week also gave the fourth form four verses of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the twelve a week to be rendered on Saturday morning. When the master comes in at seven, the fourth form proceeds with its verbs and vulgars as usual. "And after they write the laten that one of them shall make by ye assyngnyng of the master," this being the regular theme process here. Then the master reads them their lesson in Terence. In the afternoon, of course, the boys render their Terence, construing and parsing it; then come their rules and Latins. On Friday, they are examined on rules in the morning, and render them in the afternoon. Saturday morning they render the twelve verses of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which had been read to them by the fifth form during the first three days of the week. Saturday afternoon they repeat and are examined upon their Terence.

The sonday with other low holydayes, an englysh of an epistle to be made in latyn dyverse wayes & somtyme Tullies paradoxes to be construyd.

Here is one form of Latin the boys were now beginning to write, the epistle. Of it, we shall hear more in the upper school.

Like Paul's, Winchester now defers the remainder of grammar for at least a year, evidently to the sixth form as at Paul's, though these instructions for this form at Winchester have perished. The reason for the deferment, however, is here apparent in the routine. For Winchester caused the fifth form to give grammar rules to the fourth by way of perfecting itself. This sufficed for its grammar, and permitted it to begin its rules of another type more appropriate to the fundamental objectives of upper school. It will be remembered that Lily in his *Carmen* evidently expects his classes to follow similar principles of student-teaching, and this doubtless is the reason that the Paul's-Ipswich system shows the same break in the teaching of formal

grammar at the end of lower school. This treatment of grammar, deferring as it does the final technicalities as late as possible, is perhaps more in keeping with the principles of Erasmus than is the Eton system. But in all these systems formal grammar ceases to be the fundamental guide at the end of the fourth form. At Eton, it has been completed; at Paul's, Ipswich, and Winchester, its final stages have been deferred and submerged as it were in the upper school. So Eton by providing that the accidence must be completed before entrance to the first form has managed to complete grammar by the end of the fourth, and to begin making the distinction between lower school and upper absolute.

For authors in the lower school, Winchester has also used Cato, Aesop, and Terence. Winchester does not, however, specify Virgil's *Bucolics* as do the other schools. Instead, it has used Lucian's dialogues along with Aesop before Terence, and has begun the memorization of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at the rate of twelve lines a week or about five hundred lines a year. This was in preparation for the writing of verses which would begin in the upper school. We need to watch this process carefully because Shakspeare himself warns us that his poetic training was based on Ovid. In spite, then, of minor variations, these curricula for lower grammar school have been essentially uniform.

So will the curricula for upper school also be. The guiding principle now shifts from grammar to the other members of the triumvirate, logic and rhetoric, including poetic. Consequently, types of literature or types of composition now become the basis of organization. Since routines remain the same in each instance in the upper school as they were in the lower, we shall refer to them only when they prove helpful. The Paul's-Ipswich curriculum is organized upon types of literature. In the fifth, the boys study epistles, using Cicero's select epistles. These are evidently to be studied as modes of composition, for Wolsey thinks they "are not to be excell'd as to Practicability and Advantage, in acquiring a rich and copious Stile of Language." Thus the boys evidently study and no doubt write imitative epistles in this form. They would have some "rules" to follow, but these are not prescribed. In the sixth, the boys study history, reading Sallust and Caesar. For rules, they now complete the grammar, using the *Libellus* of Lily-Erasmus, and study defective and anomalous verbs, heteroclites of all kinds. After having in the fifth form confirmed their knowledge of grammar by teaching the fourth, the boys

now in the sixth round off formal grammar, while they are studying the historians. No hint is given as to the nature of their themes or compositions.

In the seventh form, the boys study poetry, and write both epistles and verse. As models of poetry, they study the epistles of Horace, and the *Metámorphoses* or the *Fasti* of Ovid. For the rules, they would, of course, have some treatise on prosody, but that is not specified. They were to

apply themselves to some poetical or epistolary Compositions. They will likewise find great Utility, by some Times throwing Verse into Prose, and reducing Prose to harmonious Numbers.

These are the instructions of Erasmus, and show probably the exercise that he had in mind. The compositional form which has been selected for this Protean process of changing from prose to verse and back again is the epistle. So the boys have learned first to write prose epistles; then in the seventh form they combine poetry and epistle on the verse epistle, using the epistles of Horace as a model.

Finally, in the eighth form, the boys reach their rhetoric proper. They now

proceed to arrive to the higher Rules of Grammar, such as [to] the Figures, as they are laid down by *Donatus*; [to] *Valla*, upon Elegance, and [to] several ancient Writers, who treat upon the *Latin* Tongue.

These are the specifications of Erasmus for the final stage, and do not give much hint as to actual practice. Erasmus had himself constructed his *Copia* for this purpose at Paul's, and it is regularly used at the corresponding stage elsewhere. It must have been so used at Paul's. I feel certain, therefore, that we have in Wolsey's instructions a copy of the original Paul's statutes, before Erasmus had constructed *Copia*. The constant echo of and lifting from the *De Ratione* probably indicate close collaboration between Erasmus and Colet, as we should expect from the known personal cooperation of the two men in planning the beginnings of the school. I take it, therefore, that these instructions concerning the eighth form represent the principle and not the details of practice. At any rate, here the boys are to receive their final rhetorical polish, though procedures are not indicated.

It is indicated, however, that they study their figures in Donatus—not primarily rhetorical but grammatical be it noticed—and some rhetorical guide. This means that their final study is of oratory, with

Cicero, certainly, as the chief model. This also follows from the sequence of types; epistles, history, poetry, oratory. It must not be overlooked, however, that grammar is spread throughout the curriculum of Paul's to the very last form, for the prosody of the seventh form and the grammatical figures of the eighth are avowedly grammatical exercises. As such, they receive sections in the authorized grammar. But while grammar is spread over the entire curriculum at Paul's, it nevertheless loses its dominant influence upon organization in the upper school. The dominant principle there is of types of literature. At the end, the boy would not only know grammar, but he would also know the chief authors of the chief types of literature, and he would have formed his own style upon theirs in the various types of imitative composition. But types of literature lead in the organization rather than types of composition. In the final solution, this is to be reversed, and types of composition are to serve as the principle of organization, rather than types of literature.

Since Eton shows this change to types of composition clearly by 1530, we had best examine its system next. We shall then see that the curriculum at Winchester had been once as was Paul's originally, but by 1530 had been modified in the direction more fully clarified at Eton. It will be remembered that at Eton formal grammar as such had been completed in the fourth form, leaving only figures both of grammar and of construction, together with prosody yet to come. So in the Cuckfield copy, the boys are to "read the Versifying Rules" in the fifth form. For composition, they make verses and epistles every week. They should thus have had the rules for epistles as well as for verse. In fact, the Saffron Walden copy of the time table in 1530 shows more exactly what texts they used, "Versifyeng rulys drawne owte of despauterius other modus conscribendi epistolas." Eton boys got their prosody from the elaborate discussion of Despauterius, and had a textbook on epistles. The title itself does not absolutely determine the text, but it was evidently not the *Ars Epistolica* of Despauterius, and was probably the text of Erasmus. The writing of verses the boys continue in the sixth form, but their prose composition changes. Here they shall

have for their Rules *Copiam* Erasmi wherein is taught the way to make [orations]: all other things they shall read with the Fifth.<sup>19</sup>

The *Copia* of Erasmus was supposed to initiate one into the elements

<sup>19</sup> Cf. V. C. H., *Buckingham*, Vol. II, p. 177.

of oratory. Thus the boys must have been writing declamatory forms of composition.

It will be seen that the boys now write both verse and prose in the upper two forms. The prose has been first epistles and then declamatory forms. No doubt, the Latins of early years had led up to these forms as Erasmus had directed. For in Erasmus themes were to grow larger till epistles and verses might be attempted. Then would follow declamatory forms. Eton is observing this progression. The same organization continues in 1530. Now a seventh form is supposed to do the same work as the sixth. The sixth has for rules, "mosellanys figures or *Copia rerum et verborum* of Erasmus," and continues to have a written assignment in verse and one in prose each week. Thus the general scheme remains the same. The chief text, the *Copia*, also remains the same. The other text is the collection of figures of rhetoric by Mosellanus. In Eton, then, the boys began writing verse in the fifth form, and for the remainder of their course presented one verse exercise and one prose exercise each week. By the fifth form the prose exercise was the writing of epistles. After that, it was the declamatory forms, with *Copia* as the guide on rules.

The models are selected accordingly to represent verse and the prose type being studied. So for these upper exercises, the Cuckfield copy specifies Ovid's *Epistolae Heroidum*, Virgil, and Horace as the poetic models. Presumably the epistles of Ovid were contrived a double debt to pay when the boys were studying both epistles and verses in the fifth form. It will be remembered that at Paul's the boys had used the epistles of Horace the same way in the seventh form. Quite likely it is the epistles of Horace which are to be used here. We learn from the time table of 1530 that in Virgil the *Aeneid* was studied at this stage. These and other works of the great poets the boys were to use for models. In 1530, the Ovid is not mentioned, but Virgil's *Aeneid* is used for original work Friday morning, being repeated Saturday from the fifth form onward. In the sixth form, Horace came through the week and Virgil's *Aeneid* continued at the week-end. Thus Ovid must have come through the week in the fifth form, Horace in the sixth, and Virgil's *Aeneid* at the week-end in both. The seventh was some kind of extension of the sixth.

For prose, the Cuckfield copy mentions only Sallust for these upper forms. The time-table of 1530 does a little better. It mentions Cicero's epistles in the fifth. These would serve as models for the prose epistles, along with Ovid in verse. It appears, too, that Sallust



was fitted in here also. In the sixth, Tully is specified. This will be Tully's orations to serve as models of the declamatory exercises which the boys are to write. The seventh was to continue as the sixth, but the further authors are not named.

The organization is clear. The boys had rules for prosody and epistles in the fifth. They read illustrative models in both types, and tried their own hands in imitation. In the sixth, they followed a similar program for verse and oratory. The seventh would be a continuation of the sixth. There would be authors who did not serve so specifically as models, but of these only Sallust is mentioned, though he too doubtless furnished model orations. It will be seen that the organization at Eton is upon types of composition, not upon types of literature as at Paul's.

It will also be seen that Eton has followed exactly the scheme of Erasmus for its upper school. The boys begin the prose sequence in the fifth form with epistles, using probably the text of Erasmus for guidance. This text implies that the boys have had at least the topics beforehand, quite likely from the *Topica* of Cicero. In the sixth form, the boys master their tropes and schemes preparatory to the *Copia* of Erasmus, which assumes that the boys have had these and probably the topics also. Declamatory work now begins. Presumably it is the theme under the direction of Aphthonius, leading to the full-fledged oration in the seventh, probably under the guidance of Cicero and Quintilian. Paralleling the prose, the boys had studied prosody and had begun to write verse in the fifth form, as they then continued to do throughout grammar school. Eton is thus by 1530 using the scheme of Erasmus for upper grammar school, and more than a century later Hoole is advocating almost exactly the same organization as Eton. Similarly, the reader will notice from our analysis of it above that the curriculum at Paul's had by the end of the seventeenth century also rearranged its materials to conform to this compositional scheme of things. We shall have clear hints as we progress that this change at Paul's was evolving along with similar changes in other schools in the sixteenth century.

Winchester shows such a system as the Paul's-Ipswich being modified in the Eton direction. Winchester had attained the same stage in its formal grammar at the end of the fourth form as in the Paul's-Ipswich system. But it was a stage behind with its authors, reaching Terence only in the fourth form and consequently now coming to Virgil's *Bucolics* only in the fifth. In the fifth form, as at Eton, Win-

chester boys studied "the versyfycall rulys," using Sulpitius as the author. They must also have had instructions on letter writing at this stage or before, since they wrote verses on Wednesdays and epistles on Thursdays, and they had already done some work on epistles in the fourth form on Sundays. In Sulpitius, the section *De Componendis Ormandisque Epistolis* follows construction and precedes metrics. The boys are following the order of the grammar. The compositional work of the fifth at Winchester is thus the same as that of the fifth at Eton. The Paul's-Ipswich system also studied epistles in the fifth form, but apparently did not take up poetry till the seventh, when the boys wrote both verse and epistles, combining also on verse epistles. It would appear, therefore, that verse has now been moved down to the fifth form to connect with the delayed *Bucolics*, and at least at Eton made parallel with the prose forms for the remainder of school, instead of being concentrated in one form. While no text is specified at Winchester for epistles, yet Sulpitius would furnish rules and Tully's epistles naturally served as the models.

The Winchester boys have thus deferred their final work on syntax and the finer points of grammar at least to the sixth form. Presumably, they complete this in the sixth form, as did the boys in the Paul's-Ipswich system, and then study oratory in the seventh.<sup>20</sup>

That is, the poetry of the seventh form in the Paul's-Ipswich system has been combined with the epistles of the fifth, thus reducing that system by one form, as at Winchester. The final stage of grammar, which had been deferred to the sixth form in the Paul's-Ipswich system, is now marooned in an illogical position. To remedy this, the Eton system requires the accidence out of form, and can thus care for the remainder of grammar in the first four forms. This permits the forms above to do both prose and verse, and so to be organized purely on types of writing, instead of upon grammar as the minor thread, and types of literature as the major thread. That is, formal grammar is being confined to the lower forms entirely, and formal rhetoric is beginning to dominate the upper forms. So far as organization alone is concerned, this evolution is away from Erasmus, who insisted upon the predominance of authors over formal grammar, rhetoric, and logic. But so far as the actual objective is concerned, the system moves in the direction of Erasmian ideals, for to Erasmus actual composition upon the model of the best authors

<sup>20</sup> At least some editions of Sulpitius attach *Donatus* on figures after the verse rules for use in the upper forms, as Erasmus had suggested, and Wolsey had specified for the eighth form.

was the dominant objective. Upon this objective, the Eton system is much more fully centered. It would thus appear from our previous discussion that Dean Colet and Erasmus had put their ideals into a Winchester organization. Later, the Winchester organization was changed as we see it in 1530. Then the Eton system further clarifies the altered system at Winchester. I suppose that this relationship of the Eton curriculum to that at Winchester is the reason that the proviso at Saffron Walden in 1525 coupled these two together. As we shall see, the Eton system is to be a little further modified to become one of the principal systems of the latter half of the century.

But to continue with the Winchester system in 1530, it is clear that the boys there also continued both prose and poetry through the other forms, after they had begun poetry along with epistles in the fifth. For while details have perished for these upper forms, yet enough information survives to make general principles clear. The method of teaching poetry at Winchester is of vital importance for our present purpose. The boys began memorizing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the fourth form. First thing in the morning the boys of the fifth form taught those of the fourth their rules and four verses of the *Metamorphoses*. For some reason, they memorized verses only three days, making a total of twelve for the week, which they rendered on Saturday morning. The boys of the fifth are thus by this exercise also refreshing their memory of the five hundred verses they had learned the year before. But in addition, the fifth received another five hundred lines in the same way from the sixth. And the fragment of instructions for the sixth form provides further study of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for the sixth and seventh forms. We shall examine the process more in detail later; but, briefly, many school masters insisted on memorization of verse so as to fix the rhythm in the heads of the boys as the best preparation for writing verse. The rival favorites as models were Ovid and Virgil. This is part of the point to Wolsey's remark on Virgil, "You will find even your Account in their pronouncing his majestick Lines in a deep, full Articulation." So the boys at Winchester begin memorizing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the fourth form, preparatory to beginning the writing of verse in the fifth. They continue their study through the fifth, sixth, and seventh, showing that they continued the study of poetry throughout the upper forms as at Eton. Shakspeare has told us that Ovid had been his verse master, and here no doubt is the secret of his intimate knowledge of the *Metamorphoses*.

For prose, most of the indications for the sixth and seventh forms at Winchester have perished. But Sallust is mentioned, as at Eton and Paul's. At Paul's, he had belonged with history in the sixth. In the wreckage of types of literature, Sallust became a man without a country. Eton fitted him into the fifth form, along with poetry and epistles, to serve for subject matter as Erasmus directed, and probably also by way of prelude to Tully's orations, which would begin with Catiline it seems, then as usually now. Since contemporary interest was chiefly in the speeches of Sallust and Livy, it was natural that they should be fitted into the oratorical scheme. Epistles slip down to the fourth, leaving poetry and history for the fifth. It seems to have been intended at Winchester that some work be done upon Sallust in the fifth form, as well as in the sixth and seventh. We may assume that for final work the boys would have studied Tully as a model, some book on oratory, probably *Copia*, for rules, and have written various forms of declamations as their exercises.

A volume in the British Museum attributed to the ownership of King Henry VIII by the *MS Catalogue of old Royal Library* and by the binding shows quite well what types of texts were required in the rhetorical work of these schools around 1530. It consists (1) of a Latin grammar without a title page, Paris, 1529, (2) a volume, also Paris, 1529, containing the *Tabulae* of Mosellanus, a similar tabulation *In Rhetorica Philippi Melanthonis*, and another *In Erasmi Roterodami Libellum de duplici Copia*, and (3) a volume, Paris, 1530, *Paraphrasis D. Erasmi Roterod . . . in elegantiorū libros L. Vallae*, with an appendix. The whole volume has been well used, and has an obliterated signature at the end which might show who used it.

Here are the key works for the whole upper curriculum around 1530. The Latin grammar furnished the final stage for that study, and also the prosody for writing poetry. Mosellanus furnished the key to *elocutio* or rhetoric proper. The similar rhetoric of Melancthon furnished allied structural information on composition. It will be remembered that Leonard Cox was at this time adapting this work for English use. Another tabulation gave the key to the *Copia* of Erasmus. These three tabulations give the skeleton form of the rhetorical and oratorical work of upper grammar school. The epitome of Valla by Erasmus is a kindred work on the niceties of usage. This collection makes concrete for us the statements of the curricula. Here are some of the instruments by which these instructions were executed.

It is clear, then, that for final work in all these schools the boys from simple Latins progressed through themes of increasing degrees of difficulty to epistles, verse, and the declamatory forms. This is the scheme of Erasmus. At each stage, the boys have the proper classic models for imitation. They are directed in their efforts by the requisite amounts of theory from grammar, rhetoric, and logic. In fundamentals, it is as Erasmus said it should be. It was founded upon his principles, and taught from his texts and by his methods, as progressively modified. The exercises by which these subjects were inculcated were all conventional by Whittinton's day, so that he supplies the boys with proper Latin formulae in his *Vulgaria*.

Here me felowe/ my parte/ my verses/ my rule/ my latyn/ without boke.

Audi mi condiscipule. audito. audias me memoriter recitantem. partem carmina regulam/ materiam latinam.<sup>21</sup>

Since this is written in a book of vulgars which became Latins, here are all the conventional subjects of drill. The general principles of routine are also uniform. Some work had been assigned for over night. This was repeated first thing in the morning as the morning lessons. The remainder of the morning was spent in receiving and preparing lessons. The afternoon was spent in recitations, these being the afternoon lessons. The routine of morning and afternoon lessons, with "parts" and "rules" coming first thing as the morning lessons still continues in Paul's curriculum in the second half of the seventeenth century. On Friday morning a certain amount of new work was given to be rendered at the same time Saturday. But the greater part of Friday and Saturday was occupied in repeating the total work of the week. Then the last two weeks of the quarter were devoted to repetition of the total work of that period. Since the work depended fundamentally upon memory, the teachers realized fully the necessity of constant repetition.

The Elizabethan schoolmaster evidently agreed with Diogenes, who for his pupils

found the meanes y<sup>t</sup> thei should learn by hearte & memorie al y<sup>t</sup> euer good was out of y<sup>e</sup> poetes, & other writers. In cōsideracion y<sup>t</sup> we haue true knowlage & perfecte intelligēce, onely of suche thynges as wee haue suerly enprinted & engrauen in our memorie.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Whittinton, Robert, *Vulgaria . . . et de institutione grammaticulorum Opusculum* (1521), Folio XXVr.

<sup>22</sup> Erasmus, D., *Apophthegmes, that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious saynges* (tr. by N. Udall, 1542; U. M. \*1063, from B. M. 1075, g. 1; S. T. C. 10443), p. 80r; Roberts, R. *The Apophthegmes of Erasmus, Translated into English by Nicolas Udall* (1877, from the edition of 1564), p. 89. Two copies of the edition of 1564 in the University of Illinois Library.

This routine at Eton had not changed in its fundamentals when about 1560 Malim recorded it, so that it might be adapted by Westminster—for the eventual use of Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer. The routine provided at Peterborough in 1561 is also this same one,<sup>23</sup> supplementing the Eton time table of about 1560 very neatly on many details. These are the only definite instances I have found of sixteenth century routine, though we shall notice various other fragments and hints; but it is significant that they are uniform. Part of the reason for the uniformity is also readily apparent, for one school merely adopted or slightly adapted the routine of another. Nor was the borrowing confined to what we now think of as the greater schools. Cuckfield and Saffron Walden, apparently with only one master each, yet expected to follow the curriculum and routine of Winchester and Eton. Similarly, so late as 1563 it was provided that the grammar school of Wimborne Minster in Dorset, apparently with only a master, was to be taught according to the usages of Eton and Winchester;<sup>24</sup> and in 1574 Seven Oaks was to “be ordered as the School of Saint Paul’s in London, for their teaching.”<sup>25</sup>

While there are adaptations to circumstances, yet the same fundamental routine evidently continues in these schools and the others throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. The system was thus simple but inhumanly thorough—at least on paper. No wonder the masters had to flog the boys through it. One wonders how a human being, either teacher or boy, endured it. Not even Sunday was ordinarily free, and founders regularly attempted desperately to balk human nature by limiting holidays to a very narrow minimum. And the masters’ ideas of how holidays should be spent did not at all coincide with those of the boys. I suspect the boys dreaded some of those holidays worse than school. No wonder that the records of the masters’ most brilliant experiments are so likely to end, “This worthe yong Ientleman, to my greatest grief . . . departed within few dayes, out of this world.”<sup>26</sup> Education! Education! What crimes are committed in thy name!

<sup>23</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, Vol. II, pp. 208–209.

<sup>24</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, p. 385.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 621.

<sup>26</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 32v.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MOVEMENT TOWARD AUTHORIZED UNIFORMITY

IN THE NEXT STAGE, the system which by 1530 has been evolved at Eton is hardened into uniformity, and spreads to other schools. We have already seen how by 1529 Wolsey and the Convocation of Canterbury were seeking uniformity in the teaching of grammar, this meaning necessarily essential uniformity of total curriculum. In 1540, King Henry started the revision which by 1545 had produced the authorized grammar essentially in its final form. To harden the grammar into uniformity was to go far toward hardening the whole curriculum. So when the whole cathedral machinery was being reorganized in the 'forties, the cathedral schools were provided with uniform regulations. The curricula are not included, but in two cases were attached. It is significant that these two are essentially identical and represent a slight further clarification of the Eton system as it was in 1530.

The curriculum at Canterbury in 1541, is almost exactly that of Eton, as modified from that at Winchester in 1530; and may be quoted in Leach's translation as furnishing numerous details of methods employed. This curriculum is the more interesting because this is Christopher Marlowe's school, and here is essentially the curriculum to which he was a few years later subjected.

The whole number of the scholars shall be divided into five or six ranks or classes. The Under Master shall teach the three lower, and the Head Master the three upper classes.

No one shall be admitted into the school who cannot read readily, or does not know by heart in the vernacular the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments. Those who are wholly ignorant of Grammar shall learn the accidents of nouns and verbs,<sup>1</sup> as it were out of class. When they have learnt these they shall be taken into the First Class.

In the First Class they shall learn thoroughly by heart the rudiments in English;<sup>2</sup> they shall learn to put together the parts of speech; and to turn a short phrase of English into Latin; and gradually to approach other easy constructions.

<sup>1</sup> Colet's *Aeditio*, or the *accidence* proper.

<sup>2</sup> Lily's *Rudimenta*, including *Concords* and *Constructions*, so that by the end of the first form the boys would have covered the material of the English part of the grammar, which was becoming "A Short Introduction of Grammar."

In the Second Class they shall learn a little higher; they shall know the genders of nouns and the inflections of verbs written in Latin; they shall run through Cato's verses, Aesop's Fables, and some Familiar Colloquies.

In the Third Class they shall endeavour to make right varyings on the nouns and anomalous verbs, so that no noun or verb may be found anywhere which they do not know how to inflect in every detail. In this form too they shall make Terence's Comedies, Mantuanus' Eclogues, and other things of that sort thoroughly familiar to them.

These classes the Under Master shall take diligent care of, instilling and inculcating the lesser rudiments into his pupils so as to make them fit and prepared to receive higher instruction.

The Under Master shall come into school at 6 a.m., and immediately after saying the prayers to God which we have prescribed, shall make his scholars daily say by heart one of the eight parts of speech until they are ready in each. Nor shall he omit on any other day to dictate to his pupils an English sentence, and that a short one, which he shall teach them to turn exactly into Latin, and to write it carefully in their parchment note-books.

In short, in anything to be done in the school the Under Master shall be subject to and shall obey the Head Master; and shall consult him on the method and plan of teaching; so that they may both agree in their great zeal for the profit of the scholars. Both too shall endeavour to teach their pupils to speak openly, finely and distinctly, keeping due decorum both with their body and their mouth.

In the Fourth Form the boys shall be taught to know the Latin syntax readily; and shall be practised in the stories of poets, and familiar letters of learned men and the like.

In the Fifth Form they shall commit to memory [in Latin] the Figures of . . . Oratory and the rules for making verses; and at the same time shall be practised in making verses and polishing themes; then they shall be versed in translating the chastest Poets and the best Historians.

Lastly, in the Sixth Form they shall be instructed in the formulas of 'Copiousness of Words and Things' written by Erasmus; and learn to make varyings of speech in every mood, so that they may acquire the faculty of speaking Latin, as far as is possible for boys. Meanwhile they shall taste Horace, Cicero and other authors of that class. Meanwhile they shall compete with one another in declamations so that they may leave well learned in the school of argument.

These classes principally the Head Master shall try to polish in Latin.

He shall come into school by 7 o'clock to perform his duty of teaching thoroughly. He too every other day shall make some English sentence into Latin and teach the flock committed to him to change it into many forms. Moreover let him understand that he has charge of the whole school.<sup>3</sup>

But those he shall find to be fit and industrious he shall, at least three times a year, call up to the higher forms, namely from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so on as each shall be thought fit. This

---

<sup>3</sup> Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 464-469.



shall be done in the presence of and after consultation with the Under Master in the case of those who are entrusted to his care.

Moreover at 6 p.m. the scholars shall return to school, and until 7 p.m. shall do their repetition and render to their fellow-pupils who have become ripe in learning, several masters also being present, whatever they have learnt through the day.<sup>4</sup>

Lastly, whatever they are doing in earnest or in play they shall never use any language but Latin or Greek.<sup>5</sup>

Evidently the same routine is to be followed at Canterbury as at Eton in 1530 as modified from Winchester. The usher begins the day at six with grammatical drill for the lower forms. Then at seven the master enters, and the further work is taken up. There is the same routine of rules, vulgars and Latins, and constructions. The authors for constructions are much the same, and in the lower forms are to be taken in practically the same order. In the upper forms, more leeway, as usual, is left as to the order of authors. The list of authors is not complete but merely typical, it being assumed that the suitable authors are known as a matter of course.

The school is now in six forms, with the beginners doing the accidence out of class, and with no mention of a seventh form working with the sixth. The school is divided, the beginners and the first three forms being under the usher, and the upper three under the master. The authors of the lower school are the same except that the *Eclogues* of Mantuanus have been substituted for those of his fellow Mantuan Virgil, the familiar colloquies are not specifically those of Erasmus, and the *Similia* of Erasmus are not specified. Drill on grammar, and the writing of illustrative Latins continue in the same way. In the upper school, the boys still complete their grammar in the fourth form, and epistles have also been moved down to that position, though still leaving poetry for the fifth, who memorize the figures of speech and the versifical rules as before. The fifth continues to read the chastest poets and the best historians for their authors, and to polish verses and themes for their written work. Finally, in the sixth, the *Copia* of Erasmus supplies the rules, Horace the poetry, Cicero the prose for oratory; and the boys write declamations for their prose. This is the Eton system, with the demarcation between grammar and rhetoric becoming still clearer. The boys still do some grammar in the fourth form outside of lower school, but in other

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 468-469.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 468-469.

respects the demarcation is now complete between lower school and upper, with grammar as the function of the lower school and rhetoric of the upper. This demarcation is soon to be made even more complete.

Certain other provisions at Canterbury are also interesting. There were to be two teachers, and fifty boys,

whom however we will shall not be admitted as poor boys of our church before they have learnt to read and write and are moderately learned in the first rudiments of grammar . . . And we will that these boys shall be maintained at the expense of our church until they have obtained a moderate knowledge of Latin grammar and have learnt to speak and to write Latin. The period of four years shall be given to this, or if it shall so seem good to the Dean or in his absence the Subdean, and the Head Master, at most five years and not more . . . We will further, that none shall be elected a poor pupil of our church who has not completed the ninth year or has passed the fifteenth year of his age, unless he has been a chorister of our chapel royal or of our church of Canterbury.<sup>6</sup>

The boys, therefore, must be at least nine at admission to a scholarship but must not have passed fifteen, should already have had some training in the rudiments of Latin, though the curriculum provides for those who have none, and must have completed the course of six forms in four, or at the most, five more years after appointment. One might thus have expected the school to be divided into four forms of a year each. It appears, however, that admission to the school was not the same as being elected to a scholarship. Besides the King's Scholars, there were also evidently "Commoners" in the school from early date, as was certainly true later. By 1682, the usher taught the rudiments in one form,

the Accidence, Lillyes Grammar, Cato puerilis, Cordorius, Esopos fables, Erasmus' Colloquies.<sup>7</sup>

The master taught the remainder in two other forms. The second form was divided into two classes, the lower studying

Ovid de Tristibus, Terence, Latine testament, Erasmus, Tully's Offices;  
the upper

Ovid's Metamorphosis, Tully's Orations, Quintus Curtius, Greek Grammar, Possonius' colloquies. Here to make latine Theams and verses.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 456-457.

<sup>7</sup> Woodruff, C. E. and Cape, H. J., *Schola Regia Cantuariensis*, p. 133.

The upper form was also divided into two classes, the lower studying,

Virgill, Horace, Isocratis, Greeke Testament;

the upper

Homer, Hesiod, Minores poetæ, Florus. Here to make Declamations, verses Greeke and Latine extempore.

The crucial point was promotion from the usher's domain to the master's,

None to be removed from the Usher's to the Master's forms but by the Deane and Prebends or in the absence of the Deane by his Vicedean and Prebends after their quarterly examinations or by the Deane and Chapter after their general examination at S<sup>t</sup> Katherines.

It requires special action to get into the master's forms, the divisions in his forms are four, and a King's Scholar was supposed to have a four-year tenure. It was probably expected from the beginning that the boy should have approved himself in his elementary work either at the school or elsewhere, before he became a King's Scholar. At the original foundation, the Eton-Winchester system has given a six-form scheme to be completed in four, or at the most, five years after admission to a scholarship. It is provided that the boys may be promoted three times a year. This would give sufficient flexibility to enable the boy to complete the course on time. It would be interesting to have the actual time-table, and see how the masters really managed the scheme.<sup>8</sup>

In 1547, we get a very clear statement of the hours to be kept by the teachers at Canterbury.

10 *Item*, that usher shall every day enter into the school by six of the clock and the schoolmaster by seven there to continue until eight of the clock be stricken and then to go at their liberty until nine of the clock and then to return and so continue till eleven of the clock: and at one of the clock they shall return again to the school and there continue till three and then to go at their liberty till four of the clock and then to return and there to continue till five, under pain after three monitions to be deprived.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> How this provision was managed in the first half of the nineteenth century at Westminster the interested reader may see in Williamson, Richard, *A Short Account of the Discipline, Studies, Examinations, Prizes, Etc. of Westminster School* (reprint of 1845, eventually from *Quarterly Journal of Education*). The reader will also recognize the fundamentals of the Elizabethan curriculum still surviving.

<sup>9</sup> Frere, W. H., and Kennedy, W. M., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, Vol. II, p. 143.

Thus the master was actively on duty six hours, the usher seven. This is a common schedule in schools of the type, though some provided that master and usher should not both be out at the same time, and the usher was sometimes obliged to come early to the afternoon session as well as to the morning.

Perhaps it will bear noting here that Christopher Marlowe became a Queen's Scholar in this school just before he was fifteen, and after two years received a scholarship at Cambridge.<sup>10</sup> This would not mean, however, that he completed the course in two years. He may have had preliminary training elsewhere; but more likely, I suspect, he had received his previous training in the school and only succeeded to a vacancy as a Queen's Scholar at fifteen. It would be interesting to see if the known grammar school curriculum at Canterbury left as much trace upon Marlowe as that at Stratford did upon Shakspeare. For instance, did Marlowe, like Shakspeare, also read "good old Mantuan," as the curriculum required, and did he read the usual edition annotated by Badius, and coming upon the line

Tyndaris Aegeas onerauit nauibus vndas,

did he read the note of Badius,

Tyndaris, id est, Helena Tyndari (vt putabatur) filia, à Paride rapta, aut ipsum secuta, mille carinis a Graecis repetita est,<sup>11</sup>

and did that note later get transmuted into, "Was this the face that lancht a thousand shippes?" At least, Marlowe should early have been introduced by Mantuan and Badius to Helen and the thousand ships.

But he may just as likely have met those ships as early or even earlier in the dialogues of Lucian, which were sometimes taught in Latin translation (that of Erasmus most likely) for dialogue in the early forms. In typical Lucian vein, Menippus asks Mercury to show him the handsome men and women among the shades. He is disappointed on being shown a pile of bones and skulls, and thinks Helen must have been somewhat better blest with beauty than that.

*Men.* At Helenam saltem mihi commonstra. Nam ipse quidem haud queam dignoscere. *Mer.* Haec videlicet caluaria Helena est. *Men.* Et huius scilicet ossis gratia, mille naues ex vniuersa Graecia, acto delectu, sunt impletae,

<sup>10</sup> Brooke, C. F. T., *The Life of Marlowe*, pp. 18-21.

<sup>11</sup> *Baptistae Mantuani . . . Adolescentia . . . Londini Apud Thomam Marsh. 1580*, pp. 34r and v. This edition is not recorded in S. T. C. (personal).

tantâque tum Græcorum, tum barbarorum multitudo confixit, tot vrbes sunt euersae?<sup>13</sup>

The parallel is very close, and the humor has that bizarre quality which marks Marlowe's own.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, Marlowe is not likely to have gone far in his school career before he met Helen's fair face and those thousand ships.

Similarly, Mantuanus and Badius would have introduced Marlowe—if he had not already been introduced—to Asphaltis Lake. Mantuanus writes,

Intrat in infames Asphalti gurgitis vndas,

and Badius comments

Asphaltes est quod mare mortuum vocant, in quod vrbes illae quinque infames absorptae sunt igni & sulphure propter abhominabile crimen, quod ab illarum vna Sodomiticum vocant.<sup>14</sup>

This lake Marlowe later connects with Tamburlaine's exploits. And so we might continue locating many items of Marlowe's information in the conventional grammar school curriculum of the time. Those items scholars must eventually locate for Marlowe and other Elizabethans in order to understand the formative influences upon them. But that is not now our quest.

The curriculum, requirements, etc., for Worcester in 1544 are an exact duplicate of those at Canterbury, as are the statutes in general.<sup>15</sup> This situation is not peculiar, since all the cathedral schools on the new foundation were naturally of the same model, as were also the statutes for the cathedrals. The number of the boys to be cared for varied, being fifty at Canterbury, forty at Worcester, twenty-four at Chester and Ely, twenty at Peterborough and Rochester,<sup>16</sup> and eighteen at Durham. The age provisions were the same in all these schools; though Bristol, Carlisle, and Gloucester make no provisions as to the number and ages of the boys. The

<sup>13</sup> *Luciani dialogi Aliquot per D. Erasmi versi*, etc. (3rd ed., Paris (Stephanus), 1536), pp. 11–12. The ultimate connection with Lucian has been pointed out by Williams, W. H., "Marlowe and Lucian," *Modern Language Review*, Vol. X, p. 222.

<sup>14</sup> Apparently, the critics do not know Lucian very well or we should have heard more of Marlowe's Lucianic humor.

<sup>15</sup> *Mantuanus, Adolescentia* (1580), p. 88r.

<sup>16</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. IV, pp. 482–483. Since Stratford was in this diocese, these statutes are also of exceptional interest.

<sup>17</sup> *The Statutes of The Cathedral Church of Durham* (Surtees Society, 1929), p. 142, and p. 143 n16.

curricula are not stated; but at Canterbury and Worcester are attached. It is thus probable that the curriculum for all these cathedral schools was uniformly that of Eton and Winchester as in the known instances of Canterbury and Worcester. No provision is made for a school at Winchester in the new foundation. Instead, six students in divinity were to be maintained at each university; but this provision was also immediately abandoned. Presumably the provision for a school at Winchester is omitted because of Winchester College. Since Winchester and Eton had essentially the same curriculum in 1530, it is doubtless the Winchester curriculum as modified at Eton which got attached to the cathedral schools at the new foundation. We shall see later that the routine at Peterborough in 1561 was the same as at Eton, again connecting this group of cathedral schools with the Winchester-Eton curriculum.

Westminster was also put on a new foundation in 1540, and it is possible soon thereafter to see that its curriculum under Alexander Nowell was approximately that at Canterbury and Worcester. But since the significant documents involve both Oxford and Westminster days for Nowell, we begin with the university record of

Nowell, Alexander, sup. for B. A. May 1535, adm. 29 May 1536, disp. Feb. 1536/7, det. in Lent, sup. for M. A. Mar. 1539/40, lic. 10 June, inc. July, disp. Oct.—fellow of Brasenose 1536, Principal 1595, see Churton's *Life of Nowell* 1809.<sup>17</sup>

In his flitting with Dorman years later, Nowell himself sums up some important facts as to his connections with Oxford and Westminster. Under date of December 3, 1565, Thomas Dorman had published *A disproufe of M. Nowelles reproufe*. Under date of November 27, 1567, Nowell replied in *A confutation as well of M. Dormans last boke as also of D. Sander*.<sup>18</sup>

Nowell quotes one of Dorman's charges, and then replies.

Dorman in his Preface. Fol. iii. a.

Now I could here imitate M. Nowels Rhetorike, were I disposed to entre into such vaine contentions and fruitlesse comparisons, and tell him also, that some one of his acquaintaunce who knoweth him better than I do, maruellet also at his doings in diuinitie matters, the knowledge wherof being neither to be founde in Rodolphes logike (wherein his greatest learn-

<sup>17</sup> Boase, C. W., *Register of the University of Oxford*, Vol. I, p. 183. See also *Brasenose College Register 1509-1909* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), Vol. I, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Strype, John, *Annals of the Reformation* (1709), Vol. I, p. 200 gives the reference, and misunderstands some of the facts to the greater glory of God and Dean Nowell—and Churton enhances the glory.

ing & study both was in Oxford) neither in Westminster schole where Terence his comedies will giue no place to Paules epistles, he thinketh that he met at Geneua or else where, with some scattred scrappes of Iohn Caluins old, cast and ouerworne hereticall diuinitie, or else he thinketh he could neuer returning home, before he was known to be a student in Diuinitie, become so sodenly of a meane scholemaister, so valiant a preacher, vnlesse perhappes the same spirite that hath created of late diuines (not on the bridge but in their shoppes, or disputing vpō the alebench for their degree) so many tinkers, coblers, cowheardes, broome men, fidlers, and such like, haue also made him a preacher among the rest.

### Nowel.

M. Dorman sayth he might *imitate my Rhetorike, were he disposed to enter into such vaine, contentions and fruitlesse, comparisons*, as though he would not in deede, and yet he farre passeth in his Rhetorike, when he hath done: vnto the which his Rhetorike I answere: My acquaintance nedeth not to maruell at my doinges in diuinitie matters, though the knowledge thereof be not to be founde in *Rodolphes logike*, for it is 25. yeares agoe, sithe I read *Rodolphes logike*, publikly in the vniuersitie, and sithe that time I mighte haue sought some knowledge in Diuinitie elsewhere. Neither take I it any reproche, that I was a publike Reader of logike in the vniuersitie when I was but .xx. yeres olde: neither doe I blushe at M. Dormans reproche of Westminster schole: I would I were worthy to beare the bokes of a number of Diuines that haue come from teaching of youth in the schoole, to the teaching of olde men in the church.

*Terence* I cannot denie, but I haue read him vnto children in the Grammer schoole, my acquaintance knoweth it too wel: so doth also mine acquaintance know, that one day euery weeke *Terence* gaue place, if not to Paules epistles, yet to S. Lukes gospell, or the Actes of the Apostles, which I read in greeke so well as I could, to such of my scholers as I had, a good number almost at mans state, and I thanke God, well forewarde: whereby I prepared me some waye to the teaching of Christes people in his church, wherunto I had directed my intent, sith I was .xvj. yeres of age. At Geneua did nether any of my acquaintance or stranger euer see me, for I was neuer there, the more sory I am therfore: howbeit I haue trauelled as far, and sustained as much paine and losse, and more, not for heresie (as M. Dorman sayth) but for the religion of Christ, which I kepe with a good conscience, than hath M. Dorman done for his pope and poperie. And I haue endured sundry yeres both in my cuntry, and in exile reading not *scattered scrappes of olde ouerworne heresies* (as M. Dorman surmiseth) but the whole bodie of the holy Scriptures, and whole volumes of the beste aunciente Doctors. Neither can any mine acquaintance maruell that I *returning home, am become sodenly a preacher*, who doe righte well knowe, that I was a preacher .15. yeres agoe, yea & had preached in some the notablest places and auditories in this Realme, before I went out of my cuntry.

And as mine acquaintance knoweth all this to be true right well, so may other that be not of my acquaintance know, that the same spirite made not me a diuine, (as sayth M. Dorman) which *created tynkers, coblers, cowheardes, bromemen and fidlers, Diuines in their shoppes, or disputing on their alebench,* as M. Dorman would beare them in hande.<sup>19</sup>

Two of Nowell's statements can be checked by the records. He says, "I was a preacher .15. yeres agoe." In April 1553, a license to preach was issued "to *Alexander Nowel*, Schoolmaster of *Westminster*."<sup>20</sup> Thus on November 27, 1567, Nowell lacked but till the following April of his round sum, fifteen years. Again, he says he had his Master's degree, "28. yeres agoe,"<sup>21</sup> as the records show, in March, 1540; hence twenty-eight years from March 1568, his work being dated November, 1567. Each time he has given the piece of a year as a whole year, but is otherwise accurate.

We are thus justified in believing that he is speaking with the same approximate accuracy when he says, "it is 25. yeares agoe, sithe I read *Rodolphes logike*, publikly in the vniuersitie." This round number subtracted from the date of publication would place the end of these lectures at some time earlier than November 27, 1543, but later than November 27, 1541.

Fortunately, a notebook begun by Nowell at Oxford about 1535 enables us to supplement this information.<sup>22</sup> The earliest date I have located in the basic sequence of the materials in this notebook is May 15, 1535 (3r), and the latest November 1, 1540 (30v), though a date of December 4, is perhaps the same year (32r). The nature of the accounts shows that Nowell was regularly at Oxford during this period, as his university record also indicates. I cannot refrain from quoting at least one of the lists of books (22r) as showing what texts

<sup>19</sup> Nowell, A., *A Confutation, as wel of M. Dormans last Boke . . . as also of D. Sander* (1567), F1v-F2r. The authorities at the Bodleian went to considerable trouble to make the wanted sections available to me in photostat before the Library of the University of Illinois had procured a copy of the book and I another.

<sup>20</sup> Strype, *Memorials* (1733), Vol. II, p. 534.

<sup>21</sup> Nowell, *Confutation*, K1v.

<sup>22</sup> This is MS. Brasenose Coll. 31; Bodleian Library, to which my attention was called by use of it in Tanner, L. E., *Westminster School*, pp. 5 ff. I am indebted to the proper authorities for permitting a photostatic copy to the Library of the University of Illinois, from which my work has been done. A careful editing of the notebook would throw a great deal of light on an important period of Nowell's life, about which the standard authorities know almost nothing. The very numerous lists of books, frequently almost obliterated, are of exceptional interest as showing what books were then being used at Oxford. From that point of view the notebook is much more important than John Dorne's ledger. Some expert paleographer, with all modern appliances at his command should at least transcribe it for print.



were at the time in circulation at Oxford and were in the hands of one who was considered able to "read *Rodolphes logike*, publikly in the vniuersitie."

bookl wych Thoſms bedle left wyth me

att hȝ deptyng

orationes longolij

explanacio dominicae ꝑcationis

R Agricola ij papre bokȝ

Vergill

Valerij max terētȝ

tullij eȝla

tragediae Senecae

ovidij opera ij voluminibȝ

eras de cōscrib epist.

Horatiȝ

adagia erasmi

enchiridiū ad copiā

Plinij epistlae

tullij epistlae

officia ciceronis

Vivis opa aliquot

dati elegātiae

de ratione carminū

paphrasis in elegātias Vallae

institutiones Iuris civilis

novū testamētū

colloquia erasmi

Virgiliȝ versū

copia verborū

libellus de cōstruct eras.

Vulgaria terētȝ

erasmi paremiae cū alijs

theodori ġmatica ġca

bene loq̄ndi institutio

cū alijs

Justinȝ

dialogi mosellani

dialectica melanctho

similia erasmi

ġmatica latina

elucidariȝ poeticȝ

erasmi epistolae aliquot

reulin epistolae

methodȝ cōscrib epist

ġmatica cleonardi

Since Thomas Bedell's university record runs thus, "sup. for B. A. Mar. 1538/9, adm. 9 June"<sup>23</sup> it appears that this list dates about June 1539. Many of these books Nowell had himself previously "given" to Bedell (23r). It will be noticed that with few exceptions these are the books which were being used also in upper grammar school. The reason for this, the usual situation, we have already seen.<sup>24</sup>

Later items occupy pages which had been left blank in the basic sequence of notes at the university. One of these items is the draft of a letter to King Henry VIII asking him to excuse Nowell because of ill health from the position he has held as schoolmaster in the household. He begins,

<sup>23</sup> Boase, *Register*, Vol. I, p. 193.

<sup>24</sup> See above, pp. 103ff.

Quū Maiestati tuae iam aliquot annos in instituendis nobiliū liberis q in tua aula educant~, nescio q<sup>a</sup> foeliciter, certe sūma cū industria et fide sin[c]erim Rex invictissime. solebam mihi frequēter interea gratulari et q regis

in tanti principis familitio numerari me cōtigerat, et quae illorū maxime ingenijs formandis mea desudaret opera, quorū autoritate et prudentia post tuā maiestatē et illustrissimū Principē Edwardū haec respub. aliquādo administraretur. sed huic meo gaudio atq; voluptati nescio infelicitate ne mea an casu, an poti9 dei volūtate, interuenit sūm incōmodū.

qui  
nam saeuissimo capitis cruciatu diutiuscule iā vexatus fui isq; morbus frequēt9 sūmo cū dolore recurrens ita auriū mihi vsū, et oculorū aciem hebetauit. ut et surdaster sim, et visu parū valeam, et vel paululū lectioni intento sūm9 dolor capit9 et oculorū stupor oboriat~ (9 r and v).

Nowell asks, therefore, that he be relieved of this position.

Nowell was relieved and given the position of *didasculus* at Westminster.<sup>25</sup> There is a much interlined draft of a letter to his brother Laurence Nowell, in which he tells him of this good fortune. He says that his plans of visiting home, where at the time his brother is, are wholly changed, "praefectus sū ludo literario quē satis magnificū instituit Westmsterij M strissim9 Rex" (22v). As *didasculus*, he also writes a letter in behalf of his usher, Odnell Hayborne (Odnellus Hebburnus), who is at death's door with quartan fever (5v and 6r). We are told from other sources that Nowell went to Westminster in 1543. Therefore Nowell had been master of the King's henchmen from "aliquot annos" before 1543. Since he was at Oxford still toward the end of 1540, he must have gone to London soon thereafter in order to have held this position for "some years" before 1543. Most likely he ceased lecturing upon Rodolphus Agricola at the university about 1541 to enter the service of King Henry, this being roughly twenty-five years before the time he was writing against Dorman.

Having set up these guide posts, we can now bring to bear another piece of evidence. Nowell's monument tells us,

Col. Aenei nasi Oxonii, ubi ab anno ætatis 13. annos 13. studuit, 13. studiosis & 200. libris annuis opera & impensis suis ampliati.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> We are not told why these young henchmen gave Nowell a headache, while the boys at Westminster did not. John Nowell was "scholmaster and instructour of the Kinges henchmen" on May 10, 1547 (Nichols, J. G., *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, Vol. I, p. lxxvii n).

<sup>26</sup> Dugdale, W., *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral* (1658), p. 111.

Strype phrases this in English as, he

appointed thirteen students there, where himself was admitted at thirteen years old, and studied there thirteen years.<sup>27</sup>

It appears from his degrees that he certainly studied there into 1540, and could hardly have done so longer than 1541. This would place the date of his birth as hardly earlier than 1514. Further, Nowell himself says in his answer to Dorman,

Neither take I it any reproche, that I was a publike Reader of logike in the vniuersitie when I was but .xx. yeres olde.

He was not twenty before 1534, and probably as much as two or three years later. It is thus pretty certain that he began lecturing publicly on logic at the age of twenty about the time he became a Fellow in 1536, following his B.A.

All the evidence hangs together to indicate that Nowell was born about 1515 or 1516, entered Brasenose about 1528 or 1529 at thirteen, decided to become a preacher at sixteen (age of discretion) about 1531 or 1532, took his B.A. in 1536, when he was around twenty, began lecturing on logic about the same time, took his M.A. in 1540, when he was about twenty-four, became master of the King's henchmen about 1541, when he was around twenty-five, and became master at Westminster in 1543, when he was about twenty-seven.

But now we encounter difficulties. For Nowell's epitaph says he died a "nonagenarian" in February 1601-02.<sup>28</sup> According to this, he would have been born by 1511-12, have entered Brasenose about 1524-25, and have begun reading logic publicly at the age of twenty around 1531-32. Nowell's protrait in Brasenose College is even wider of the mark if in fact it sets the age of Nowell at death as ninety-five.<sup>29</sup> Churton is certainly wrong in setting the date of Nowell's birth accordingly at 1507-08. As we have seen, he was born about 1516, and was eighty-five, instead of ninety-five (has the

<sup>27</sup> Strype, *Annals* (1824), Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 307. In his reply to Dorman, quoted above, Nowell speaks of "the teaching of Christes people in his church, wherunto I had directed my intent, sith I was .xvj. yeres of age." Sixteen was the age of discretion for a boy, and Nowell had already been at Brasenose three years when he made his decision.

<sup>28</sup> Churton, *Nowell*, pp. 9, 365 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Churton, Ralph, *The Life of Alexander Nowell*, pp. 9, 365 ff. Haslewood's copy, with inserted materials, is in the Library of the University of Illinois. The reproduction of the portrait in Butler, A. J., *The College Pictures*, Plate VI (Brasenose College Quatercentenary Monographs, Vol. I, No. VII) shows the figures as faint and indecipherable. The original should be expertly examined on this point.

number been misread?) at death, his epitaph using a round and honorific number when it called him a "nonagenarian."

Perhaps we should notice in passing that Churton seems also to have managed in some way to get Nowell born at least partially to the wrong parents, as we learn from Nowell's notebook. For on April 30, 1539, Nowell is drafting a letter to one of his brothers, "ex aedib9 mat~nis;" that is, from home, in which he clearly refers to the recent death of their father and their consequent necessity for getting along financially as best they can. For his own means of support, Nowell says,

Cooptatus sū in numerū priorū, quos uocāt, collegij (cui uulgo areo naso cognom~ est) cognomento, aenei nasi. eius societati prouent9 tametsi mihi in solidū alendo nō sufficit, leuat tamē nōnihil nostr[ū] tenuitatē (2 v).

It will not be advisable, therefore, for the brother to visit him. The brother addressed was evidently Laurence, who was at Cambridge at this time. This statement should refer, I suppose, to Nowell's fellowship, which is said to date from 1536, and I suppose that the terms used do not indicate that this cooptation was recent. The date of the letter has been somewhat damaged, but I can interpret it only as 1539, though I have seen but a photostat. The fact that Nowell's father dies at this time does not fit at all the paternity and numerous other details of early family history which Churton has provided him; but we must leave the untangling of these entwisted families to some future biographer.<sup>30</sup>

At least, we are now in position to examine Nowell's connections at Westminster following 1543, with which Dorman twits him. As will be remembered, Dorman intimates that Nowell was more familiar with Terence at Westminster than with Paul's epistles. Several years later, Pound also said, "We know you to be a good *Terence* man."<sup>31</sup> Nowell does not deny the Terence, and his notebook adds body to the charge. For it includes a prologue to be spoken before the boys presented the *Adelphoe* of Terence (10r & v), which refers to a performance of some play the preceding year. Another prologue is for Seneca's *Hippolytus* (11r ff). At the end of this are sketches of poems to Edward, apparently at his accession in 1547. The *Hippolytus* is thus probably for the Christmas of 1546. Presumably the

<sup>30</sup> On some entanglements of the Nowell pedigree, see *Chetham Society*, Vol. XXXI, p. 198, n. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Churton, *Nowell*, p. 10 note γ., quoting a *True Report of the Conference*, Signat. F. iiii. a.

*Adelphoe* was for the preceding Christmas, 1545, and the play it mentions as having been performed the previous year, that for Christmas 1544. Apparently Nowell continued or immediately instituted plays at Westminster. A similar prologue for *Eunuchus* follows (13r ff). From this prologue it appears that the boys acted other Latin plays besides those written by the classic dramatists. These prologues, as the earliest to survive of their type for English grammar schools, ought to be edited and made accessible. The Westminster records might doubtless be made to yield further information upon these and other plays. Another interesting bit, "Itm̄ for colloquia erasmi xvj<sup>d</sup>," occurs in an account for Thomas Greanfeld dated 1544 (18r). Another boy had a King's grammar at 3<sup>d</sup> but died soon (19r). So Nowell used the regulation texts in lower grammar school, the King's grammar, the Colloquies of Erasmus, Terence, and so presumably the other regulars. For, Westminster at refoundation in 1540<sup>22</sup> would doubtless have had the regular cathedral curriculum which we find at Canterbury (1541), and Worcester (1544).

Nowell himself, however, says that on occasion Terence regularly gave way to Greek,

one day euery weeke *Terence* gaue place, if not to *Paules* epistles, yet to *S. Lukes* gospell, or the *Actes* of the *Apostles*, which I read in greeke so well as I could, to such of my scholers as I had, a good number almost at mans state, and I thanke God, well forewarde.

In the notebook, the account of William Boyar (who had a brother Robert) shows the whole Greek curriculum (16r ff). Apparently, William was chiefly concerned with polishing off his Greek. Before Christmas of some year unspecified he was charged 4<sup>d</sup> "for Moselans dialoges in greke." Between Lady Day and Whitsuntide of the next year came "Lucians dialoges in greke" at 8<sup>d</sup>. After the following Christmas appears "a Nue testament in greke of Stephano ƿnt̄ ij<sup>a</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>." Nowell has told us that at Westminster he centered his Greek upon the New Testament, and here we learn how he did it. Only the Greek grammar is not mentioned, but it would almost certainly have been Clenardus or possibly Ceperinus, both being mentioned frequently in Nowell's lists of books. The boy began upon his Greek grammar in Latin, proceeded to dialogues, using Mosellanus and then Lucian, after which he was ready to master the New Testament, the objective of all this preparation in Greek. Already the

<sup>22</sup> *Calendar of State Papers*, 1540-41, No. 333.

Greek sequence was parallelling that of the Latin, proceeding from grammar through dialogues to authors. We shall see that the New Testament was regularly the first objective in Greek, and that it was prepared for by about these same texts. In later days, however, the schools usually proceeded beyond the New Testament through several classical authors. So far, then, Westminster under Nowell is the first to give us definite knowledge of the curriculum in Greek. It was evidently a very advanced curriculum of the time.

Probably here and usually at this period the Greek was a personal and individual matter for only a few of the most advanced boys. It will be some years yet before a routine is regularly laid down for it. As a matter of fact, it would be unwise to expect too much in the way of Greek even at its best. For instance, in 1633 at Canterbury, Laud asked why scarce two boys were able

to make and understand any ordinary Greek prose or verse, whereas twenty years before all the Upper Form could do so.

The reply was

that never had more than six been able to read and write Greek as stated, and at present more than two could do so.<sup>33</sup>

Since this was the largest cathedral foundation, the reader will form his own conclusions as to probable numbers and proficiencies. Anyway, if so many people acquired so much Greek as is sometimes assumed, what did they do with it?

The way in which these cathedral schools of the new foundation were levelled up to the Eton-Winchester curriculum is typical of the standardizing efforts which were being exerted at this period by authority. As we have seen, King Henry had by 1540 moved to standardize the grammar. The edition of the first part in 1542 explains, And as his maiesty purposeth to establyshe his people in one consent and harmony of pure & tru relygion: so his tender goodnes toward the youth & chyldehode of his realme, entēdeth to haue it brought vp vnder one absolute and vniforme sorte of lernynge. For his maiestie consideryng the great encombrance and confusion of the yong and tender wittes, by reason of the diuersity of grammer rules & teachinges. (For here tofore euery maister had his grāmer, and euery schole dyuers teachynges, and chaungyng of maisters and scholes dyd many tymes vtterly dull and vndo good wyttes) hath appoynted certein lerned men mete for suche a purpose, to compile one bryef, plaine, & vniforme grāmer, which onely (al other set a part) for the

<sup>33</sup> Woodruff and Cape, *Schola Regia Cantuariensis*, p. 101. Laud's crusade for Greek may have had some influence in causing the *Book of Common Prayer* to appear in Greek translation, 1638.

more spedynesse, and lesse trouble of yong wittes, his hyghnes hath commanded all s[c]holemaysters and teachers of grāmer within this his realme, and other his dominions, to teache their scholers.<sup>34</sup>

Henceforth, this by royal command was to be the only Latin grammar used in grammar school. Despite many scholarly assaults upon it and attempted modifications, it remained in use till about the middle of the nineteenth century.

The fundamental ideal of this standardization is well expressed in the preface to the final revision about 1545. Grammar must first be thoroughly mastered.

The whiche hath seemed to many, verye harde to compasse afore tyme, bycause that they, who professed this arte of teachyng grammar, dyd teach dyuers grammars, and not one, and if by chaunce they taught one grammar, yet they dyd it diuersly, and so coulde not doo it all beste, for so muche as there is but one bestnesse, not onely in euery thyng, but also in the maner of euery thyng.

As for the diuersitees of grammars, it is well and profitably taken awaie, by the Kynges Maiestees wysedome, who forseeyng the inconuenience, and faourably prouydyng the remedy, caused one kynde of grammar by sundry learned men, to be diligently drawen, and so to be set out, onely euery where to be taught, for the vse of lerners, and for the hurt in chauge of schoolemaisters.

The varietee of teachyng is dyuers yet, and alwaies wyll be, for that euery schoolemaister lyketh that he knoweth, and seeth not the vse of that he knoweth not, and therefore iudgeth that the moste sufficient waie, whiche he seeth to be the rediest meane, and perfectest kynde to brynge a learner to haue a through knowlege therin.

Wherfore it is not amysse, yf one seeyng by triall, an easier and redyer waie than the common sorte of teachers dooeth, would saie what he hath proued, and for the commoditee allowed, that other not knowynge the same, myght by experience proue the lyke, and than by profe reasonably iudge the lyke, not hereby excludyng the better way whan it is founde, but in the meane season forbyddyng the worse.<sup>35</sup>

There could be but one "bestnesse," and that having been determined was to be prescribed by authority. But uniformity in detail was not sought, and as better methods were discovered they were to be adopted. Yet on fundamentals the individual must abide by authority. A most praiseworthy ideal. The curriculum has now come

<sup>34</sup> Lily, William, *An Introduction Of The Eycht Partes Of speche* (1542); U. M. \*1838 from B. M.-C. 21. b. 4 (2); S. T. C. 15605. For the *Shorte Introduction* of 1549, see U. M. \*1842 from Bodleian 4° M. 22. Art. B. S.; S. T. C. 15611. It is unfortunate that the grammar in Latin has not in either case been reproduced.

<sup>35</sup> Lily, *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (1548), "To The Reader."

to essential uniformity. Hereafter, it will from time to time receive some slight change, slowly evolving through the centuries.

The methods recommended in this preface are those we have just been examining. The boy is first to be drilled upon his accidence, especially upon the noun and verb, till he can give immediately any item called for. Until he can do this, there is no use in attempting to go further. He should be able to get this mastery of his accidence in not more than a quarter of a year. He then proceeds to the concords or rules in English, to acquire the same mastery over them. He should hold "continuall rehearsall" of what he has learned, especially he should decline a verb every day. But once the boy has mastered his accidence and rudimentary rules of concord in English, he begins to put his knowledge into practice. He now receives the English of a pretty book of moral godliness in Latin, which he turns into Latin without seeing the book. Any rule of grammar necessary to the process he memorizes. When the sentence is finally made into Latin, "as nyghe as can bee with the woordes of t[he] booke, than to take the booke and construe it." And here is a Latin made, all ready to be memorized and rendered. By diligently examining upon the parts and rules the master will soon bring his pupil "to a good kynde of redynes[se] of makyng," to which must be joined practice in speaking. Composition must be both oral and written. The best exercise for both oral and written composition is each day to turn some part of an English book into Latin, because it forces the boy to apply the rules he is learning. The edition of 1548 (also 1549) mentions some satisfactory works for this exercise, "an englishe booke, as the Psalter, or Salomons Prouerbes, or Ecclesiasticus." This provision reminds us that in 1547 the Warden at Winchester or his deputy was to read to the boys for an hour every Sunday or holy-day the Proverbs of Solomon or Ecclesiastes, while the boys themselves were in their regular school work to read the catechism of Erasmus.<sup>36</sup> Both Hoole and the Paul's curriculum of the end of the seventeenth century use the Proverbs and Psalms for this lower school process. Thus this was probably the regular custom at least from the middle of the sixteenth century. These instructions in the grammar are now seen to be for the work through the parts and rules of the English section of the grammar, to which they are attached. This is the work to the end of the first form in the Eton system. This prefatory address now

---

<sup>36</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, Vol. IV, p. 9.



commends the Eton system of teaching this first part, and this address continued to give the same advice for about three centuries.

Perhaps it is worth noting in this connection that it was allegedly the uniform grammar which fired John Palsgrave, one of King Henry's Chaplains and quondam schoolmaster of his bastard son, in 1540 to make his contribution to better grammar school method by preparing the very Christian play of *Acolastus* in such a way as to aid pupils in acquiring both better Latin and better English.

I wysshed, that vnto this moch expedient reformation of your schole maisters vnstayed libertie, which hytherto haue taught such grammers, and of the same so dyuers and sondry sortes, as to euery of theym semed best (and was to their fantasies mooste approued: myght therto also folowe and succede one stedy and vnyforme maner of interpretation of the latyn authours into our tonge, after y<sup>e</sup> the latyn principles were by your graces youth ones surely conned and perceyued.<sup>27</sup>

So Palsgrave is interested fundamentally in getting established a uniform method of translation into English. Apparently his contemporaries were not enthusiastic, for no method was prescribed and no other edition of his book was called for. Most schoolmasters were intensely interested in preventing their students from using English at all, rather than in teaching them to use it well. English was for the most part an unavoidable evil to be tolerated no more than absolutely necessary; Latin was the thing.

This work of his upon *Acolastus* Palsgrave called an English Ecphrasis. The title page sums up the kinds of materials to be found in it.

The Comedye of *Acolastus* translated into oure englysshe tongue, after suche maner as chylderne are taught in the grammer schole, fyrst worde for worde, as the latyne lyeth, and afterwarde accordynge to the sence and meanyng of the latin sentences: by shewing what they do value and counteruayle in our tonge, with admonitions set forth in the margyn, so often as any suche phrase, that is to say, kynd of spekyng vsed of the latyns, whiche we vse not in our tonge, but by other wordes, expresse the sayd latyn maners of speakinge, and also Adages, metaphores, sentences, or other fygures poetical or rhetorical do require, for the more perfyte instructynge of the lerners, and to leade theym more easilye to see howe the exposytion gothe. and afore the second scane of the fyrst acte, is a brefe introductory to haue some general knowledge of the dyuers sortes of meters vsed of our auctour in this comedy. And afore *Acolastus* balade is shewed of what

<sup>27</sup> Fullonius, G., *Ioannis Palsgravi Londoniensis, Ecphrasis Anglica In Comoediam Acolasti* (1540), U. M. \*1205 from B. M.-C. 34. f. 2; S. T. C. 11470.

kyndes of meters his balade is made of. And afore the syxte sceane of the fourthe acte, is a monition of the Rhetorycall composytion vsed in that sceane, and certayne other after it ensuyng. Interpreted by John Palsgrave, Anno. M. D. XL.<sup>38</sup>

From parsing and construe to rhetorical graces, Palsgrave has touched on most of the routine processes. The work gives a very full and concrete idea of how about 1540 a piece of literature would be taught by the best masters in grammar school. It would receive thorough grammatical and rhetorical analysis.

Nor was Palsgrave the last to suggest a uniform method, for Mulcaster many years later wished to have the grammar further "re-fined" and a uniform method established for the whole curriculum.<sup>39</sup> The idea spread, of course, to other departments. Arthur Golding in 1573 wishes that there was a sound orthography for the English language, set out by the learned and confirmed by the sovereign.<sup>40</sup> Then as now, every reformer was honestly certain that he had the only solution, if only he could in some way force the world to accept it—entirely for its own good, of course.

So in the reign of Henry VIII the ideal of essential uniformity determined by proper authority has been attained. And for the re-founded cathedral schools the Eton system as evolved from Winchester is the favored one, while Paul's grammar becomes the authorized basis of the grammar curriculum everywhere. Henceforth, this authorized system will receive minor modifications; but the modifications will, for the most part, apply uniformly to all schools. For every regular grammar school at a given period in the century the curriculum will be essentially uniform, though there may be slight variations in organization, routines, and teaching methods. While the curriculum of Stratford grammar school has not survived, yet it will be possible to reconstruct it closely enough for the period when Shakspeare was there. So we must now trace the evolution of the curriculum through the second half of the century in order to get this desired information. But the next group of changes show themselves first in the education of Prince Edward. We turn, therefore, next to the theorists and practitioners in educating the "Prince."

<sup>38</sup> For further facts, see Carver, P. L., "John Palsgrave's Translation of *Acolastus*", *Library*, Fourth Series, Vol. XIV, pp. 433 ff. The same author has proceeded to an edition of *Acolastus* for the Early English Text Society.

<sup>39</sup> Mulcaster, *Positions* (1581), p. [\*ivr].

<sup>40</sup> Baret, John, *Alvearie* (1573), prefatory poems.

But before we turn, we should notice a fact of some importance. In speaking of the Royal Injunctions of 1535 for Cambridge, Mullinger says,

The day that saw the leaves of Duns Scotus fluttering in the quadrant of New College, may be regarded as marking the downfall of scholasticism in England; and here, if anywhere, may be drawn the line that in university history divides the mediaeval from the modern age.<sup>41</sup>

The break of 1534, which occasioned these injunctions of 1535, had similar effects upon the Petty School.<sup>42</sup> And now we are seeing the same process in the Grammar School; that is, Mullinger's conclusion is correct for the whole school system of England. It could be shown that the same dividing line must be taken between mediaeval and modern literature in England, but that demonstration would itself require volumes in order to be conclusive as a demonstration.

---

<sup>41</sup> Mullinger, J. B., *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535*, p. 631.

<sup>42</sup> Baldwin, *Petty School*.

## CHAPTER IX

### EDUCATING THE "PRINCE"; PRINCESS MARY

THE THEORISTS and practitioners upon the "Prince" during the reign of Henry VIII also throw light upon the contemporary educational ideas of a group at the English court, which would thus presumably have had important influence upon English pedagogical ideals and practices generally. First of these is Vives, with his instructions for the education of Princess Mary.

Catherine had given her her earliest instruction in Latin. In 1523 Linacre wrote a Latin grammar, 'Rudimenta Grammatices,' for her use, and in the dedication he commended her love of learning; while William Lily added some verses in which he described her as 'Virgo, qua nulla est indole fertilior.' The queen also sought the advice of Johannes Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard, who prepared early in 1523, for the guidance of Mary, his 'De Institutione Foeminae Christianae,' Antwerp, 1524, 4to, and dedicated it to Catherine . . . In the autumn of 1523 Vives visited England and continued his counsels in his 'De Ratione Studii Puerilis.'<sup>1</sup>

In the *De Ratione*,<sup>2</sup> Vives says that since the tutor of Princess Mary is a competent one, he himself will merely refer to the desired studies, leaving the rest to the tutor, except in the case of grammar, where he thinks some necessary things have been either treated obscurely or omitted in the current writers. One wonders just how Linacre reacted to this exception—and Lily had he not been dead.

Vives gives instructions on the sounds of letters, the eight parts of speech, and writing. If in reading an author any word or sentiment pleases, let Princess Mary copy it, since what we write out is better impressed on memory, and the mind so occupied is diverted from levity or evil.

The verses which are assigned for imitation, let them contain some grave little sentiment, which it will profit to have learned.

Let her memorize something every day. On going to bed, let her read something carefully twice or thrice and repeat it next morning. Let her begin to inflect nouns, learning the six genders, two numbers, seven cases, five declensions, then the congruence of adjective and

<sup>1</sup> Lee in D. N. B. While some of these statements are not accurate, they will do for our present purpose.

<sup>2</sup> I have used the reprint by George Buchanan attached to his Latin translation of *Rudimenta Grammatices Thomae Linacri*, my edition being that published at Lyons in 1552.

substantive in number, gender, and case. Let her learn the nature and syntax of verbs, the five modes, and the five tenses. Make her watch her tenses, in which the English are likely to err. Let her learn the two numbers, the three persons, inflect the four conjugations. Then let her study syntax or construction, for the teaching of which there is rather detailed instruction. One, two, at the most three examples will each time suffice. Let the examples be sometimes grave to teach piety, at others light to please. Chaste and pure little fables may be added to recreate the mind. Participles and verbals receive separate treatment and illustration. One may use here the *Thesaurus* of Mancinellus. Having become generally acquainted with these matters, she will then use Linacre's *Compendium*, and the *Libellus De Constructione*<sup>3</sup> which goes under the name of Erasmus, as well as his *Colloquies* for words and formulas of daily speech, in which she is to be exercised. Dialogs should be written for her through which she would learn the Latin names of everyday things, as of clothing, parts of a building, food, time, musical instruments, household stuff. The excerpts of Nebrissensis and Mancinellus from Valla on proper use of words will help. But much in Valla, Nonius, Servius, Donatus, and especially in Gellius is worse than useless. Let her study etymologies and note what words are barbarous, what true Latin but of changed signification.

Let her begin at this stage to turn little speeches from English into Latin, easy ones at first, gradually more difficult ones through all kinds and formulas of words, but part grave and holy, part pleasant and urbane. Together with these let her learn the distichs of Cato, and the Publianian mimes, and the sentences of the seven sages, all of which Erasmus has brought together and explained in the same little volume. Let her learn from these little sentences some especially useful for life, which she may have for the future as antidotes against poison, and of good and evil fortune let her learn even now in this tender age the true and uncorrupted opinions, that she may think those things alone good which truly are such, as the virtues and learning, those evil which in truth are evil, as vices, and ignorance, and folly, lest she should accept evils for goods, or on the contrary lest she be captured and moved by small and trifling things as if they were great. Lest also she condemn the great and precious things as if they were vile. She will be delighted meantime with little tales which teach life, which she herself can tell to others, as of the boy Papyrius Praetextatus in Gellius, of Joseph in the sacred books, of Lucrece in Livy, of Griselda and others, as from Valerius, Sabellicus, and writers of this kind, which will pertain

<sup>3</sup> The Lily-Erasmus *Libellus* of the grammar schools. Cf. Watson, *Vives: On Education*, pp. 97 ff for a similar discussion of grammar.

to some commendation of virtue or detestation of vice. Let her have a dictionary Latin and English, which she must often consult that she may know what each word means. When she does not understand things, they will be explained by the preceptor. Let her not learn the words of evil and filthy things, nor if it be possible read or hear them. Let her make for herself a little book of blank leaves, in which let her write little sentences with her own hand, which must be committed to memory and will be to her in place of an enchiridion.

She will repeat what she has already learned of verbs, and will in addition master impersonals, infinitives, gerunds, supines, potential mood, subjunctive, syntax of the remaining parts of speech, as pronouns, adverb, preposition, conjunction, also the modes of the verb, the interjection. Use and reading of authors will fix and clear up all these matters. Let her converse with her teacher in Latin and with three or four other little girls carefully selected so as not to corrupt her manners, which is the prime care. Stimulate her with rewards, emulation, and praise. Pointers are given on accents in pronunciation.

Let her have a good sized note book, in which with her own hand she shall note, both words, if any are found in reading grave authors, either useful for daily use, or rare, or elegant, as well formulas of speaking, witty, delectable, fine, learned, as also *sententiae* grave, facetious, acute, urbane, witty, and stories out of which she can seek an example for her life.

Let her observe the use of the grammar rules in authors, "for the grammar art is born from the usage of authors."

The authors in whom she will be exercised will be those who at the same time polish and teach language and morals. Who teach not only to know well but also to live well. Of this kind are Cicero, Seneca, the works of Plutarch, which have been translated by different ones, some dialogues of Plato, especially which look to the governing of the republic. The epistles of Jerome, and certain works [of Ambrosius and] of Augustine, the institution of a Prince of Erasmus, Enchiridion, Paraphrases, and very many other things of his useful for piety. The Utopia of Thomas More. She can easily learn history from Justin, and from L. Florus, and Valerius Maximus. Among all these, both when she rises and retires let her read daily something from the New Testament. There are also the Christian poets whom it will be pleasant and fruitful to read, as Prudentius, Sidonius, Paulinus, Arator, Prosper, Juvencus, who in many places might compare with any of the ancients—I speak of the elegancies of verse. For in subject matter they are as much superior, as good things surpass the evil and the divine the human. When she reads them, let her have a Vocabulary of the Latin tongue, Calepine for instance or Perottus, to which she may refer being stuck on the Latin word.

Vives shows the same preoccupation with the moral aspects of education as had Dean Colet. His instructions on grammar cover almost exactly the same materials and much in the same order as the *Short Introduction*, leading to the Lily-Erasmus *Libellus*. Vives thus gives many interesting hints as to how about 1523 grammar would be taught. He approves the regular elementary texts and processes, such as learning to speak in the phrases of the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, vocabulary building through dictionaries, sentential composition on moral matters, study of the collection of Erasmus surrounding Cato, including the Publianus and the sayings of the seven sages heavily moralized, recreating with moral stories from Gellius, the Bible, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Sabellicus, etc., and keeping a notebook stuffed with morality by way of provision for the future. Apparently, Vives would use moral stories collected from various sources instead of the Aesop which was to be almost universal in the grammar schools of England. No one should overlook the fact that Vives thinks the story of Lucrece from Livy an eminently suitable one for such a purpose. Such a story would easily come to the attention of young William Shakspeare; in fact, was probably thrust early upon that attention. And Shakspeare later tells the story with its proper background atmosphere of piosity. He could not free it wholly from its conventional associations, even had he wished to do so.

Vives also provides for repetition of grammar, and the fixing of it through the reading of suitable authors for grammatical polish and moral content. He approves as rapturously as Dean Colet of the Christian poets, for their subject matter is the best possible and their verse elegancies may in many places compare with those of the ancients! So no one of the elegant ancients in verse gets mentioned, not even Virgil, much less Ovid, Horace, Terence, Plautus, etc.<sup>4</sup> Instead, morals are to be drawn from Cicero, Seneca, and Latin translations of Plutarch and Plato. History may be drawn from Justin, Florus, Valerius Maximus, who were used also frequently in grammar school. The religious works of Augustine, Erasmus, and More, together with diligent reading of the New Testament were to prepare the way for the Christian poets and the moral and political extract of ancients to make a good ruler out of Mary. History records

---

<sup>4</sup> This is true in my edition, but Watson has a sentence not in my text, "Nor are the heathen poets to be entirely omitted—particularly Lucan, Seneca the Tragedian, and a good part of Horace" (Watson, F., *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 147). This is in the first collected edition of the works of Vives, J. L., *Opera* (Basle, 1555, copy in University of Illinois Library), Vol. I, p. 7. Even so, not much is conceded to the heathen.

that the training was only too effective. Vives and Dean Colet were little touched with the Renaissance. They belonged to the Catholic Reformation. Of the Reformation Erasmus they approved highly, of the Renaissance Erasmus they had no real understanding. While they might condemn barbarity, and praise literary polish, yet their consuming interest was in moral reform. Their ideas might create a Mary and permit a Milton, but they could never produce a Shakespeare.<sup>5</sup>

In the same year, 1523, Vives also wrote a plan of studies for a boy, Charles Mountjoy, son of that William who as pupil and friend of Erasmus had first brought that scholar to England. After some general exhortations on conduct, Vives prescribes and rather fully describes the kind of notebook young Charles should keep.

Make a book of blank leaves of a proper size. Divide it into certain topics, so to say, into nests (*nidos*). In one, jot down the names of those subjects of daily converse, *e.g.*, the mind, body, our occupations, games, clothes, divisions of time, dwellings, foods; in another, rare words, exquisitely fit words; in another, idioms, and *formulae dicendi*, which either few understand or which require often to be used; in another, *sententiae* (maxims); in another, joyous expressions; in another, witty sayings; in another, proverbs; in another, difficult passages in authors; in another, other matters which seem worthy of note to thy teacher or thyself. So that thou shalt have all these noted down and digested. Then will thy book alone know what must be read by thee, read, committed, and fixed to the memory, so that thou mayst bear in thy breast the names thus written down, which are in thy book and refer to them as often as is necessary. For it is little good to possess learned books if your mind is unfurnished for studying them.<sup>6</sup>

Then follow practical hints on gathering these stores from reading and conversation. Here is the ever-present notebook described in some detail.

A section on style is important as laying down the current theory of imitation.

Repeated practice is the best master for the attainment of good style, and the fashioner of speech. In the beginning use not only words taken from Latin authors, but also short sentences collected from them. They should be so aptly put together that for the most part they are another's. But little by little you will mix your own composition until the time when your stage of erudition has developed, your writing can become all your own.<sup>7</sup>

Here is the doctrine of imitation, so faithfully applied by sixteenth century schoolmasters.

<sup>5</sup> It would be possible to trace many of the actual texts used by Mary, etc., but that is not needed here. <sup>6</sup> Watson, *Women*, p. 243. <sup>7</sup> Watson, *Women*, p. 245.



So Vives next presents the sources of such a pure style.

For daily conversation Terence is of great importance. Cicero made considerable use of him. Indeed, on account of the charm and gaiety of speech in his plays many thought they were written by nobles of the highest families. Also the letters of Cicero, especially those to Atticus, teach much and may render ready practice for purposes of conversation. For in them the conversation is pure and simple, such as Cicero himself used with his wife, his children, his servants, his friends, at dinner, in the bath, on his couch, in the garden. There are, too, the familiar *Colloquies* written by Erasmus, which are as pleasant as they are useful. These are of no small importance, since Erasmus is a man of cultivated and refined intellect.<sup>8</sup>

Here are the three current modes of cultivating good colloquial Latinity. First is Terence. In 1530, Cornelius Graphius was to cull these flowers of Terence (there had been some attempts before), and Nicholas Udall was soon thereafter to prepare them for the use of English boys. Next is the Cicero of the familiar letters. Many years later, John Sturm was to perfect a method for making Cicero the only model of familiar speech, Roger Ascham was to approve, and English grammar schools were toward the end of the century to use this method as a supplementary aid. Third are the familiar colloquies. Erasmus had some years before constructed the rudiments of his great collection specifically to meet this need, which that work as finally shaped by 1533<sup>9</sup> continued for some centuries to do, in spite of numerous competitors, and of Ascham's damnatory frown upon this whole method.

Vives next turns to epistles, finding good points for imitation here in the younger Pliny, Politian, Philadelphus, Calentius. If time permits, read Apollinaris Sidonius, and Apuleius' *Asinus* and *Florida*. Among histories, read Livy, Suetonius, Tacitus, especially Caesar, also Sallust, who

is often in the hands of boys, although he seems to me to be more suited to those who have made considerable progress in the language.

Among agricultural writers, Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, Pliny, and the architect Vitruvius are to be read diligently. Among the poets, Virgil rightly holds first place "on account of his seriousness and his ideas," then comes Horace, Silius Italicus, Seneca's tragedies.

<sup>8</sup> Watson, *Women*, p. 245.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, P., *A Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus*, pp. 1 ff.

But, in my opinion, Lucan holds the victory over all, in the majesty of his words and the force of his subjects, in the value and number of his thoughts. Also the poets of our religion should be read, Prudentius, Prosper, Paulinus, Servilius, Juvenius, and Arat[or], who, whilst they discuss matters of the highest kind, for the salvation of the human race, are neither crude nor contemptible in speech. They have many passages in which, by their eloquence and charm of verse, they vie with the ancients. Some even think they surpass them.<sup>10</sup>

For grammar, read Perottus or Aldus, Nebrissensis, Mancinellus, Sulpitius, Ninivita; for elegancies, consult the over pedantic Valla.

You will at your age, and even at a later age, need expositors in reading authors. For there are in writers many difficult places which you can hardly successfully attack, even with the most troublesome labour. Expositors explain everything, with a minimum of time and work, which leads to usefulness and advancement of knowledge. In the number of such expositors are Servius on Virgil, Donatus on Terence, Acron and Porphyry on Horace, as well as some more recent commentators.<sup>11</sup>

Vocabularies must be constantly used, though there are really no satisfactory ones. Varro, Festus, and Marcellus are for the most learned but too difficult for beginners and not adapted to modern needs. The *Cornucopie* of Perottus, and the work of Calepine lack comprehensiveness, scholarliness, and accuracy. Budaeus in his *Annotationes* and *De Asse* has done some fundamental work. Above all, the boy must read and observe for himself.

Then comes a consideration of Greek. Jerome Aleander has written his learned *Tabellae* on Greek pronunciation. The first two books of Gaza present the best grammar; "the parts selected by Ceperinus from Gaza will suffice at this stage."<sup>12</sup> For vocabulary and grammar, use some of the more pure dialogues, the short orations of Isocrates, Plato, some epistles, and the fables of Aesop. Gaza in his fourth book has treated construction, himself following Apollonius. Lascaris has tried to reduce Greek construction to Latin rules but with ill success. Notice the difference in Greek and Latin idioms. For reading, the orators should come first—Isocrates, Demosthenes, Lysias, Aeschines, Aristotle, Xenophon, Theophrastus. Then Thucydides and Plutarch. If any of these has previously been read in Latin translation, refresh your mind. Before taking up the poets, read Apollonius and Johannes Grammaticus on the Greek dialects. Begin with Attic

<sup>10</sup> Watson, *Women*, pp. 246-247.

<sup>11</sup> Watson, *Women*, p. 247.

<sup>12</sup> Watson, *Women*, p. 249.

writers, such as Aristophanes, then Homer "the fountain of the rest." Afterward Euripides and Sophocles. Use a lexicon such as Suidas or Hesychius. A Greek-Latin dictionary is advisable, since you will grasp the definition more readily in Latin than in Greek. Compare the Greek with a Latin verbal translation, as the Fables of Aesop, the *Tabella Cebetis*, and part of the Dialogues of Lucian "which Erasmus and More translated." Do the same with free translations as those of Thucydides and Herodotus by Valla. But the best are Politian's translation of Herodianus, and some of the small works of Plutarch by Budaeus. Hermolaus has gone too far in translating Themistius. Gaza is the prince of translators. The Greek writers will open the very fountains of wisdom.

Vives has here made some concessions to the less cloistered life of a man. But even now Ovid and the love poets are ignored, while Virgil, Silius Italicus, Seneca's tragedies, and Lucan are admitted only for their high seriousness, not for their literary qualities. The elegant conversational phrases of Terence are grudgingly admitted on the persuasion of Cicero; and Plautus would, of course, be anathema. Literature, as such, is merely tolerated, if that. Even less, therefore, was rhetoric and poetic any preoccupation with Vives. Moral training with him was first. The curriculum is consequently to be shaped to this content, with little concession to form. The old conventional trivium, with its literary objective, does not play any fundamental part in his thinking. The Renaissance, as such, has hardly touched him.

A few years later Vives was to explain in full his position on the poets.

Let the scholar begin the reading of the heathen, as though entering upon poisonous fields, armed with an antidote, with the consciousness that men are united to God by means of the reverence which has been given them by Him; that what men think out for themselves is full of errors; that whatever is opposed to piety, has sprung from man's emptiness and the deceits of his most crafty enemy, the devil; this will be generally sufficient without further explanation. Let the scholar remember that he is wandering amongst the heathen, that is, amongst thorns, poisons, aconite, and most threatening pestilences, that he is to take from them only what is useful, and to throw aside the rest, all of which they are neither to carefully examine themselves nor is the teacher to attempt to explain that which is hurtful to them.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Watson, *Vives: On Education*, p. 125.

Heathen are bad enough, but heathen poets are particularly dangerous.

As far as verse is concerned, I consider it very charming because of its harmony, which corresponds with the melody of the human soul, of which I have already spoken. The words proper to poetry, whether original or adapted, are lofty, sublime, brilliant; poems contain subjects of extraordinary effectiveness, and they display human passions in a wonderful and vivid manner. This is called *energia*. There breathes in them a certain great and lofty spirit so that the readers are themselves caught into it, and seem to rise above their own intellect, and even above their own nature. But amongst all these, so charming virtues, very fatal faults are mixed, disgraceful subjects are partly described and expressed and partly even commended. Faults of this kind can do great harm, if the reader has confidence in the writer, and if his verses gain a lodgment in the listener's mind, unconsciously through the sweetness of the verse. The subjects are taken partly from the spiritual, and partly from the bodily, life. They do not harm the mind, unless authority and example from the author are added to them, for which reason Homer was banished from Plato's *Republic*; Pythagoras says that he saw his soul in the lower world hanging from a tree and surrounded by serpents, because of what he had feigned about the gods. This is much worse than what Silius Italicus fables Scipio Africanus to have seen. But if these tales could formerly injure students, they can do so no longer, for we know that those gods were bad and wicked beings, who deserved ruin and not heaven; but still it may injure some students when it is added that wicked people attained their ends through crime, as when a man gained a kingdom by treachery or murder. Physical crimes corrupt the mind by even mentioning them.

Someone will ask, "How then ought we to read? How are we to gather healthy plants from amongst so many poisonous weeds? What are to be our precautions in stepping amongst the thorns? Or should we rather despise and reject them all?" Plutarch of Chaeronea wrote a book on reading the poets, in which he does nothing but arrange and soften the poison so that it may be less hurtful to those who take it, as when a poisonous mushroom is counteracted by an antidote. What need is there of this? Is it not wiser to leave the poison untouched altogether? Perhaps this is particularly the course to adopt with the poets referred to, and all the more because they add very little to knowledge of the arts, or to life, or indeed to language itself. Plutarch wisely and sensibly, as his manner is, gives precepts whereby the study of poetry may be made less harmful (although there are not a few things which afford a weak antidote) as when he bids us to point out to boys that poetry is not real life but a kind of painting. What then? If that very picture which we are gazing at, is obscene, does that not contaminate our minds, especially if it be subtly and artistically depicted? Not undeservedly did wise men wish to banish from the state such artists together with their pictures. Plutarch adds that poets by no means indicate that they them-

selves approve of their own disgraceful subjects. But not all; indeed some openly approve them fully, as Ovid, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Martial and others of this type. Others however treat the subject most obscurely and show their disapproval by hints which only a very few understand. Further, Plutarch advises that the maxims of the moral poets should be opposed to the immoral teachings of the others, then he believes the one sort will nullify the other sort. But what are you to do, if good maxims are not at hand? Besides have not bad maxims on their side the inclination of our natures to evil, so that they are stronger than the good? And, finally, he comes to the conclusion that he confesses that reading poets is hurtful, unless you are very cautious indeed. If that is so, it seems they ought not to be placed in the hands of boys, for it is the instruction of boys with which Plutarch is dealing, and the study of the poets might be deferred until the boys become grown men of settled convictions. With all these grounds and reasons before us, it seems to me that the following is the course which should be adopted. There are so many things in the poets, which are charming, beautiful, great and worthy of admiration, that poets ought not to be excluded from boys' study, but should be expurgated. The diseased limb should not be cut off, but should be cured by treatment with medicine. Obscene passages should be wholly cut out from the text, as though they were dead, and would infect whatever they touched. Does the human race, forsooth, suffer an irreparable loss, if a man cast the noxious part out of an unclean poet, and if he does to a book, what he would not hesitate to do to his own body, if necessary? The Emperor Justinian mutilated the writings of very many lawyers. Is it then wrong to exclude those verses from Ovid, which would make a young man worse than he is? So many works of so many philosophers and holy writers have been lost, would it then be a crime if Tibullus or the *Ars Amandi* of Ovid perished? Whoever will undertake this expurgation will do a great service not only to his contemporaries and to posterity, but also to poetry itself and to poets. This would be, as in a garden; a gardener only leaves the healthy herbs, and weeds out all the poisonous plants. In this way poetry will be kept from ignominy and the readers from an evil poison. When however poets depict the bad, let those who read know that the poems are only pictures, and impress upon them that they are the pictures very often of the worst men. When they hear about gods, let them think of them as kings, when of heroes, as noblemen, and when of men, as common people. Sometimes, they must take the god as standing for the quality which is attributed to him, for instance, Jupiter for the majesty of kingship; Minerva for wisdom and counsel; Mars as the impulse to go to war; Mercury as an ambassador; Apollo for the pleasure of knowledge and mental clearness. Reliance on the poets personally must be weakened. They had great natural advantages by their inspiration, but still they were men of ordinary capacity, often with no learning or experience of life, or at any rate very little; besides they were slaves to evil passions and tainted with vice.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Watson, *Vives: On Education*, pp. 126-129.

Poets are an ignorant and vicious lot, and consequently their inspiration makes them especially dangerous. Whereupon Vives considers the sources of their peculiar power, but we need not follow him there. Since poets—weak masters though they be—are potentially so dangerous, Vives scrutinizes the visible supply with extreme care.

The plays of Terence were thought to have been written by Scipio Aemilianus, or by his friend C. Laelius, who was called the Wise, because of the elegance of their style, and Caesar calls Terence a lover of a pure style. The works of Plautus are much less pure, for he was an antiquarian, and allowed his slave-characters great licence, while he sought to gain the laughter and applause of the theatre by frowardness of speech and by not too much purity in his ideas. I should like to see cut out of both of these writers all those parts which could taint the minds of boys with vices, to which our natures approach by the encouragement, as it were, of a nod.

The reading of the poets is more for the strengthening of the mind and raising it to the stars, and for the cultivation of the ornaments of discourse than for supplying subject-matter for conversation. The comic writers are nearer prose than poetry. The tragic writers come midway between the two. They use many lofty phrases, which are too bombastic for ordinary conversation, but also many phrases which can be applied to ordinary use. Seneca is the only Latin tragedian left to us. I think the early ones were not preserved for us because people thought them rough and crude, and did not value at a high price what they had written. Whilst reading poetry the pupil must learn the whole scheme of prosody and the exact and minute quantity of each syllable. Let him also read (*audiet*) Virgil's *Bucolica*. In studying this book there is one warning necessary, which applies to all dramatists who introduce speeches by various characters, and that is, that there are certain words and forms of speech which suit the part of the person speaking, rather than that they are correct. These opinions would have been expressed differently by the writers, if they had put the words in the mouths of other people. This occurs chiefly in the practice of the comic writers and those whose aim is more to amuse the reader than to compose seriously. We see this happens daily in compositions in the vernacular languages. Therefore we must not seek for examples from Plautus to verify the soundness of our Latin, nor from Terence, although he is more sparing of licence in this respect, nor from Theocritus for the Dorian dialect, nor from Virgil in his Eclogues, from which book certain people quoted two verses with much ostentation, wishing to make it appear that they were fine Latinists:

Dic mihi Dameta cuium pecus? an ne Latinum?

Non, verum Aegonis: nostri sic rure loquuntur.

They either did not know or pretended not to know that Virgil was striving to catch the charm of the country dialect, in which kind of effort Theocritus allowed himself considerable indulgence.

Next the teacher should explain some of the Odes of Horace. He should add some Christian poets, the ancient Prudentius, and our modern writer

Baptista of Mantua, who is more copious and fluent than free from mistakes. Nor is he sufficiently responsive to the loftiness of his themes. Even in the hymns of Prudentius there is much to be desired in the Latinity.

After these should follow Virgil's *Georgica* and the *Rusticus* of Politianus. Then the pupil should begin to compose verses himself. The teacher should expound the fables of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the six books of his *Fasti* (since no more have come down to us) for the better knowledge of mythology. Some of Martial's *Epigrammata* may be selected. Let Persius be added, because the ancients thought him well worth reading, as Quintilian, Martial and St Jerome bear witness. To these authors should follow the *Aeneid*, Virgil's great work, full of serious and lofty matters, which does not even yield in importance to the *Iliad*. The poem of Lucan has great virility and is most warlike, so that he does not seem to sing of battles, but to fight them before us, and to blow the trumpet, and to describe the weapons with as much fervour as Caesar wielded them; so that his sounds are, as it were, too vast and unrestrained for the ears of some people and they cannot bear to read him.

But we must not ignore the fact, that poetry is to be relegated "to the leisure hours of life." It is not to be consumed as if it were nourishment, but is to be treated as a spice. I consider that man to have a poetical temperament who possesses great passion, which sometimes raises him above the usual and ordinary state of his nature, and in this elation he conceives lofty and almost heavenly inspirations. Then the sharpness of his mind contemplates and concentrates itself on not only great and animated ideas, but also arranges them and thus causes within his body a harmony, derived from the exaltation of his mind.<sup>15</sup>

It is interesting to notice that Vives discusses his poets in the approximate order of grammar school. He begins with Terence, whom he would like to see expurgated, as well as Plautus. Along with these writers of Latin comedy, he discusses Seneca as the sole surviving Latin writer of tragedy. While he is discussing drama, Vives brings in the *Bucolics* of Virgil, because they are written in character. With exception of Seneca, these are first grammar school poets. Then Vives proceeds to the *Odes* of Horace and the Christian poets Prudentius and Mantuan. It will be remembered that Erasmus also puts Horace in this position, though he does not specify the *Odes*. But no English curriculum brings Horace this early. Mantuan, however, regularly follows Terence, along with or instead of his rival, Virgil's *Bucolics*, while Prudentius and his fellow Christians would presumably occupy the same approximate position. Virgil's *Georgics* would follow his *Bucolics*, and Vives recommends Politian's *Rusticus*, though I have found no mention of it in English schools.

<sup>15</sup> Watson, *Vives: On Education*, pp. 136-138.

We then come to the poets of upper school, with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* serving for mythology. Martial and Persius succeed, to be followed by Virgil's *Aeneid*. Lucan ends the list. Here is the list and approximate order for English grammar schools, except that Horace is reserved for almost the end, and Seneca appears only a time or two before 1600. Vives finally admits grudgingly the conventional poets to his curriculum; but he wants them well inoculated and he insists that they are only spice, not nourishment. Ordinary heathen will bear watching, but heathen poets especially so. Vives seeks a Reformation, not a Renaissance.

The ideas of Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Governour* (1531), printed the same year as the work of Vives from which we have just been quoting on the poets, are somewhat less cloistered than those of Vives, but he also is presenting an Utopian scheme for making a "Prince"—a rather far cry from the grammar schools. Sir Thomas, like Vives, wishes that his "Prince" be early taught the Latin names of parts of the body, etc., evidently using some such vocabulary as that of Stanbridge. The child also learns in his own language "to knowe the ptes of speche/and . . . [to] separte one of them from an other." That is, the child masters what was later in the authorised grammar the Accidence, up to Concords. But since this child is a "Prince" under a private tutor, the proposed curriculum now diverges in organization from the one necessary in grammar school, so that we need not follow in detail.

Sir Thomas proposed to spend the first three years, from seven to ten, upon Greek. So the "Prince," having previously attained a smattering of Latin vocabulary and grammar, then acquired a still smaller smattering of Greek grammar with which to read Aesop and by reading to improve his grammar. Here Sir Thomas insists that all lessons must be committed to memory, a cardinal pedagogical principle of the time, and one worth remembering. Such classical authors as Shakspeare got in grammar school he would have so long as memory did last. From Aesop, the progress was to select dialogues of Lucian or the comedies of Aristophanes, and thence to Homer as the prime objective in Greek. Virgil may then follow Homer, including the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*. The *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* of Ovid may come next, but there is not much learning in them "concernyng either vertuous maners or policie," so hasten on to Horace. Silius Italicus and Lucan are also good, as is Hesiod in Greek. Selections from these works will be sufficient till the "Prince" attains



reason at fourteen. He then studies to be an orator, using Cicero's *Topica* or Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica*, taking half a year for this phase of his work. He may continue with Hermogenes in Greek or Quintilian in Latin. Cicero's *Partitiones* may also be used or *Copia* of Erasmus. Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Tully will furnish examples. For cosmography, study Ptolemy's geography; for historical geography read Strabo, Solinus, Mela, or Dionysius. For history, read Livy, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and Quintus Curtius. Caesar and Sallust should be reserved until the "Prince" has sufficient experience to understand them. To these, Tacitus may be added. Being on military matters, these books are of the very gravest importance to a nobleman. At seventeen, the "Prince" should begin philosophy, especially moral philosophy, using Aristotle's *Ethics*, Cicero's *De Officiis*, and Plato. The Bible is to be used, of course, and the *Institutio Principis Christiani* of Erasmus.

Sir Thomas is also mightily preoccupied with the moral and political lessons to be drawn from these authors. In fact, they are selected and to be taught from this single point of view, so as to shape the Christian Prince. The teacher is to regard himself as a lay preacher and is to use the moralizable classics in the same way that the preacher uses his Bible. Sir Thomas is as preoccupied in making a "Christian" Prince as Dean Colet and Vives are in producing "Christian" preachers. But Sir Thomas takes a somewhat more worldly point of view, and so permits his "Prince" to know a few naughty things the better to enable him to manage his imperfect subjects, whereas Vives did not propose to let Princess Mary know even that naughty words existed.<sup>16</sup> Both gentlemen must have been plentifully lacking in a sense of humor and in a knowledge of human psychology, even if Vives be, "The Father of Modern Psychology." Sir Thomas would even permit some Terence and Ovid to his youthful charges, if these authors were properly moralized to show the effects of evil ways. His Prince must also be taught as an orator. But Sir Thomas is fundamentally not much more interested in literary qualities as such than were Dean Colet and Vives. He too seeks a Reformation, not a Renaissance.

Vives was a pious Spaniard directing another pious Spaniard in the making of a pious Spanish lady out of her daughter. They are foreigners in England and have no connection with specifically English

<sup>16</sup> Elyot, however, in the preface to his *Dictionary* invites the seeker of obscene words to look elsewhere; Elyot will not furnish them.

ideas. The ideas of Vives for Mountjoy are essentially as cloistered. Sir Thomas Elyot was prescribing a formula for creating the Utopian "Prince," and was also closely connected with the interests and points of view of Queen Catherine. Grammar school masters faced a situation so different that Vives and Sir Thomas could in these works have had but little if any influence upon them. Fortunately for an English Renaissance (literary-Italianate, not Spanish-Reformation), Erasmus and men of his mind had already determined the fundamental curriculum and the pedagogical processes and attitudes of the grammar schools, so that following his lead, the schoolmasters had quite early agreed upon what authors among the Latins were most worthy of imitation, and consequently used them for constructions, etc. in their more pragmatic and less Utopian, more "human" and less "heavenly" scheme of things.

## CHAPTER X

### EDUCATING THE "PRINCE"; PRINCE EDWARD LOWER SCHOOL WORK

THE SCHOOLMASTERS of King Henry's younger children, Elizabeth and Edward, agreed essentially with Sir Thomas Elyot in their points of view. They, too, were ultra-pious men; but they adapted more fully the grammar school curriculum and methods to attain their ends. For, Richard Cox, who was in charge of the rudiments of Prince Edward's education, was that master of Eton who transcribed the curriculum of about 1530. It was, therefore, only natural that he should retain the Eton mould when he began to shape a scheme of education for Prince Edward. The grammar school curriculum had proved itself so effective that its wind was now tempered to the shorn lambs of royalty.

In order to put the evidence concerning the training of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Edward in its proper setting, we need to notice the connection of their other known tutors, most of whom had formed a group of friends at St. John's College, Cambridge. The leader of this group at St. John's had been John Cheke, who had in various ways emphasized the study of Greek. King Henry had earlier made him King's Scholar, enabling him to prepare himself in Greek, and he had later attained eminence in his college by his able and enthusiastic teaching of that subject. In July, 1544, the day regularly being given as the tenth,<sup>1</sup> Cheke was called to be tutor of Prince Edward, who was approaching his seventh birthday. About September 13, 1544, Roger Ascham was recommending his pupil William Grindal to Cheke, Ascham's own former tutor. Ascham had been closely connected with Cheke at St. John's, succeeding to some of his positions and perquisites, and hoping for still others. Through Cheke, Grindal became tutor to Princess Elizabeth, apparently a short time after the recommendation in September, 1544. Incidentally, stories connecting Edward and Elizabeth under Cheke doubtless rose from this close connection between the tutors of the two children. Then Grindal died shortly before January 22, 1548,<sup>2</sup> and, again through Cheke, Ascham succeeded as tutor to Elizabeth. So we have a group of St. John's men, notable enthusiasts for Greek,

---

<sup>1</sup> Strype, John, *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke, Kt.*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 158.

serving as tutors to Elizabeth and Edward, with Cheke as chief-in-command of the group. One suspects that behind Cheke himself was his brother-in-law, that William Cecil, also of this St. John's group of friends, who was to become the great Lord Burghley.

We may thus best begin with Cheke's own endeavors upon Edward. It was then conventional for a boy to begin his grammar school learning at seven. So when King Henry was preparing in July, 1544, for one of his favorite amusements, a campaign in France, he thought it time before going to provide this stage of training for Edward, who would be seven in October.<sup>3</sup> The record runs:

Item, His Majeste woll that my Lord Prince shall, on Wednesdaye next, remove to Hamptoncourte; and that the Lord Chauncelour, and thErle of Hertford, shall repayre thither on Thoresdaye, and there discharge all the ladyes and gentlewomen out of the house; and also admit and swere Sir Richard Page Chamberlayn to my Lord Prince, Mr. Sydney to be avaunced to the office of Stuard, Jasper Horsey to be chief Gentleman of his Privey Chambre, and Mr. Cox to be his Aulmoner, and he that is now Aulmoner to be Deane, and Mr. Cheke as a suppliment to Mr. Cox, both for the bettere instruccion of the Prince, and the diligent teaching of suche children as be appointed to attende upon him.<sup>4</sup>

Edward himself phrases the matter thus:

Afterward was brought up, til he came to six yeres old, among the wemen.<sup>5</sup> At the sixt yere of his age, he was brought up in learning by Mr. Doctour Cox, who was after his amner, and Jhon Chieke, M<sup>r</sup> of Art, tow wel larnid men, who sought to bring him up in learning of [1] toungues, [2] of the scrip- tures, [3] of philosophie, and [4] all liberal sciences.<sup>6</sup>

The implication in both these statements seems to be that Cox had been Edward's teacher before he became almoner in July 1544, and that now classical education was to begin, with Cheke helping to teach both Edward and the select group of his companions.

Edward would before beginning his classical education in July 1544 have been taught to read and to write English. But of this stage

<sup>3</sup> Henry Fitzroy had been started upon his grammar school work at about the same age (Carver, *Acolastus*, p. xxxiv).

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers . . . King Henry the Eighth*, Parts I and II (1830), p. 764.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Elyot, "After that a childe is come to seuen yeres of age / I holde it expedient that he be taken fro the company of women" (Elyot, *Gouernour* (1531), fol. 20r; Croft, Vol. I, p. 35). Edward knew the technical phrase.

<sup>6</sup> Nichols, J. G., *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, Vol. II, pp. 209-210. One should notice the objectives stated in the last sentence. Edward's remark that Cox was "after his amner" has led Nichols to refer to Cox's letters patent as King's Almoner on March 16, 1547. But since Edward had become king, Cox would require a new patent at this date if he was to retain that office in the new household.

of his training we have apparently no definite direct information. Cheke had not been connected with it, since he was at Cambridge, though as we have seen, Cox may have been. One might also suspect Edward's former almoner, who became Dean when Cox succeeded him as almoner. But I do not know who he was, and have made no attempt to find out. Clearly, preparation looking forward to Edward's grammar training had long been in progress. As we have seen, the first part of the grammar had received some touches directed at Edward not later than 1542,<sup>7</sup> and the other tender babes of England are told in the preface that before long Edward will be ready to run the race of learning with them.<sup>8</sup> It has been guessed that these touches were due to Dr. Cox, Edward's tutor; but there is no clear evidence that at this time Cox had any connection with Edward, and there is fairly conclusive evidence that these items were inserted by David Talley.<sup>9</sup>

Shortly afterward, the fundamental text of grammar learning was assembled for Prince Edward. It consisted of an A B C of 1543, a first part of the newly authorized grammar, 1542, and a second part of 1540,<sup>10</sup> all on vellum, the volume now being in the British Museum (C. 21. b. 4). This volume was thus assembled not earlier than 1543, and probably not much later. Before he began his classical education in July, 1544, Edward would have been taught to read and to write English. The A B C of 1543 would have been the primary text in reading English. The A B C, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments show especial signs of Edward's attentions. Edward may also have improved his English by means of the first part of the grammar before the arrangement of July, 1544. This first part shows hard usage almost entire, with exception principally of the *Christiani Hominis Institutum* of Erasmus, which follows Lily's *Carmen* at the end. This Edward would have had in his Cato collection also, and doubtless read it there instead of in the grammar. Only selected sections of the second part of the grammar show marks of hard service, confirming the statements of the theorists that much of it should be used only for reference. "Propria quae maribus," and "As in praesenti" have been heavily used; Syntaxis, Figurae, and Prosodia moderately so. These are the principal sections out of which the

<sup>7</sup> *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLV, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Little boys must have heard no end of moralizing from their masters about the marvellous accomplishments of Prince Edward. For an instance, see Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. clii.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix II.

second part of the grammar had been assembled, and these are the sections upon which ordinary grammarians were drilled. For in practice the principles of Erasmus remained intact; the boys were drilled thoroughly and unmercifully on the minimum essentials of grammar; but the complete system was for reference only in case of need. So far, modern authorities have tended to look at the grammar itself<sup>11</sup> instead of the way in which it was used, and hence to conclude that the principles of Erasmus had been deserted. But so late as Hoole the drill is still mainly if not solely on these minimum essentials, as were also the construes of the grammar. So Prince Edward has grubbed<sup>12</sup> away at the minimum essentials with the best of them. Since he is still scribbling his name as Edward Prince of England at the end of Etymologia, he had probably mastered the work at least up to Syntaxis before in January 1547 at nine and a quarter he became King of England.

In the arrangement of July 7, 1544, Cox was in command and Cheke only a "suppliment." Cox, who was now forty-four and well placed, had been trained at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and had for a time been head-master at Eton, where we have already met him. He was thus well qualified for directing a grammar school education. Cheke was only thirty, but had already become an outstanding teacher of Greek at St. John's, Cambridge. He had little except his scholarship to contribute, and doubtless did the actual teaching, especially of the classical material. Cox wrote Sir Richard Paget on December 10, 1544, almost exactly five months after his appointment in July, that Edward

hath expugned and utterly conquered and (*sic*) great nūb[er] of the captayns of ignorance. The eight parts of speche he hath made thē his subiects and servaunts, and can declayne any man' latyne noune and coniugate a v'be pfectly onlesse it be anomalū. These parts thus beten downe & conquered, he begynneth to buylde thē vp agayn and frame thē aft' his purpose w<sup>t</sup> dew orde of construction, lyke as the Kyngs mai<sup>ty</sup> fframed vp Bullayn whan he had beaten it downe. He undrestondeth and can frame well his iij concordēs of gram' and hath made all redy xl or l prety latyns and can answere welfavourdly to the parts, and is now redy to entre in to Cato, to sō ppre & pfitable fables of Esops, and othre holsom and godly lessons y<sup>t</sup> shall be deuised for hym. Euery day in the masse tyme he redeth a portion

<sup>11</sup> Even so, they ought to compare it with other current grammars, which were much more voluminous.

<sup>12</sup> If this grammar had not been used by a Prince and King, one might be tempted to speak of it as being "a bit grubby" in spots.

word in such a Greek dictionary as Conrad Gesner's *Dictionarium Graecolatinum* (1560), we shall find it defined as "mansuetudo, clementia." So the Latin translation of Lonicerus<sup>10</sup> renders the Greek by the single word *mansuetus*. Edward has turned to the Greek word in his dictionary and has found there two words, "mansuetudo, clementia." From such points it would probably be possible to locate Edward's Greek dictionary.

I believe it is clear, therefore, that about April, 1548, Edward was reading the second oration of Isocrates in Greek, and probably in Greek alone, for if a translation had been under his eye he would have been satisfied with the single Latin word used in the text as a translation of the Greek word and would not have looked it up in his dictionary. It is amusing to see how in his *Laus* he has worked in the various things that have been taught him about Isocrates, and how in the remaining sections he has managed to work in apparently all—I have not counted them—of the other thirty-four virtues of a king. He has used his background information upon Isocrates and the second oration as materials for his *Chreia*. As usual, his study upon Isocrates has been contrived a double debt to pay. Edward would already have had the first oration of Isocrates as translated by Agricola in the Cato collection, which he had completed by January, 1547. He is now in 1548 taking up Isocrates in Greek<sup>11</sup> as a fitting companion to the minor forms in Aphthonius.

But before Edward took up Aphthonius about the beginning of 1548, he ought already to have done some precedent rhetorical work. We have seen that he was in January, 1547, beginning to read *Copia*. He would at that time need some work to explain the figures of speech, since this first book teaches how to apply these figures in the interests of greater copy of words. We shall see later that Edward's text for this was the fourth book of *Ad Herennium*. Edward's copy was a typical first volume of Cicero's rhetoric, containing as usual the attributed *Ad Herennium* and the *De Inventione*, printed at Venice "Ex officina Erasmiana apud Vincentium Valgrisium" in 1545 (B. M.; C.

<sup>10</sup> The British Museum has a copy of the translation of Lonicerus as printed at Basle in 1529 (B. M.; 656. d. 4.), which bears on its spine the crown and Tudor rose of some sovereign, whose first initial was probably H, thus Henry VIII. It bears the signature of "Io Penetus," who has marked numerous items in the index with an "Ex" for "exemplum," and has done some further annotation.

<sup>11</sup> Edward later had the French translation, *Trois livres d'Isocrates*, as translated by L. Le Roy in an edition at Paris in 1551 (B. M.; 834. g. 12); but he was more likely at that time using the selections from Xenophon in the volume. Le Roy or Regius had already presented a manuscript copy of this work to Edward in 1550 (B. M.; Royal MS. 16. E. XXXII).

46. b. 12). This is an unannotated edition, but with side-notes pointing out the different sections of the work. All four books of the *Ad Herennium* show signs of moderate use by someone, the first book showing the greatest amount of "finger-printing," the fourth apparently next. The *De Inventione* has also been used. There are no manuscript notes so far as I have noticed. So by or before January, 1547, when he took up *Copia*, Edward had doubtless begun mastering the figures of speech from *Ad Herennium* in this edition of 1545.

Edward would next need to master the first and second books of *Ad Herennium*. The second book treated the "topics," and it or some other treatment should first be mastered before the boy learned to apply them in the second book of *Copia*. Cicero's *Topica* frequently was substituted for or supplemented this second book. But Edward's second volume of the rhetoric, containing, as usual with this form, the remaining rhetorical works of Cicero including *Topica*, is the unannotated text as published by Gryphius at Lyons in 1551 (C. 19. a. 21). It appears to have been read pretty much throughout. Edward thus doubtless read it with some care when in 1551-52, as we shall see, he was concentrating upon the oration. It would appear, then, that the second book of *Ad Herennium* was about 1547 considered a sufficient introduction for Edward to the second part of *Copia*. Of this second book on *inventio*, the *De Inventione* of Cicero would be a natural continuation.

Doubtless the first book of *Ad Herennium*, dealing with the general structure of the oration, would have preceded the second book, as was usual. Another of Edward's volumes also connects him with the first book of *Ad Herennium*. Nichols describes it thus,

*In Omnes De Arte Rhetorica M. Tullii Ciceronis Libros, item in eos ad C. Herennium scriptos, doctissimorum virorum commentaria.* (Aldus.) Venetis, M. D. XLVI.<sup>12</sup>

The fact that the binding has "an original tool of Edward's arms, with his initials" as king, shows that the volume was bound for Edward after he became king late in January, 1547. Since Edward was supplied with voluminous commentaries on Cicero's rhetorical works in an edition of 1546 which was bound after January, 1547, the volume probably was procured in or about 1547 to aid Edward on

<sup>12</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cccxxvi. Press mark C. 82. f. 5, formerly 656. c. 8. For the contents of the volume, see [Burgassi, A. C.,] *Serie Dell' Edizioni Aldine* (3rd. ed., Firenze, 1803), pp. 94-95.



Cicero's rhetoric. It shows some signs of having been consulted, and there are a few underscorings of such material as Edward was accustomed to note, in the comments of Longolius upon *Ad Herennium*, p. 494. Presumably Edward did this in his attempts to master *Ad Herennium* in or shortly after 1547.

It is probable, indeed, that we have a hint as to the source of some of this Cicero. For in January 1547, Edward wrote Bishop Day a letter of thanks for works of Cicero, which the Bishop had sent, no doubt as a new-year's gift. We need to remember here Cheke's own statement that Day "was my bringer-upp, and at his hands I gate an entrie to some skill in learning."<sup>13</sup> Day would have been closely in touch with the scholastic progress of Edward, and doubtless timed the volume of Cicero to a need. So Bishop Day had sent something connected with Cicero containing commentary, probably as a new-year's gift in 1547,

Eloquentia enim Ciceronis fuit insignis atque mirabilis, commentarius suus elegans et iucundus.<sup>14</sup>

Day's gift is probably to be found in these or similar volumes of Cicero. For Edward is known, as we shall see, to have had the philosophical works in two volumes, printed in 1541, and the orations in three volumes, printed in 1544.

At any rate, it is fairly clear that around the beginning of 1547 Edward was beginning the rhetorical and oratorical sequence with *Ad Herennium* and *Copia* as guides. These would have prepared him for his Aphthonius early in 1548.

A work in another volume attributed to Edward would fit in here, if it really did belong to him. This is the *Epitome Fabii Quintiliani nuper summo & ingenio & diligentia collecta, qua possit studiosa iuuentus, quicquid est Rhetoricae institutionis apud ipsum authorem, breuiore compendio & multo facilius adsequi. Authore Iona Philologo*, Paris (Stephanus), 1547. Philologus has cut away the theorizing and excessive illustration to the minimum essentials, requiring only one hundred and seventeen octavo pages. The condition of the copy

<sup>13</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. clxi.

<sup>14</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, p. 37. Nichols has misunderstood the structure, and someone has mis-punctuated Edward's letter. There was only the one lot of Cicero. The three things which move Edward to write are (1) to give thanks for the books, (2) to give thanks for the letter, (3) not to appear unthankful for the books and the letter. He has balanced the contraries thankful and unthankful, but divides his thanks into two parts, so as to get a much-desired triplicity. His Division reminds one of Dogberry's, and doubtless represents what frequently occurred in school and out.

(B. M.; 1089. f. 15. (1) ) shows that someone has used it hard, probably memorizing it. It has been bound with *In M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionum Librum Decimum, Doctissimorum Virorum annotationes, Nempe Philippi Melanthonia. Ioannis Veltcurionis. Ioannis Stigelij Casparis Landsidelij . . . in ordinem digestae & aeditae Per M. Stephanum Riccium*, which was gathered in 1570. Thus the second work was not Edward's, though both were already bound together and attributed to him in the *MS Catalogue of the old Royal Library*. The present binding carries the crown and Tudor rose but no initials. By its date "Lut. 1547" it is probably carrying on the marking of the old binding. But the past history of the volume needs fuller investigation before we can be certain that the Quintilian belonged to Edward.<sup>15</sup> If it did—as it probably did—then Edward no doubt mastered "this fierce abridgement" following the *Ad Herennium*. Some such work he evidently used, as we shall see.

Another volume attributed to Edward by the old *MS Catalogue* is one on *elocutio*, which thus would have been most likely for this period. It is a copy of Omphalius, J., "De Elocutione & Imitatione—caret Tit—8° 1537." This is evidently B. M.; 1089. a. 31. The present binding carries no attribution, but some John has scribbled his name in one place. The attribution to Edward seems highly doubtful.

By such paths as we have been tracing, Edward had reached by 1548 Aphthonius and Isocrates. Along with the moral matter of Isocrates in Greek, Edward was also getting other moral matter in Latin from Cicero, beginning on January 4, 1548 upon *De Officiis*. This work is recorded in another notebook, in the Bodleian Library (MS Autogr. e. 2.), which Edward entitled *Liber sententiarū Divisionū Phrasium & definitionū extractae ex officiis Ciceronis. Edwardus*.

Edward began on Wednesday, January 4, 1548, to record for the first book of *De Officiis* the *sententiae* and *phrases*, these latter soon becoming distinguished as *Phrases Verborum* and *Phrases Nominum*. He completed the first book on Friday, January 27. He then began a "Repetitio" of the first book in the same way on Monday, January 30, and completed it on Thursday, February 9. The second book was begun by the same methods on Thursday, February 16, 1548, and finished Thursday, March 22, 1548. Then on Saturday, March 24, Edward started back over the first book for the third time, but in this survey gathering the "Divisiones" and "Definitiones." Nichols has quoted the first of these exercises.

<sup>15</sup> Its "finger-prints" ought to identify it.

Thus Cheke agrees with Erasmus, who writing his *Institutio Principis Christiani* had said,

Quod si quis meo velit uti consilio, statim a tradita loquendi ratione, proponet Proverbia Solomonis, Ecclesiasticum, & librum Sapientiae, non ut puer ab ostentatore interprete quatuor illis Theologorum sensibus torqueatur, sed ut paucis accomode commonstret, si quid ad boni Principis officium pertinet. . . . Mox Euangelia. . . . Tertio loco Plutarchi Apophthegmata, deinde Moralia: nihil enim his sanctius potest inveniri, cujus & vitas proponi malim, quam cujusquam alterius.<sup>19</sup> Plutarcho proximum locum facile tribuerim Senecae, qui scriptis suis mire exstimulat & inflammat ad honesti studium, lectoris animum a sordidis curis in sublime subvehit, peculiariter ubique dedocens Tyrannidem. Ex Politicis Aristotelis, ex Officiis Ciceronis permulta decerpere licebit, non indigna cognitu. Sed sanctius hisce de rebus locutus est Plato, mea quidem sententia, & hunc ex parte secutus Cicero in libris de Legibus: nam de Republica interciderunt.<sup>20</sup>

Thus Erasmus recommends Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and the Book of Wisdom from the Old Testament, the Gospels from the New. Then the *Apothegms* and *Morals* of Plutarch; possibly also the *Lives*. Next Seneca, the *Politics* of Aristotle, the *Offices* of Cicero, and Plato especially, whom Cicero has used as a source.

Cheke recommends exactly the same sections of the Bible as had Erasmus. In the paragraph immediately preceding the advice on divinity, Cheke had commended Aristotle's *Politics* most highly, and he is known to have used Plato, and Cicero's *Offices* upon King Edward. Plutarch also appears among Edward's books, but I have not noticed any evidence of Seneca. It is clear that Cheke agreed fully with Erasmus as to the proper moral training for a Christian Prince. But if this was a good beginning to teach a Prince his responsibilities, it was also a good beginning for his subjects to learn

<sup>19</sup> This possibility should be remembered in connection with Shakspeare's use of Plutarch's *Lives*.

<sup>20</sup> Erasmus, *Opera*, Vol. IV, p. 587 E. "But if any should desire to make use of my plan, as soon as the elements of language have been taught, he should set forth the *Proverbs* of Solomon, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Book of Wisdom*, not with the idea that the boy may be tormented with the four senses (*sensus*) of the theologian by a vaunting interpreter, but that he may fitly show in a few words whatever pertains to the functions of a good prince. . . . Later take the Gospels. . . . In the third place, read the *Apophthegmata* of Plutarch and then his *Morals*, for nothing can be found purer than these works. I should also prefer his *Lives* to those of anyone else. After Plutarch, I would readily assign the next place to Seneca, whose writings are wonderfully stimulating and excite one to enthusiasm for [a life of] moral integrity, raise the mind of the reader from sordid cares, and especially decry tyranny everywhere. From the *Politics* of Aristotle and from the *Offices* of Cicero many passages that are worth knowing can well be culled out. But Plato is the most venerable source of such things—in my opinion at least. Cicero has followed him in part in his work *The Laws*; that entitled *The Republic* is lost" (Born, Lester K., *The Education of a Christian Prince*, pp. 200–201).

theirs. Cheke had used the method upon Prince Edward, and it was also used in the grammar schools of Prince Edward's day and far beyond. It may have been there even before Edward's day, though I have no record. More likely, it spread to the grammar schools through having been used on Edward.

For though in 1531 Sir Thomas Elyot had in general accepted for noblemen this system of training in moral philosophy advocated by Erasmus, yet he would begin it only at the Roman age of seventeen, hence not in grammar school, and he handled the Biblical part of the program very gingerly. Since it was his policy to begin with the Greek, he would start the boy at the Roman age of seventeen upon the first books of Aristotle's *Ethics* in Greek. This would be followed by Cicero's *De Officiis*.

But aboue all other/ the warkes of Plato wolde be most studiously radde/ whā the iugement of a man is come to perfectiō/ . . . The prouerbes of Salomon with the bokes of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus be very good lessons. All the historiall partes of the bible/ be righte necessarye for to be radde of a noble man/ after that he is mature in yeres. And the residue (with the newe testament) is to be reuerētly touched/ as a celestially iewell or relike/ hauynge the chiefe interpretour of those bokes trewe and constant faith/ and dredefully to sette handes thereon/ remembrynge that Oza for puttyng his hande to the holy shryne/ that was called *Archa federis*/ whan it was broughte by kyng Dauid frō the cite of Gaba/ though it were wauerynge and in daunger to fall/ yet was he stryken of god/ and fell deed immediatly. It wolde nat be forgotten/ that the lytell boke of the most excellent doctour Erasmus Roterodame (whiche he wrate to Charles/ now beynge emperour/ and than prince of Castile) whiche booke is intituled the Institution of a christen prince/ wolde be as familyare alwaye with gentlemen at all tymes and in euery age/ as was Homere with the great king Alexander/ or Xenophō with Scipio: for as all men may iuge/ that haue radde that warke of Erasmus: that there was neuer boke written in latine/ that in so lytle a portion/contayned of sentence/ eloquence/ and vertuous exhortation/ a more compendious abundaunce.<sup>21</sup>

Sir Thomas approves the work of Erasmus in high terms, but he is no reformer. He is enthusiastic about the pagans—except Plutarch and Seneca—, but he fears to touch the doctrinal parts of the Bible. Cox and Cheke had no need of such circumspection in their day. Both Elyot and the early curricula make it fairly certain that this system of moral philosophy did not belong to the grammar schools in the 'thirties, and it is probably of equal certainty that it would not at that time have emphasized the study of the Bible, especially in its

<sup>21</sup> Elyot, *Gouernour* (1531), folios 41v-42r; Croft, Vol. I, pp. 91-95.

doctrinal parts, as in the New Testament. Elyot says nothing of learning Greek through the New Testament as later was the conventional mode. But Cox and Cheke approved fully the system of Erasmus and used it at once on their Prince without waiting for him to become seventeen.

So the "thynges of the Bible" which were studied by Edward were doubtless those suggested by the preface of 1548 for the improvement of "Latin-making," and later were commended to Edward for continuance by Cheke. It was the system of moral training suggested by Erasmus put into the service of "Latin-making."

This method of making Latins was not confined, of course, to England. For instance, Hermannus Buschius had prepared *Ex Proverbiis Salomonis & Ecclesiastico, dictata quaedam utilissima, ad studiosorum quorúmque utilitatem, ab Hermanno Buschio collecta*.<sup>22</sup> The boys must get their little barrels imbued with the Bible at once—one comes to wish that Horace had never thought of that wise saw! So Buschius has gathered under appropriate headings some pruned *sententiae* from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus to serve this purpose as dictates. Nor was Edward the only king to be trained by this method. There is a little pamphlet *Sententiae Latine Redditae. A Ludovico XIII. Christianissimo, Galliarum Rege Et Navarrae. Anno M. DC. X. Aetatis IX. Regni I.* Written by a king in his ninth year, this purports to have been printed by a but slightly more aged craftsman. *Excudebat Petrus Curtius, annos XIII. natus. Lutetiae Parisiorum, Anno Salutis 1610.* This begins, *Initium sapientiae timor Domini* and has numerous other Biblical *sententiae*, though the collection is not solely Biblical. The Bible would have been a chief source for sentential dictates, whether it was used systematically or by chance.

Aesop's Fables, also mentioned by Cox, regularly accompanied or closely followed Cato in the second form of the Eton system, in the third form of the other systems. So Edward had been using the regular texts and performing the regular processes leading to the first type of composition, that of letter writing.

Cox's absence in 1546 led to Edward's addressing several letters to him, the first dated March 11, 1546, "anno aetatis suae nono." His textbook on letter-writing was evidently the *De Conscribendis Epistolis* of Erasmus, since he had a copy, printed at Antwerp in 1546

<sup>22</sup> My copy is *Argentorati apud Mathiam Apiarium, Anno M. D. XXXVI.*

(B. M.; 1083. e. 6). It has been read but not annotated. Edward may, of course, have done some writing of letters before he took up the formal study of them with the textbook of Erasmus as a guide. Erasmus had provided for many of the elementary operations of this exercise in his other texts, and is in this text now giving a complete view systematically. From Edward's letters, we learn a great deal of his further progress, for he used his studies as materials for his letters, as he was supposed to do. Edward's words on September 7, 1546 indicate that Cox had taken an actual part in the teaching of the boy, "Tu enim me doces literas, cum sis mecum."<sup>23</sup> But from early in 1546 Cox had been away, though it was expected on September 13 that he would soon return.<sup>24</sup> It is probable that he did then resume his teaching, since Edward sends him no more letters, and in October Cox is writing of Edward's progress. Some of these letters to Cox begin to show Edward's own handiwork, as that of April 2, 1546, which he himself claims to have been made "consilio et labore meo." Being for the schoolmaster's own eye, it did not receive such careful editing as had many of the earlier ones.

Richardo Coxo.

Ago tibi gratias pro literis quas ad me scripsisti. Debeo enim agere tibi gratias pro literis, quia in his video amorem, benevolentiam, et generositatem tuam erga me. Amor tuus est magnus, et benevolentia tua est libera, et generositas tua est acceptabilis. Amor tuus est magnus, quia cogitas de me absens; et benevolentia tua est libera, quia scribis ad me, cum habeas majora ad agendum quam id est; et humanitas tua est acceptabilis mihi, quia nihil potest venire abs te, quod mihi non acceptabile sit. Sed ubi scribis in literis tuis te debere plus mihi quam aliis pueris qui hic sunt, etsi illi fuerint negligentes in scribendo, ego tamen feci nisi officium meum. Illi vero fuerunt negligentes in scribendo, quia non fecerant officium eorum, id est, non scribebant ad te. Ego vero feci nisi officium meum, quod officium meum est ad te scribere. Porro oro te, ut in bonam partem accipias literas meas. Vellem enim ut accipias eas in bonam partem, quia fiunt consilio et labore meo. Deus det tibi sapientiam Aronis et Samuelis. Vale mi praeceptor amantissime.

Hartfordiae, secundo Aprilis anno 1546.

Discipulus tui amantissimus,  
Edouardus Princeps.<sup>25</sup>

One hears the leaves of the phrase books rattle as this eight and a half year old boy laboriously shapes the praise of his own superior

<sup>23</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. 6-7.

moral perfection into the form demanded by his instructions on letter writing. He is following down ideas which had been expressed in a letter of March 24, the week before, where he had said it was his duty to write to Cox, though Cox had not written to him. He is now still doing his duty, and getting great satisfaction out of the fact that the other boys are neglecting theirs—an overmoralized boy, not a little spoiled no doubt.

The technical form of this letter is painfully clear. First Edward returns thanks for the letter to himself. Then he gives the reason for his thanks, making a "division" into the synonyms love, benevolence, and generosity. Erasmus in Chapter XI of *De Copia Verborum et Rerum* says that the first mode of varying is by synonyms. Edward had learned this lesson already, just possibly from the *Copia* itself, though Edward is more likely to have learned these elements from the *Colloquies*. The next sentence characterizes each of these synonyms by a predicate adjective. Then each characterization is expanded in the following sentence by giving the reason of it—only Edward forgot and substituted *humanitas* for *generositas*. The remainder of the letter, with its crab-like progression, is put together in the same mechanical way. In this letter, the *quias* have it. It is clear that Edward was being taught to write by the method of rhetorical construction,<sup>28</sup> under the direction of Erasmus, and not by that of imitative substitution in the form of some model letter as later advocated by Ascham. The machinery creaks so loudly that we can believe Edward to a considerable degree when he proudly proclaims that this letter was made, "consilio et labore meo."

The last of these dated exercises in Latin letter-writing is on September 19, 1547, followed by one undated letter. The first was March 11, 1546, though on the previous January 13, 1546 Cox had sent a letter to Cranmer as a sample of Edward's "Latin-making." Edward was evidently expected to produce about a letter a week for most of the remainder of 1546. Then the round of thanks for new year's gifts in 1547, and another of letters of consolation in February account for most of the remainder in the exercise book.

In a letter to Cox on June 28, 1546, Edward himself points out that these are his exercises in letter writing.

---

<sup>28</sup> Letters of April 9 and May 8 are built on similes, another technical device (Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. 7-9).

Richardo Coxo.

Scribo ad te, Praeceptor charissime, non solum quia sit officium meum, verum etiam quia exerceat manum meam, atque etiam excolat tum ingenium, tum Latinam linguam. Si autem nihil exararem, non essem tam paratus ad Latine loquendum, atque ingenium meum esset torpidum. Quare mihi videtur Lodovicum Vivem praeclare dixisse: *Ingenium inexercitatum torpidum*.<sup>27</sup> Res enim, qua re sumus viri, qua a belluis differimus, est mens et ingenium, quae si non exerceas componendis epistolis, et excogitandis literis diu, quando velis excogitare libenter, ignara et torpida erunt. Et fortasse huc quadret quod scribit Erasmus in Dialogo: *Otium seu pestem quandam fugio. Ex otio enim omne nascitur malum*.<sup>28</sup> Quare nollem ingenium meum otio languescere, et torpore perire. Praeterea pluribus verbis ad te scribam, quando plus otii mihi nactus fuero. Optime valeas, Praeceptor amantissime.

Hunsdoniae, vigesimo octavo Junij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.<sup>29</sup>

Edward is still quoting his Vives, and now alludes to and quotes from a dialogue of Erasmus, showing that by June 28, 1546, he had begun upon the *Colloquies* as his guide to conversation and many other things.<sup>30</sup> This was regular grammar school procedure. The letter shows amusingly enough with what arguments Cheke was persuading Edward on. He wrote, not only to perform his duty but also to exercise his hand, as well as to cultivate his ability and his Latin, for since he will need his Latin later, he must cultivate it now by composing letters. On June 3, 1546 he had already mentioned to

<sup>27</sup> Vives, *Opera* (Basle, 1555), Vol. II, p. 109. This is No. 200 in the *Satellitium*. The accompanying commentary is also reflected. It will be noticed that the letter is built on two moral maxims or proverbs.

<sup>28</sup> In all editions of Erasmus which I have examined on the point the passage runs, "*Ga. Ocium ceu pestem quandam fugio. Er. Nec mirum: nam nihil malorum non docet ocium*" (Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 652). Edward may be using a variant edition, may trim the second sentence to sentential form, or may take it from some other connection. The title of the colloquy from which this is taken is significant, "*Pietas Puerilis*." Young Gregory Cromwell had shortly before been exercised upon this dialog. "And firste, after he hath herde Masse he taketh a lecture of a Diologe of Erasmus Colloquium, called *Pietas Puerilis*, whereinne is described a veray picture of oone that sholde be vertuouselie brought upp; and forcause it is so necessary for hime, I do not onelie cause him to rede it over, but also to practise the preceptes of the same, and I have also translated it into Englishe, so that he may conferre theime both to-githers, whereof (as lerned men affirme) cometh no small profecte" (Furnivall, F. J., *The Babees Book* (E. E. T. S.), p. xxii.). Edward also was expected to "practise the preceptes of the same."

<sup>29</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.

<sup>30</sup> Edward is said to have had two copies of the *Colloquies*, both of 1550, one printed at Basle (B.M.; 1075. h. 2; it has the signature of Nicolaus Gilpinus and has been used), and the other at Lyons (B. M.; C. 46. a. 18; it has been used). But these are too late to have been connected with his school work, and I am not convinced that they were his.



Cox "phrases, elegantes sententias, et elegantia verba."<sup>31</sup> In his surviving notebooks, Edward has regularly recorded exactly these three things, *sententiae*, words, phrases. Evidently, he was already being taught to look for them by June 3, 1546. His technical instructions he then thriftily retails to Cox. He had also in this letter of June 3 referred to Aesop's ants, which were still on his mind ten days later June 13, 1546.<sup>32</sup>

A reference to Cato in this letter of June 13, 1546 shows that Edward's text contained both Latin and Greek as was usual in the collection by Erasmus, which was all-prevalent, "Et Cato dicit: Τὸν Καθηγητὴν δέδιθι; id est, *magistrum metue*." This was the fourth command of Cato; first God, second parents, third kindred, fourth the schoolmaster. Edward had also been making further progress through his Cato. In a letter of January 24, 1547 to Cranmer, he quotes Aristippus, "Disce puer, quae tibi viro sunt usui futura."<sup>33</sup> Edward was never permitted to forget his duty. Now Aristippus was frequently placed at the end of the Cato collection under the heading *Aliquot Sententiae Insignes*. So Edward had evidently completed the Cato collection by or about January 24, 1547. This means that he had finished memorizing Cato proper, and thence had progressed through the Seven Sages, *Mimi*, *Institutum hominis Christiani*, and *Isocratis Paraenesis ad Demonicum* to this final collection of the *sententiae*. From these various items it would be possible to locate the exact form of Cato used by Edward.

It would appear, then, that by January 24, 1547, Edward had completed his Cato in Latin and by the preceding June 13, 1546 could copy at least a phrase from the Cato proper in Greek, though he missed an accent, which Nichols has obligingly supplied for him. It may, of course, have been missing from his text. On March 11, 1546, he had quoted from the first book of Cato, but not in Greek.<sup>34</sup> On January 13, 1546, he was in the fourth book. This might just possibly mean that as soon as he had completed it in Latin, he then undertook in some form the parallel Greek, and that he had begun the Greek before June 13, 1546. But later facts seem conclusive that Edward did not begin his Greek systematically before 1547.

The idea of exercising his hand was also beginning to impress itself upon Edward in this letter of June 13, 1546, leading to the fuller exposition we have already noticed on June 28. The second-hand

<sup>31</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 36.

<sup>33</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 5.

ideas from Cato, Aesop, and Erasmus were through Cheke gradually penetrating Edward's cranium under the ever-insistent demand of duty. He was carefully guarded from having any thoughts or emotions of his own. Cheke later was to point out that he wanted the boy to get the theory of duty first so that his emotions might not interfere with his understanding. He succeeded only too well; "I answered, It were better that he shuld dye."<sup>35</sup> Blame not the boy for that cold-blooded sentence on one uncle to another. It had appeared to him in the light of duty; blame John Cheke and Richard Cox, godly men both.<sup>36</sup> Duty is a double-edged sword, and the reverse edge is not seldom the keener.

There are also hints as to Edward's other studies during the period of these letters. A letter of January 25, 1547 to Bishop Day is particularly replete in significant allusions. Edward refers to Timon in a way which suggests that he had followed the regular practice of reading the collection of Lucian's dialogues which Erasmus had translated for little boys to use about the second or third form of grammar school. Since Lucian was originally in Greek, and since this collection had been selected and translated chiefly by Erasmus, Cheke would likely have thought well of it, and he might even have had Edward use both Greek and Latin.

But later evidence will make it fairly certain that Edward had not yet begun his Greek systematically. There is also some indication that Edward read Lucian in the Greek around 1551. For both the *MS Catalogue of the old Royal Library* and the binding of the book itself attribute to Edward a copy of *I Dialoghi Piacevoli, Le Vere Narrationi, Le Facete Epistole di Luciano Philosopho. Di Greco In Volgare tradotte per M. Nicolo da Lanigo . . . In Venetia, 1551* (B. M.; 720. c. 17). The volume has had some reading, but no annotation. These French and Italian translations are usual indications that Edward was about the time reading the Latin or Greek original. So Edward probably read some of Lucian in Latin translation about 1547, and then selections in Greek with Latin and Italian translations about 1551.

The dialogue on Timon, which Edward alludes to in 1547, was toward the end of the current school collection. The allusion by Ed-

<sup>35</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>36</sup> In these letters, the correcting hand of the tutor is frequently seen, perhaps most fully in Letter XV, which being to father had to be nicely finished (Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. 14-15). Cf. also letter XIII of May 24, 1546.

ward at the proper time is probably conclusive that he had read the Latin collection in his third year at school, before he was ten. At the same tender age, William Shakspeare might well have acquired all the knowledge of Lucian which someone has displayed in *Timon of Athens*, even though the idea that Shakspeare ever had such erudite knowledge has much befluttered the critical dovescotes.

Edward has also used in this letter one of the phrases he was being taught to garner from his readings. In the first sentence of his *De Duplici Copia Verborum ac Rerum*, Erasmus uses the phrase "aurei fluminis instar."<sup>27</sup> Edward has evidently got this into his notebook, and now finds a fitting occasion to use it. He says that the works of Cicero "non solum eloquentiam exuperant instar aurei fluminis, verumetiam continent divinum quendam sensum."<sup>28</sup> Erasmus had used the phrase of the highest type of *oratio*; Edward applies it to the work of the greatest writer of the highest type of *oratio*, Cicero himself. I believe it is clear that by January 25, 1547, Edward had begun systematic work upon the *Copia*.<sup>29</sup> From the fact that he is using a phrase from the first sentence, one suspects that this was fresh in mind and that Edward had but newly begun the work.

There are also quotations from Cicero's *Paradoxes* (I, 8), *Pro Archia* (I, 36), and from Horace (I, 29); but these are pretty certain to have come from Edward's phrase books.

So we can see fairly well Edward's further progress from January, 1546 to January, 1547. He had doubtless completed the Cato collection in Latin, and might have learned at least the Cato proper in Greek. He had continued Aesop either in Latin translation, or in Greek, or in both. He was probably pretty well through the Latin translation of dialogues from Lucian, where again he might also have used the Greek as well. He had for a considerable time been studying the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. He had been learning to write epistles, eventually under the tutelage of *De Conscribendis*, and was now beginning the *Copia* of Erasmus, to direct him toward the higher stages of composition. Here, so far, is regular grammar school procedure, with slight adaptation to more individual work. Composition, in the form of letters and preparation for the sequent forms leading

<sup>27</sup> I suppose Erasmus has shaped his phrase from Cicero's *Academic Questions*, "flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles" (Cicero, *De Philosophia*, Pt. I (Venice, 1541), p. 30r).

<sup>28</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> I do not find record of a copy of *De Copia* belonging to Edward, but his father had the quarto printed Argentonati, 1521 (B. M.; 836. e. 15). Some boy has at some time tried his pen upon it, but I cannot say who.

to orations, has been begun probably somewhat earlier than in grammar school. It is just possible that the Greek is also being started early as Sir Thomas Elyot thought was proper for the "Prince." But I have noticed no sign of the all-prevalent Terence, who should already have put in an appearance.

As we look back, it is clear that Edward had progressed about as any grammar school boy would have done. According to the instructions which were attached to the authorized grammar just at this time, Edward should have spent his first quarter, to about October or November, 1544, memorizing his accidence, as we have seen that he did do. Had he done this under Cox at Eton instead of privately, he would then have been ready to enter the first form about his seventh birthday. In the next two years, to about October or November, 1546, in the Eton system, he would have completed his Cato and his Aesop. Facts given above indicate that Edward did make about this progress with these authors. He had also taken up by June 28, 1546, the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, which regularly come in the second form. Along with these authors, he had made his Latins, studied religious material, etc. He would now be ready to take up Terence and other classical authors. Two statements by Cox indicate that Edward was reaching this turning point on time. For on October 12, 1546, Cox wrote that Edward that day began to learn French, and on October 18, "I trust the Prince's grace shall content hys father's expectation hereafter. We (have) suffered him hytherto *suo more puerascere*."<sup>40</sup> Edward had played the boy in Cato and Aesop, "Ne Aesopum quidem triuisti"; he must now be his father's little man in French and in more mature Latin and Greek authors.

So he has already begun by June 13, 1546, to copy a sentence from his Cato in Greek. By January, 1547, he has been reading Lucian, which should follow his Aesop, and has started his rhetorical sequence with *Copia*, which had usually been specified for the final form on the oration, though this does not mean that it had not been begun earlier. Edward is beginning to read it at the level of the third form as preparation for all the rhetorical work of the upper forms.<sup>41</sup>

Edward should now have begun his Terence also, but I have noticed no clear reference to that author. Since in grammar school Terence is regularly bracketed with Lucian, Edward may come to

<sup>40</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. lxxviii.

<sup>41</sup> Vives seems to expect that *De Copia* would be begun at this stage (Watson, *Vives: On Education*, p. 134).

him following that author. Edward is said to have had the Italian translation of Terence as published by Aldus in 1546 (B. M.; 1068. d. 4).<sup>42</sup> Edward's books make it clear that he frequently improved his Italian, French, and Spanish by reading translations in those languages of the Latin and Greek authors he was studying. It is probable, therefore, that about 1547 Edward studied his Terence in Latin with parallel Italian translation.

He may have done the same with Ovid, who regularly at this period follows Terence, though at times with interposition of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil. Of Virgil, I have found no record; but several translations of Ovid into Italian are attributed to the ownership of Edward. Boys frequently began Ovid with the *Heroides*. Edward is said to have had the *Epistole D' Ouidio Di Latino in Lingua Toscana Tradotte*, as printed at Venice, 1547, and the *Delle Lettere Amoroze Di M. Giralamo Parabosco. Libro Secondo Con Alcune sue Novelle Et Rimè*, Venice, 1548 (B. M.; 1068. g. 16 (1-2)). The manuscript notes in both are in the same hand, though I have not studied Edward's developing script sufficiently to be certain that the hand is his. It is not improbable, however, that around 1548 or 1549 Edward was reading *Heroides* in Latin with the parallel Italian translation.

Another similar volume is also attributed to Edward by both the *MS Catalogue* and the binding. It contains *Il Primo Libro Delle Transformationi D'Ouidio Da M. Lodovico Dolce In Volgare Tradotto*, Venice, 1539; *Ouidio De Arte Amando Volgare historiato & nuouamente corretto et con summa diligentia stampato*, Venice, 1547; and *Attila Flagellum Dei Tradutto de la vera Cronica in ottaua Rima per Rocho de gli Arimenesi Paduano*, Venice, 1550 (B. M.; 1068. g. 8. (1-3)). All these works are more or less tattered, but all received their hard usage before they were assembled in one binding. The second one, *De Arte Amando*, has had the title scrawled over in ink with the purpose of rendering it illegible. A name upon the title page has also been scrawled out in the same way. Thus Edward's title to all these requires more proof, especially to the second, which early bore some other name. One feels that Cheke would have objected to this work, even with the title and name scrawled out.

Edward may, then, have read Terence and some Ovid in Latin, with Italian translation. But the proof is hardly conclusive that he had mastered either in any language. Edward ought with Terence to have completed lower grammar school work in 1547, though we have no direct record.

<sup>42</sup> The volume bears on its title-page the signature of "Thomas Tirwhitt."

## CHAPTER XI

### EDUCATING THE "PRINCE"; KING EDWARD VI UPPER SCHOOL WORK

EDWARD IN 1547, though he had become a king, completed the work of lower grammar school like any commoner, and in the expected time. In this same year of 1547, we find him beginning his Justin and Cicero's *Familiar Epistles*, which belong to upper school. For his reading in history, Edward had special help from Petrus Olivarius, Valentinus. Olivarius had first sent to Edward a chorographical compend containing in alphabetical order the regions, towns, mountains, rivers and seas, villages and villas mentioned in Justin's history, and another of those in Cicero's *Familiar Epistles* (B. M.; Royal MS. 15. C. 1).<sup>1</sup> The manuscript of these has a preface which shows that it was presented as a New Year's gift to Edward—and his father—, hence probably on January 1, 1547. Olivarius expected this collection to be of great aid to Edward as he read Justin and Cicero's *Familiar Epistles*, which he is preparing to do, thus in 1547. There is a flattering reference for Edward's "eruditissimos preceptores," through whose industry Edward because of his singular and almost divine genius has progressed as never boy progressed before.

Olivarius later prepared for Edward as king a *Ratio Legendae Historiae* (B. M.; Royal MS. 12. A. LIV, undated), with a long introduction. Edward's teachers have now read to him Sallustius, Curtius, and other historians. Olivarius proposes to give a brief, systematic, and unadorned method of reading, not writing, history. He lists six requisites, (1) a sufficient knowledge of language, which is being taught by Edward's preceptors, (2) collation and comparison of sources, leading to judgment, which is to be deferred till greater maturity, (3) a system of times, "rationes temporum," which also is not to be emphasized, but is best supplied by Eusebius; geography from Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny; chorography from Heliodorus and in part Strabo for Egypt and Aethiopia, Pliny for Italy, Herodotus for India and Persia; Olivarius has supplied Edward a work on Justin (as above), and Livy (not now known apparently), and is going to do others, (4) geometry from Euclid, and "altimetriam" from Duerer and Horontius, (5) optics, etc., from Euclid, also Vitellius, (6) arms

---

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar chorographical compend is in B. M.; Royal MS. 12. A. XXXIV, with the name "Will Soan" on the manuscript.

from Vegetius and the books which Olivarius has given to King Henry. From this sketch of requisites, one can see how Edward was supposed to read history. Many of these and other reference works Edward is known to have had; but we need not here "catalogue the ships"—someone who wishes to know in detail exactly how history was supposed in the best circles to be read can do that.<sup>2</sup>

It appears here incidentally that Edward was to begin Justin, and Cicero's *Familiar Epistles* in 1547, and that he had progressed before long through Sallust, Curtius, and other historians also, being then expected to read history systematically for himself. Apparently, he had done some work on Livy, following Justin and preceding Sallust. There are numerous hints that this further system of reading outlined by Olivarius was followed by Edward.

With upper grammar school, which Edward was now entering, he might take up Greek at once or defer it to the final years. But Cheke was not the man to delay the Greek, for that was his especial predilection. He has shown remarkable forbearance in waiting thus long. But he evidently did not begin formal study of Greek before 1547, as is shown by Edward's Greek grammar. This grammar, now in the British Museum, was the *Progymnasmata Graecae Grammatices*, by David Talley (Tavelegus), written for and dedicated to Prince Edward. Edward's copy was printed on vellum at Antwerp in 1547, and bears his autograph as King Edward the Sixth on the verso of the title page.<sup>3</sup> Talley, according to his own account, had been commissioned about 1539 to prepare the rudiments of grammar both Greek and Latin for Prince Edward. The Latin rudiments had appeared in 1542. Wood says,

In 1547, or thereabouts, I find this Dav. Tolley to be made one of the senior students of Ch. Ch. by the name of David Towle, (being then 41 years of age) after K. Hen. 8 had settled the cathedral there; at which time and before, he taught grammar to young students of this university.<sup>4</sup>

It is thus clear that Talley's Greek grammar was printed in 1547 for the benefit of Prince Edward, this being, therefore, the approximate date of Edward's beginnings in the systematic study of that language,

<sup>2</sup> I have a Lucan published at "Argentine Apvd Ioannem Knolouchium," September 1520, in a worn Henry VIII binding, though there is nothing to show that it belonged to Henry VIII or was known to Edward.

<sup>3</sup> Someone has mended Edward's Latin by adding an "s" to his "Regi" in order to make a genitive of it, as it should have been but was not. His crown and his Latin for it were probably both awkwardly new to him.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, *Athenae* (1813), Vol. I, p. 195.

though he had already picked up a few items in Greek, with which to make a show of learning.

Edward had evidently not begun the formal study of Greek in January, 1546, since Cox would in his report have mentioned it. But by June 13, 1546, Edward quotes a sentence from Cato, the fourth one, in Greek, and gives the Latin translation. Since current texts usually contained both the Greek and the Latin, Edward may be merely copying the Greek, but he may also be simply memorizing the Greek along with the Latin in preparation for future use. His Aesop could have been treated the same way, as could Lucian also, to whom he refers about the following January 25, 1547. But there is no evidence that this was done, and it is more likely that Edward had only chance bits of Greek before he began the study of Talley's Greek grammar about 1547. The privilege to the book is dated November 13, 1546; it was printed under date of 1547, and Edward's signature as king in his copy is not earlier than February, 1547.<sup>5</sup>

After Talley, Edward probably had some more comprehensive Greek grammar. His copy of Budaeus, G., *Commentarii linguae Graecae* as printed at Paris in 1548 is in the British Museum (C. 83. i. 8). Its margins show some signs that the volume has been consulted. Through the aid of Talley, and other helps now unrecorded, Edward had progressed, as we shall see, by April 1548 to Isocrates, whom he was reading in Greek along with his Aphthonius, for moral matter to furnish forth the fourteen minor forms of composition found therein.

This information comes from a collection of Edward's compositions now in the British Museum (MS. Addit. 4724). After our record of the official exercises in letter-writing stops wholly in September, 1547, we find Edward early in 1548 dealing with the next stage of composition, the fourteen minor forms preceding the formal oration, as presented by Aphthonius. Since these exercises and most of the subsequent ones were written on loose sheets, many of them undated, they would require detailed study to bring out their progression—a study which ought by all means to be made, for we shall not likely find a better illustration of how the oration was taught in Shakspeare's time, and Shakspeare himself writes many a set oration. Nichols

<sup>5</sup> Nichols records that among Edward's books was, "Petri Mosellani Paedologiae Traductio, Jodoco Velaræo autore, 1532" (Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cccxxix), which one might have expected to serve for Greek colloquies; but the present binding is stamped "H. VIII R.," and I find no evidence that the volume belonged to Edward or was used by him.



describes Edward's first exercise as

1. Ed. Rex. Χρεια. Anno D'ni milesimo 500<sup>o</sup> 48<sup>o</sup>. Apri. 22<sup>o</sup>.

Plato dicit: nos non debere habere voluptatem quasi virtutem. (Four full pages, ff. 2-3.)<sup>6</sup>

There are also several undated specimens of the type frequently so labeled. It is clear that Cheke thought the Chreia an excellent preparation for the oration.

Edward would have received his instruction on the Chreia from Aphthonius, whose fourteen minor forms followed epistles, and prepared for the oration. As we have seen, Edward was writing a Chreia, the third of the fourteen minor forms in Aphthonius, by April 22, 1548, and did not reach the oration formally till June 23, 1549. So Edward came to his Aphthonius well along in his fourth year of school, and to his formal orations at the very end of his fifth year. This was about grammar school progress, but perhaps a bit faster. For the type, the current Latin translation of Aphthonius by Agricola-Cataneus defined it thus,

Chreia est commemoratio brevis, alicuius personae factum, vel dictum aptè referens.

Aphthonius explains that the Chreia was to be treated under six heads, which are given in this translation as *Laudativus*, *Paraphrasticus*, *Causa*, *Contrarium*, *Parabola*, *Exemplum*, *Testimonium Veterum*, *Brevis epilogus*. The Latin translation made by Cataneus alone had given the terms as *Laudativus*, *ab expositione*, *Causa*, *Contrarium*, *Comparatio*, *Exemplum*, *Testimonium Antiquorum*, *Epilogus brevis*. The illustration given by Aphthonius is, *Isocrates doctrinae radicem amaram esse dicebat, fructus verò dulces*, in which, in this translation, the six heads are labeled in the margin. So Edward's parallel Chreia is, *Isocrates. Oportet Regem Regnare (Inquit) Cum Mansuetudine Et Clementia*, and he too labels his six heads in order in the margin, *Laus*, *παραφρασις*, *Causa*, *Contrarium*, *Similitudo*, *Exemplum*, *Testimonium*, *Επιλογος*.<sup>7</sup> Edward has preferred the Greek form of two headings, this being the form retained within the text of the translation, and has given *Similitudo* instead of *Parabola*, but that is the word used in the side label to the Chreia of Isocrates, upon which Edward was patterning. He has regularly used these labels for each Chreia. I believe it is clear that Edward was using the Agricola-Cataneus trans-

<sup>6</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, p. 93. From B.M.; MS Addit. 4724, which I have examined.

<sup>7</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, pp. 117-124.

lation of Aphthonius, which was to become the standard form in English grammar schools. It would, no doubt, be possible to relate each of these surviving exercises to its proper place. Since this particular Chreia refers to the one dated April 22, 1548, upon a saying of Plato's as the next preceding, it belongs shortly after that date, probably, therefore, for April 29, 1548. Two others of the type (Nos. 2 and 3 in Nichols) also doubtless belong to this period.

By September 21, 1548, Edward had reached the thirteenth minor form, the Thesis,

1548. 21<sup>o</sup> Septembris. Num Cato rectè censuit evertendam esse Carthaginem. (Four pages, ff. 12-13.)<sup>8</sup>

These two dated exercises orient Edward's study of Aphthonius, showing that he had reached its third type by April 1548, and had come to next to the last by September 21, 1548. He then entered his first formal oration the following year as of June 23, 1549.

Edward might have studied his Aphthonius in the original Greek, or with the Latin translation, or in Latin alone. For the word Chreia, he uses both the Greek and the Latin form. It will be remembered that earlier his Cato was both in Latin and in Greek. Similarly, along with his Aphthonius, Edward was studying Isocrates, for in the Chreia we have just noticed he begins with a long *Laus* of Isocrates, and mentions

praecipuè unam orationem praeclarissimam ad Nicoclen, ubi inveni hanc sententiam praeclarissimam.<sup>9</sup>

So about April 1548, Edward was doubtless reading Isocrates, while he studied Aphthonius. Presumably he would be reading both in Greek, though both were in Latin translation, and we have just seen that he had the current Latin translation of Aphthonius.

In the case of Isocrates, it seems clear that Edward takes his departure from the Greek. It will be remembered that Edward's Chreia is, *Isocrates. Oportet Regem Regnare (Inquit) Cum Mansuetudine et Clementia*. This is from the second oration, where Isocrates discusses the duties of a ruler. In the parallel version of Wolfius, which, however, was too late for Edward to have used it, these points are numbered and labeled—thirty-five of them. The fifteenth is labeled in Greek *πράτης*; in the corresponding Latin translation, *Clementia*. The *πράτης* is from the Greek text itself. If we turn to the

<sup>8</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, p. 119.

word in such a Greek dictionary as Conrad Gesner's *Dictionarium Graecolatinum* (1560), we shall find it defined as "mansuetudo, clementia." So the Latin translation of Lonicerus<sup>10</sup> renders the Greek by the single word *mansuetus*. Edward has turned to the Greek word in his dictionary and has found there two words, "mansuetudo, clementia." From such points it would probably be possible to locate Edward's Greek dictionary.

I believe it is clear, therefore, that about April, 1548, Edward was reading the second oration of Isocrates in Greek, and probably in Greek alone, for if a translation had been under his eye he would have been satisfied with the single Latin word used in the text as a translation of the Greek word and would not have looked it up in his dictionary. It is amusing to see how in his *Laus* he has worked in the various things that have been taught him about Isocrates, and how in the remaining sections he has managed to work in apparently all—I have not counted them—of the other thirty-four virtues of a king. He has used his background information upon Isocrates and the second oration as materials for his Chreia. As usual, his study upon Isocrates has been contrived a double debt to pay. Edward would already have had the first oration of Isocrates as translated by Agricola in the Cato collection, which he had completed by January, 1547. He is now in 1548 taking up Isocrates in Greek<sup>11</sup> as a fitting companion to the minor forms in Aphthonius.

But before Edward took up Aphthonius about the beginning of 1548, he ought already to have done some precedent rhetorical work. We have seen that he was in January, 1547, beginning to read *Copia*. He would at that time need somework to explain the figures of speech, since this first book teaches how to apply these figures in the interests of greater copy of words. We shall see later that Edward's text for this was the fourth book of *Ad Herennium*. Edward's copy was a typical first volume of Cicero's rhetoric, containing as usual the attributed *Ad Herennium* and the *De Inventione*, printed at Venice "Ex officina Erasiana apud Vincentium Valgrisiu" in 1545 (B. M.; C.

<sup>10</sup> The British Museum has a copy of the translation of Lonicerus as printed at Basle in 1529 (B. M.: 656. d. 4.), which bears on its spine the crown and Tudor rose of some sovereign, whose first initial was probably H, thus Henry VIII. It bears the signature of "Io Ponetus," who has marked numerous items in the index with an "Ex" for "exemplum," and has done some further annotation.

<sup>11</sup> Edward later had the French translation, *Trois liures d'Isocrates*, as translated by L. Le Roy in an edition at Paris in 1551 (B. M.; 834. g. 12); but he was more likely at that time using the selections from Xenophon in the volume. Le Roy or Regius had already presented a manuscript copy of this work to Edward in 1550 (B. M.; Royal MS. 16. E. XXXII).

46. b. 12). This is an unannotated edition, but with side-notes pointing out the different sections of the work. All four books of the *Ad Herennium* show signs of moderate use by someone, the first book showing the greatest amount of "finger-printing," the fourth apparently next. The *De Inventione* has also been used. There are no manuscript notes so far as I have noticed. So by or before January, 1547, when he took up *Copia*, Edward had doubtless begun mastering the figures of speech from *Ad Herennium* in this edition of 1545.

Edward would next need to master the first and second books of *Ad Herennium*. The second book treated the "topics," and it or some other treatment should first be mastered before the boy learned to apply them in the second book of *Copia*. Cicero's *Topica* frequently was substituted for or supplemented this second book. But Edward's second volume of the rhetoric, containing, as usual with this form, the remaining rhetorical works of Cicero including *Topica*, is the unannotated text as published by Gryphius at Lyons in 1551 (C. 19. a. 21). It appears to have been read pretty much throughout. Edward thus doubtless read it with some care when in 1551-52, as we shall see, he was concentrating upon the oration. It would appear, then, that the second book of *Ad Herennium* was about 1547 considered a sufficient introduction for Edward to the second part of *Copia*. Of this second book on *inventio*, the *De Inventione* of Cicero would be a natural continuation.

Doubtless the first book of *Ad Herennium*, dealing with the general structure of the oration, would have preceded the second book, as was usual. Another of Edward's volumes also connects him with the first book of *Ad Herennium*. Nichols describes it thus,

*In Omnes De Arte Rhetorica M. Tullii Ciceronis Libros, item in eos ad C. Herennium scriptos, doctissimorum virorum commentaria.* (Aldus.) Venetis, M. D. XLVI.<sup>12</sup>

The fact that the binding has "an original tool of Edward's arms, with his initials" as king, shows that the volume was bound for Edward after he became king late in January, 1547. Since Edward was supplied with voluminous commentaries on Cicero's rhetorical works in an edition of 1546 which was bound after January, 1547, the volume probably was procured in or about 1547 to aid Edward on

<sup>12</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cccxxvi. Press mark C. 82. f. 5, formerly 656. c. 8. For the contents of the volume, see [Burgassi, A. C.,] *Serie Dell' Edizioni Aldine* (3rd. ed., Firenze, 1803), pp. 94-95.

Cicero's rhetoric. It shows some signs of having been consulted, and there are a few underscorings of such material as Edward was accustomed to note, in the comments of Longolius upon *Ad Herennium*, p. 494. Presumably Edward did this in his attempts to master *Ad Herennium* in or shortly after 1547.

It is probable, indeed, that we have a hint as to the source of some of this Cicero. For in January 1547, Edward wrote Bishop Day a letter of thanks for works of Cicero, which the Bishop had sent, no doubt as a new-year's gift. We need to remember here Cheke's own statement that Day "was my bringer-upp, and at his hands I gate an entrie to some skill in learning."<sup>13</sup> Day would have been closely in touch with the scholastic progress of Edward, and doubtless timed the volume of Cicero to a need. So Bishop Day had sent something connected with Cicero containing commentary, probably as a new-year's gift in 1547,

Eloquentia enim Ciceronis fuit insignis atque mirabilis, commentarius suus elegans et jucundus.<sup>14</sup>

Day's gift is probably to be found in these or similar volumes of Cicero. For Edward is known, as we shall see, to have had the philosophical works in two volumes, printed in 1541, and the orations in three volumes, printed in 1544.

At any rate, it is fairly clear that around the beginning of 1547 Edward was beginning the rhetorical and oratorical sequence with *Ad Herennium* and *Copia* as guides. These would have prepared him for his Aphthonius early in 1548.

A work in another volume attributed to Edward would fit in here, if it really did belong to him. This is the *Epitome Fabii Quintiliani nuper summo & ingenio & diligentia collecta, qua possit studiosa iuuentus, quicquid est Rhetoricae institutionis apud ipsum authorem, breuiore compendio & multo facilius adsequi. Authore Iona Philologo*, Paris (Stephanus), 1547. Philologus has cut away the theorizing and excessive illustration to the minimum essentials, requiring only one hundred and seventeen octavo pages. The condition of the copy

<sup>13</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. clxi.

<sup>14</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, p. 37. Nichols has misunderstood the structure, and someone has mis-punctuated Edward's letter. There was only the one lot of Cicero. The three things which move Edward to write are (1) to give thanks for the books, (2) to give thanks for the letter, (3) not to appear unthankful for the books and the letter. He has balanced the contraries thankful and unthankful, but divides his thanks into two parts, so as to get a much-desired triplicity. His Division reminds one of Dogberry's, and doubtless represents what frequently occurred in school and out.

(B. M.; 1089. f. 15. (1) ) shows that someone has used it hard, probably memorizing it. It has been bound with *In M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionum Librum Decimum, Doctissimorum Virorum annotationes, Nempe Philippi Melanthonia. Ioannis Veltcurionis. Ioannis Stigelij Casparis Landsidelij . . . in ordinem digestae & aeditae Per M. Stephanum Riccium*, which was gathered in 1570. Thus the second work was not Edward's, though both were already bound together and attributed to him in the *MS Catalogue of the old Royal Library*. The present binding carries the crown and Tudor rose but no initials. By its date "Lut. 1547" it is probably carrying on the marking of the old binding. But the past history of the volume needs fuller investigation before we can be certain that the Quintilian belonged to Edward.<sup>15</sup> If it did—as it probably did—then Edward no doubt mastered "this fierce abridgement" following the *Ad Herennium*. Some such work he evidently used, as we shall see.

Another volume attributed to Edward by the old *MS Catalogue* is one on *elocutio*, which thus would have been most likely for this period. It is a copy of Omphalius, J., "De Elocutione & Imitatione—caret Tit—8° 1537." This is evidently B. M.; 1089. a. 31. The present binding carries no attribution, but some John has scribbled his name in one place. The attribution to Edward seems highly doubtful.

By such paths as we have been tracing, Edward had reached by 1548 Aphthonius and Isocrates. Along with the moral matter of Isocrates in Greek, Edward was also getting other moral matter in Latin from Cicero, beginning on January 4, 1548 upon *De Officiis*. This work is recorded in another notebook, in the Bodleian Library (MS Autogr. e. 2.), which Edward entitled *Liber sententiarū Diuisionū Phrasium & definitionū extractae ex officiis Ciceronis. Edwardus*.

Edward began on Wednesday, January 4, 1548, to record for the first book of *De Officiis* the *sententiae* and *phrases*, these latter soon becoming distinguished as *Phrases Verborum* and *Phrases Nominum*. He completed the first book on Friday, January 27. He then began a "Repetitio" of the first book in the same way on Monday, January 30, and completed it on Thursday, February 9. The second book was begun by the same methods on Thursday, February 16, 1548, and finished Thursday, March 22, 1548. Then on Saturday, March 24, Edward started back over the first book for the third time, but in this survey gathering the "Divisiones" and "Definitiones." Nichols has quoted the first of these exercises.

<sup>15</sup> Its "finger-prints" ought to identify it.

Sententiae diuisionū definitionūq'. Primi libri, 24° Martij die Sabbati.

1. De officio duplex est questio, unū pertinens ad finē bonorū, alterū positū in praeceptis.

2. Alia diuisio est officij, nā et medium officium dicitur & p'fectū.

3. Quinquplex est officij genus, quorum duo ad honestatē decusq' p'tinēt, duo ad cōmoditatē uitae opes facultatesq', quintū ad eligendi iudiciū.

4. Omne honestū uel oritur ex p'spicientia ueri, aut ex tuenda societate hominū, aut ex fortitudine, uel ex temperantia.

5. In genere naturali & honesto prudentiae duo uitia uitanda sunt, unū ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus, alterū ne nimis magnū studiū ponamus in res obscuras easdēq' non necessarias.

#### Definitiones.

1. Rectū quod est hoc officium p'fectum esse definiunt.

2. Medium officium esse dicunt quod cur factum sit ratio p'babilis reddi potest.

3. Prudentia consistit in p'spicientia ueri solertiaq'.

4. Iustitia uersatur in hominū societate tuenda, ettribuendo suum cuiq' et rerum contractarum fide.

5. Fortitudo uersatur in animi excelsi magnitudine ac robore (*sic*).

6. Temperantia est ordo modusq' omniū quae fiunt quaeq' dicuntur.<sup>16</sup>

Such analysis ought to have caused Edward to have at least some glimmerings of the content of *De Officiis*. He was also using some of the principles thus gathered as material for the orations which he was required to write a little later.<sup>17</sup> From these orations, one can see clearly the homiletic use that Cheke was making of *De Officiis*, as he had made of Isocrates. Cicero and Isocrates must be made to preach sound Protestant doctrine. The *sententiae* were increasing Edward's moral store and the phrases were still enriching his Latin vocabulary.

It will be noticed that as his first step Edward has learned to read these first two books of *De Officiis*, the first book by twice covering it in detail. He then analyzes the first book structurally to get a grasp upon its thought. He is now ready to follow the argument of the remainder of the work as he reads. The final analytical exercises on the first book required through Wednesday April 4, where Edward wrote, "Finis Recitationis primi libri." He had "read," "repeated," and "recited" this first book. He then began on Thursday, April 5, 1548, to cover the second book again, recording *sententiae* and phrases as he had done once before, completing this reading on May 11. The third book is headed "Sententiae 14° Maij die Lunae ex tertio

<sup>16</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cccxxiv.

<sup>17</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. 100 ff.

libro officiorum. 1549," (*sic*), ending on May 18. Then on Monday May 21, begins the *De Amicitia* in the same way, continuing through June 22. There is a second set of these exercises from June 7 through June 22. Then *De Senectute* begins on Monday, July 9, but has record of only one exercise. The next set of exercises is from *Paradoxes*, beginning on Wednesday August 3, and continuing through August 14. While some of these latter exercises are not by Edward, yet they show what the group was doing. It is clear that Edward and his group read the complete volume of Cicero's moral philosophy,<sup>18</sup> except the *De Somnio Scipionis*, though some of the exercises have been lost. We shall see that this became the regular system in the grammar schools. The group tends to work five days a week, Saturday being not infrequently used, so that the boys occasionally work the full six days. They had only one complete week off (Friday, March 2 to Tuesday, March 13) between January 4 and May 25, then a week off to June 4, though occasionally they worked only two days a week. Still, it will be seen that they were carrying a strenuous schedule.

Having completed the volume of moral philosophy, Edward then proceeded immediately to the *Tusculan Questions*. Our guide is another of Edward's exercise books, MS Arundel 510 in the British Museum.

On a fly-leaf<sup>19</sup> at the beginning of the book is this memorandum in the King's hand: 19 Martij Biblia incipimus 1549.

The substance of the MS. however, was written in the autumn of 1548; and the first thirty-five pages consist of sentences from the *Tusculan Questions* of Cicero, of which the following is a specimen, taken from the first page:

1548. 21<sup>o</sup> Septembris dies Veneris. De Tusc. questionibus.

1. Omnium artium quae ad rectam vivendi viam pertinent ratio & disciplina studio sapientiae quae philosophia dicitur, continetur. 148.

2. Mandare literis suas cogitationes qui eas disponere & illustrare non possit nec allicere lectorē hominis est male utentis ocio et literis. 149.

3. Honos alit artes, omnesq' incenduntur ad studia gloria. 148.

4. Philosophia perfecta de magnis questionibus potest ornate copiose dicere. 149.

<sup>18</sup> Later Edward had a Spanish translation of Cicero's book of moral philosophy, together with Xenophon's *Economica*, "En Anvers," undated but said to be of 1549 (B. M.; 525. c. 26).

<sup>19</sup> There is a note attached saying that "The linings of the covers and the fly-leaves, which are proofsheets of an unknown edition of the *Sarum Horae*, were transferred to the Dept. of Printed Books 21 Feb. 1887." Some search and some aid from the officials failed to locate these leaves. Edward's note evidently connects with the "Loci de Divinitate Christi," which he began to gather in the latter part of this volume as he read the first seven chapters of Matthew.



5. *Moriendum est omnibus, quae mors est finis miseriae.* 150.

[Phrases verborum.]		[Phrases nominum.]	
1. Accipere poeticā.	148.	1. Magnitudo animi.	148.
2. Obijcere probrum.	148.	2. Genus literarū.	148.
3. Declamare causas.	149.	3. Instituta vitae.	148.
4. Ponere causas.	149.	4. Studium sapientiae.	148.
5. Conferre in libros.	149.	5. Labor defensionis.	
6. Respondere gloriae.	148.	6. Lumē literarū	

These exercises were continued nearly every day until the 14th of November, when Edward writes *Finis* to the last from the *Tusculan Questions*.<sup>20</sup>

Here, then, is the notebook Edward had to keep in reading the *Tusculan Questions*. As on *De Officiis*, he noted *sententiae*, regularly so marked, and *phrases verborum et nominum*. These he would memorize, the *sententiae* to increase his moral store, the phrases to increase his Latin phraseology. Here is why sixteenth-century-boys-grown-men write and think in the phraseology of grammar school classics. This is the way they learned to think and write in Latin at all. It seems clear also from the notebook that Edward read all of the *Tusculan Questions* between September 21 and November 14, 1548. There are thirty-nine exercises for that many days, though four imperfect ones have not been numbered, so that the present numbering is for thirty-five pages. King Edward was highly uncertain about his dates, but it seems that he might have an exercise any day except Sunday. Once he was let off four days together. But he evidently had pretty stiff going, when we consider the other work he had to do. This volume is the fair form of Edward's notes; but he has not always completed his transcription, nor has he been inordinately accurate.

According to the *MS Catalogue*, Edward had a copy of Cicero's philosophical works in two volumes as published in octavo "Argentorati," 1541. Such an edition survives in B. M. (525. c. 1, 2), but it seems clearly not to have been Edward's copy. Edward's page-references for the *Tusculan Questions*, however, are to this edition, confirming the catalogue reference. We can thus turn its pages, and read along with Edward. This edition furnishes only the text, as corrected by Naugerius and Victorinus, but without annotations. Edward also had the French translation of the *Tusculans* by Estienne

<sup>20</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. cccxx-cccxxi. While the transcriptions are hardly up to modern standards, they are accurate enough for our purposes.

Dolet as published at Lyons without date, but in 1543 (B. M.; C. 69. d. 17).

Having completed the volume on moral philosophy, and then the *Tusculan Questions*, Edward next proceeded in Cicero to the orations, as we learn from this same notebook. He has proceeded from epistles to Aphthonius, and has then been gathering moral matter for his prose exercises, looking toward the full-fledged oration. We may notice, however, that in this process he also evidently read Pliny Secundus. For his copy survives of *C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi Novocomensis Epistolarum Libri Decem* as printed by Gryphius at Lyons in 1547 (B. M.; 1082. b. 7). The volume contains also Pliny's *Panegyricus Traiano Caesari dictus* and *De uiris illustribus*, together with *Svetonii Tranquilli liber de claris Grammaticis & Rhetoribus*, and *Iulii Obsequentis Prodigiorum liber*. The volume is of text only. It shows signs of having been used pretty well entire. This would be a good transitional volume about 1548 from epistles to orations.

Edward now proceeds to the study of the orations of the great master Cicero. On January 28, 1549, Edward begins on page thirty-six his notes on our old acquaintance Catiline—how these customs last!

(Fol. 36.) *Figurae et Phrases ex oratione Ciceron.*

1<sup>a</sup> contra Catilinam. 28 Januarij die Lunae 1549.

1. Quousque tandem *et c. usq' ad* nihil ne. Exclamatio. 2. Nihil ne te nocturnū *usq' ad* patere. Repetitio. 3. Constrictam jam *et c. usq' ad* O Membrū. 4. Vives et viues ut *et c.* Conduplicatio. 5. O dij im'ortales *et c. usque ad* hic. Exclamatio. 6. Quoties tu me *et c. usq' ad* Nunc vero. Membrū. 7. Distribuiستی partes *et c. usq' ad* Rep'ti. Similiter cadent.

1. Teneri constrictū ōniū consciētia.
2. Vocare ad vastitatem urbē.
3. Initiari sacris.
4. Recondere tanq' in vagina.
5. Designare illū oculis ad caedē.
6. Mihi crede obliuiscere caedis.

1. Falcarius, a billman.
2. Prestolari, to loke fore.
3. Sacrariū, a place dedicat.
4. Abligurio, to spend all.
5. Decoctor, a rioter.
6. Nepos, idē.
7. Vadimoniū, a p<sup>o</sup>misse for to appere.
8. Talaris, a long garment.

9. Apparitores, gromes or men that be redie alwais.  
 10 Linum, thride, hēp and flax.<sup>21</sup>

So upon the Catilinian orations Edward had to do a certain amount of vocabulary work, and to continue his phrases as usual. His English definitions do not derive from Elyot or Cooper's revision of Elyot 1548 (8 August), though Cooper addresses a letter to the young king, which gives us nothing specific. Edward had also to perform certain rhetorical operations, under the general head of noting figures. This implies that by January 28, 1549, he had mastered his figures. We are not told directly how and when he did this, but we are not without sufficient clues. On the figures, Edward might have studied Mosellanus or even at this date his successor Susenbrotus, these two being the standard supplements on figures to *Ad Herennium* in the grammar schools. A study of Edward's notes would likely clear this question completely. But the terms used above do not come from Mosellanus. Susenbrotus begins his rhetorical schemes of the first order with *Repetitio* as number one, *Membrum* as ten, *Similiter cadens* as eleven. In the rhetorical schemes of the second order *Exclamatio* is number three. But I do not find *Conduplicatio* in Susenbrotus. It and all the others are in the fourth book of *Ad Herennium*, but it does not occur in the accepted works of Cicero, nor does *Similiter cadens*. Neither does it seem possible that Edward could have derived these terms in the form he uses them from those in Quintilian. We are probably safe enough in deciding that they derive from *Ad Herennium*. That conclusion will be made practical certainty when we examine Edward's oratorical terms, which are from the same source. We have already seen how and when Edward must have mastered this work.

There are thirty-one pages of these exercises, covering three orations against Catiline, from January 28, through February 5, under six dates, so presumably in as many lessons. The next entry is dated February 26, "Ex oratione Ciceronis antequam iret in exilium." On March 2 Edward began the "ad Quirites." On March 7, the "ad Senatū post reditū," completed March 13. Then the "pro domo sua ad Pontif," undated but extending beyond April 6. Next came "p<sup>o</sup> Archia," then "p<sup>o</sup> lege Manlia," without dates. These exercises thus probably terminate at Easter April 21, 1549. Edward owned the three-volume edition of the orations "Post postremam Naugerianam, & Victorianam correctionem Emendata A. Ioan Stvrnio," as pub-

<sup>21</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cccxxi.

lished "Argentorati Anno LXIII" (B. M.; 834. c. 14). These orations are all from the second volume. The next group of exercises in this notebook begins in December. The notes do not necessarily indicate that Edward was studying these orations for oratorical form, but mostly for phrases and rhetorical figures, though this, of course, was a preliminary stage. The logical *Rationes* are also occasionally collected, as "1 Nulla lex valet quae vi fit. Sed lex Clodiana vi fiebat. Ergo et c." (p. 53). So Edward was analyzing these orations rhetorically and logically. How he acquired his logic we shall have some hints later. But the study of these orations between the time when he was completing the minor forms in Aphthonius and when he began writing formal "orations" is significant. He was studying the orations of Cicero analytically in preparation for writing orations of his own.

One of Edward's texts upon these orations of Cicero still survives in the Burnley School Library, Lancashire.

The majority of the books are bound in calf, and the only binding of special interest, is that which encloses a copy of the *Lucubrationes in omnes Ciceronis Orationes*, printed by Aldus at Venice in 1547. This volume at one time was in the possession of Edward VI., and has the royal arms with the letters E. R. on each side.<sup>22</sup>

Printed in 1547, this volume came into Edward's possession and was bound for him after he became king. He was using it presumably by January 1549, as he read his unannotated edition of the orations.

That Edward had been taught the parts of an oration by this period is clear from an exercise which he dates July 28, 1549 on the subject *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis*, a subject which is to be found in the *Adagia* of Erasmus<sup>23</sup> treated at great length. Edward labels his parts, *Exordium a re et adversarium contemptu*, *Narratio*, *Divisio*, *Confirmatio a testimonio*, *ab experientia*, *Distributio*, *Peroratio primae partis*, *Belli fructus*, *Confutatio*, *Conclusio*. Here are in order the six parts of an oration *a la Ad Herennium*, with certain telltale, descriptive additions. For instance, in *Ad Herennium* the various forms of exordium are classified. So Edward uses two of these classifications in his exordium, *a re* and *a adversariorum contemptu*. *Narratio*, *Divisio* are the next in order and are not further described by Edward. The *Ad Herennium* points out that *Confirmatio* and *Confutatio* form the heart of the oration. These sections, therefore, receive detailed treatment. Edward has added *a testimonio* and *ab experientia*

<sup>22</sup> Christie, R. C., *The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire*, p. 125.

<sup>23</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia*, Chiliad IV, Century I, 1.

to show the particular varieties of Confirmatio he is using. Similarly in the first part of his Confirmatio he uses Distributio and ends with a Peroratio. Next he turns in the second part of his Confirmatio to the "*Belli fructus*." The third part of his Confirmatio he does not label. He is then ready for the fifth and sixth parts of the oration, the Confutatio and Conclusio. All these are technical terms except *Belli fructus*. The whole oration observes and ties together these parts with the utmost precision.

Quintilian makes only five parts, and uses different technical terms "quinque sunt, Prooemium, Narratio, Probatio, Refutatio, Peroratio."<sup>24</sup> The terms of Cicero in *De Inventione* are exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio, conclusio; but in *Partitiones* by simplification only four, principium, narratio, confirmatio, peroratio. So Edward is not using the technical terms of either Cicero or Quintilian. I believe it is again clear that before June, 1549, Edward had mastered *Ad Herennium*. Since he was using the figures in January, he had presumably begun to master the book not later than 1548. We have seen reason to believe that he did so about 1547.

Incidentally, the title of Edward's exercise, *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis* reminds us that Shakspeare in *Coriolanus* echoes a similar school-boy sentiment, *Belli exitus incerti*, to be found in *Sententiae Pueriles*. Volumnia warns Coriolanus,

Thou know'st, great son,  
The end of war's uncertain.<sup>25</sup>

Christopher Johnson dictated a theme on this text to a class of Winchester boys in the sixties (135v). Shakspeare may well have had this theme assigned him for one of his grammar school exercises. Similar ones he could not have escaped any more than did Edward, who at the time of writing had been already for two years and more a king.

It is also clear from these exercises that Edward was expected to apply his logic in the interests of his ethical studies. I have noted above his use of materials from the *De Officiis*, which he had been studying at this period. Similarly, he makes pointed use of his logic. By June 23, 1549, Edward was already "chopping" logic in good set terms, "Nego argumentum, non enim habet consequentiam," etc. at length.<sup>26</sup> By this date he had the "lingo" of logic well at command.

<sup>24</sup> Quintilian, Fabius, *Institutionum Oratoriarum Libri XII* (Paris, 1538), p. 48 v.

<sup>25</sup> *Coriolanus*, V, 3, 140-141.

<sup>26</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, p. 100.

In his exercise of the following week June 30, 1549, Edward makes a direct reference to his logic,

Cùm autem jam ego legerim dialecticam, in ea cerno, quod in naturalibus causis semper causam bonam sequuntur boni effectus, etc.<sup>27</sup>

As we shall see a little later, Ascham says in 1550 that Edward had learned Aristotle's *Dialectics* and was then working upon the *Ethics*. We shall see also that Edward's notebook upon the *Ethics* begins in December, 1549. He had thus studied Aristotle's *Dialectics* before December, 1549, and had evidently already made progress on that subject by June, 1549, as our previous quotations show. Thomas Wilson in the dedication of his *Logic* to Edward in 1551 confirms Ascham.

I knowe your grace for your owne studie litle nedeth any helpe of suche an Englishe treatise, beyng so well trauailed both in the Greke & in the Latine for the same purpose, through the helpe of those right worthie men Sir Jhon Cheke, and Sir Antony Cooke, your Maiesties teachers and Schole-maisters in all good litterature.<sup>28</sup>

So Edward had studied his logic first in Latin and then in Greek. Edward may have studied some complete Latin logic, but I have found no clue to its identity. We have seen that early in 1549, he was already identifying *Rationes*, which implies some mastery of the syllogism by that time.

Edward uses both his dialectic and his ethical material from Cicero in this first series of six "orations," extending from June 23, 1549 to July 28, 1549. These are in the final finished form. If the practice of entering the finished form in a notebook continued, no such notebook has survived. There was abundant room in this one. But we have also the loose drafts for the exercises of June 23 and June 30, 1549. There are then no more dated exercises of the type till after Easter, 1551.

About this period of 1549 we have several hints as to where Edward was finding further materials for these written exercises. He had a copy of *Apothegmas . . . agora nueuamente tradugidos y recopilados en nuestra ligua castellana, y dirigidos al illustrissimo senor Don Perafan de Ribera . . . En Envers . . . 1549* (B. M.; 1075. i. 11), which is a translation into Spanish of one form of the apothegms collected

<sup>27</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, p. 103.

<sup>28</sup> Wilson, Thomas, *The Rule of Reason* (1551), pp. A5r&v. Herbert's copy, University of Illinois Library.

by Erasmus. Someone, presumably Edward, has underscored a considerable number of phrases throughout the book. There are a few comments, probably in Edward's hand. The most interesting is on page four, where the words *Apothegmas mudos* in the sentence, "Ya estos tales llama el Erasmo Apothegmas mudos," are underscored and the one word "absurde" written in the margin. Presumably Edward has consulted this Spanish translation for theme materials. He is also supposed to have had the Italian translation of this material as printed at Venice, 1546; but I have not located his copy. Here, as regularly, he used translations into modern foreign languages to improve his ancient languages.<sup>29</sup>

Another source of moral materials was evidently Alciat's *Emblems*. Edward had a copy of *Diverse Imprese Accommodata a diuerse moralità, con versi che i loro significati dichiarano. Tratte da gli Emblemata dell' Alciato*, as printed "In Lione," 1549 (B. M.; C. 20. b. 20). It has seen some service. The *MS Catalogue* attributes to Edward a copy of the same date and place in Spanish, but I have not succeeded in identifying his copy.

Apothegms and emblems in Latin, with translations of them in Spanish and in Italian, furnished materials about 1549. Later, Edward would get similar material from the Greek. One source, no doubt, was Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Regum et Imperatorum* as printed at Paris in 1530, and his *Apophthegmata Laconica*, also in Greek and also printed at Paris in 1530, which are now bound together (B. M.; 1075, i. 1. (1-2)). They have been used, but by whom does not directly appear. From these and many other sources Edward procured materials to farce out his themes.

Edward, as we have seen, had begun his Latin orations in June 1549. In the meantime, he had been bringing up his Greek to where he could alternate it with the Latin in his compositions. Along with his Latin morality, orations, and technical treatises, he must also have the Greek, with which he had long been quite busy. In a letter of December 14, 1550, Ascham tells Sturmius of the marvels Cheke is performing with Edward.

In scarce any other particular do I esteem him more fortunate than that he has obtained John Cheke as the instructor of his youth in sound learning and true religion. Latin he understands with accuracy, speaks with propriety, writes with facility, combined with judgment. In Greek he has learned

<sup>29</sup> Edward appears also to have owned a copy of *De L'institution du Prince* (1547) by Budaeus (Quaritch, Catalogue No. 576, Item 41). His interest was probably supposed to be in the apothegms of which the volume principally consists.

the Dialectic of Aristotle, and now learns his Ethic. He has proceeded so far in that language, that he readily translates the Latin of Cicero's *Philosophia* into Greek. On the day before I left England, when conversing in London with Sir John Cheke, I inquired of him how it was that the King should read the Ethic of Aristotle rather than the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, and he answered with the greatest wisdom and learning, (as he is always wont,) "In order that his mind, first instructed in all those infinite examinations and dissections of the virtues and vices, may bring a sound judgment to each of those examples of character and conduct, that everywhere present themselves in history: and because it is scarcely possible that his natural perceptions, amused and led away by the pleasantness of history, should at once form such conclusions as are of an abstruse and recondite nature, although highly necessary to confirm the judgment. Still my endeavour is to give him no precept unaccompanied by some remarkable example." How fortunate . . . is England, my Sturmius, that the youth of its prince, for he has but recently entered his fourteenth year, is reared under this excellent training, no one is better qualified to judge than yourself. He will shortly finish the Ethic, which will be followed by the Rhetoric of Aristotle, so that this labour that you have undertaken seems to offer you not merely a favourable, but even a providential, opportunity: for I believe that it has not happened but by God's special providence that this highest exercise of your ability, judgment, and learning should be employed to polish so extraordinary a summit of royal majesty.<sup>30</sup>

Sturmius was proposing a commentary upon the Rhetoric of Aristotle, and, as we shall see later, promised Ascham at least to mention Edward in the work. Thus Edward will read the Greek theory of oratory in the rhetoric to supplement the Latin theory in Cicero, and he is busy in other fields repeating in Greek the studies he had made in Latin.

According to Ascham, the order was dialectic, ethic, rhetoric; and Edward was working upon the *Ethics* in December 1550. Edward began reading the *Ethics* of Aristotle apparently in December, 1549,<sup>31</sup> keeping much the same kind of notes as for the Latin. The *Dialectic*, as Ascham informs us, had preceded, but apparently has left no notebook record. It will be noticed that Ascham gives some specific idea also of how Cheke was teaching Ethics. Along with the *Ethics* of Aristotle in the Greek, Edward was turning into Greek Cicero's philosophy.<sup>32</sup> Bucer on May 15, 1550, had already referred to the process, but had been more general than Ascham, "He is now studying moral philosophy from Cicero and Aristotle."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. cli-clii.

<sup>31</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cccxxii.

<sup>32</sup> He was evidently also doing some work upon the Cicero in Spanish, since, as we have seen, he had a Spanish translation of *De Officiis*, etc. in an edition of 1549. So he evidently studied Cicero's moral philosophy in Latin, Spanish, and Greek.

<sup>33</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cxliv.



As we have seen, Edward began the *Ethics* of Aristotle about December, 1549. Another of Edward's notebooks (MS Bodl. 899) gives some idea of how Edward was turning Cicero's ethical philosophy into Greek as Ascham states and Bucer hints. This notebook consists of lists of Latin words from Cicero, *De Finibus*, with the Greek equivalents preceding, in parallel columns. Here is the vocabulary for the process of turning Cicero into Greek. Edward began the first book on January 3, 1550, and dated his last exercise on it January 25. The second book occupied from March 2, through April 9. The third May 5 through May 13. The fourth June 2 through June 12. The fifth July 4 through July 16. The *Tusculan Questions*, which he had read in 1548, then followed August 8 through September 26.

The chronology itself indicates that these word-lists are only part of the operations performed, since there is an interval each time of some weeks between groups. The companion exercises, however, have not been located. It is clear that Edward is covering each division twice, as he had done with *De Officiis*. Ascham tells us that Edward was turning this philosophy of Cicero into Greek, as he evidently was doing, the word-lists being the preliminary steps each time. Presumably the companion exercises would have been the Greek versions of each section.

Evidently, Edward took still another step in these ethical studies, as shown by two of his Italian books of 1550-1551. One of these is *Di Felice Figliucci Senese, De La Filosofia Morale Libri Dieci Sopra Li Dieci Libri De L'Ethica D'Aristotile*, Rome, 1551 (B. M.; 520. g. 8.). The book has had passages systematically underscored through Chapter VI of Book V. There are also marginal labels and signs calling attention to passages. For instance, "ob" for *objectio* and "so" for *solutio*. I suppose this is the handiwork of Edward as he attempted further to master Aristotle. His orations would doubtless show use of this material, but I have not checked. Another volume in Italian upon the *Ethics* was *L'Ethica D'Aristotile Tradotta In Lingua VVlgare Fiorentina Et Comentata Per Bernardo Segni*, as printed "In Firenze" 1550, quarto (B. M.; 519. e. 10), and at Venice, 1551, octavo. I do not know why Edward should have had two copies of this, and I have not identified Edward's copy of 1551 in B. M. The Segni of 1550 shows some signs of having been consulted by someone, but there are no marks or annotations.

Edward thus brings his leash of languages to bear upon the study

of ethics. Aristotle and Cicero are his guides, but he uses translations and annotations in Italian further to clear up the meaning of it all. And he is using both Greek and Latin. We shall see later that about the end of 1549, when Edward began this process, he also began alternating exercises in Latin and Greek, one each week. This moral "stuffing" found vent in Edward's hypermoral compositions. He had to digest and use it.

Ascham implies in his letter of December 14, 1550, that after Edward has read the *Ethics* of Aristotle for theory, he will then read the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon for concrete illustration. We probably find a trace of the process in a work of 1551. For Edward owned a copy of *Trois liures d'Isocrates . . . Le Premier liure de l'institution de Cyrus . . . cōposé par Xenophon . . . Oraison du mesme autheur, contenant les louenges d'Agésilas Roy des Lacedemoniens* as translated by L. Le Roy (Regius), and printed at Paris in 1551 (B. M.; 834. g. 12. see above, p. 224 n11). There are no particular signs of use. But the French translation is characteristic, being evidently to supplement the Xenophon, since the Isocrates was too late for that author.

After Cheke had administered the *Ethics* of Aristotle, he continued with the *Politics* of Plato, a surviving page of phrases being dated February 12, 1551 (MS Bodl. 899). The second book was begun June 20, 1551. At some time before May in 1552, when Cheke thought himself to be on his death bed, he wrote Edward,

And wheare you have readd, in the tyme that it hath pleased God to lend me unto you, dyvers discourses of dyvers sortes, as well of stories, as of philosophie, wherebye you have had proffit, and plentie of grave and wise rules and orders for the good government of your realme; yet, in myne opinyon, among them all, none hath so habundantlye furnished you in those points as hath Aristotle, to whome I beseech you, for those matters, often to resorte, and especiallye to two chapters in his Politiques, the one *de mutatione regni*, &c. and the other *per quae regna servantur*, being the tenth and eleventh chapters of the S. of his Politiques.

For your divinitie, I wolde wishe you wolde diligently contynew the reading of the New Testament, *Sapientia*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Proverbs.<sup>24</sup>

After Plato's *Politics* had come Aristotle's; but Cheke refers to this work in the Latin *Summa*, not in the full original Greek. Incidentally, the chapters selected show what was on Cheke's mind. All this study of Latin and especially Greek had been for the purpose of teaching Edward how to govern as a protestant king. Not only his philosophy,

<sup>24</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. clx.

but also the "stories" he had read, and his Bible itself were all directed to this end.

In writing to Sturmius on December 14, 1550 concerning Cheke's views upon the education of Edward, Ascham had said concerning a commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* that Edward,

shall hear from you how honourable it is for a ruler to study wisdom, and how a commonwealth is to be governed by good counsel, not by good luck; whilst the best counsels are to be derived from the best books, and, next to holy writ, there are none more suited to frame wise counsel than those of Aristotle; although the King, such is the excellence of his nature, requires no spur to hasten that career of learning and wisdom, into which he has most happily entered.<sup>35</sup>

First the Bible, and then Aristotle as the true guides for a Protestant King, with Plato and Cicero to lead up to and support Aristotle. So throughout, Cheke has emphasized the moral element in Edward's education to the exclusion of much else, and has taken the shortest road to Aristotle.<sup>36</sup>

Edward's *Summa* of Aristotle's work I have not located. But both *MS Catalogue* and binding attribute to him a copy of *Aristotelis de Republica Libri VII. Interprete & enarratore Io. Genesio Sepulueda Cordubensi*, as printed at Paris in 1548 (B. M.; 520. e. 15, which lacks a title-page). I have not noticed any significant marks of use. A similar work attributed to Edward by the *MS Catalogue* is the *Trattato Dei Governi Di Aristotile Tradotto Di Greco In Lingua VVulgare Firentina da Bernardo Segni Gentil 'huomo & Accademico Fiorentino*, as printed in Venice, 1551, but the copy in B. M. (C. 20. a. 20) does not seem to have been his. It would appear, however, that Edward was following his usual procedure of using both Latin and Italian translations and commentaries on his Greek authors.

Besides moral and political philosophy, Edward may have had at some time a bit of natural philosophy. Both the *MS Catalogue* and the binding attribute to Edward a copy of *La Prima Parte Della Filosofia Naturale: Di M. Alessandro Piccolomini*, as printed at Rome in 1551 (B. M.; 534. c. 32). The copy, however, has the name *Antonio Dennij* on its title page. A somewhat similar work is in a volume which is attributed to Edward on the same authority. It contains *Petri Paschalii Adversus Ioannis Mavlii Parricidas . . . Eiusdem Gal-*

<sup>35</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cli.

<sup>36</sup> While Richard Cox and Sir Anthony Cooke had also some share in Edward's education, it is clear that in his later training Cheke was the dominant spirit.

*lia . . . Oratio de Legibus . . . Epistolae*, as printed by Gryphius at Lyons in 1548; and *Gasparis Sardi Ferrariensis Epistolarum liber . . . Eiusdem de Triplici Philosophia Commentariolus*, as printed at Florence in 1549 (B. M.; 1088. c. 2. (1-2)). The first of these books has been very hardly used, and bears many scribbles of names and other things, but none, so far as I can find, by Edward or his group. Both books have passed some time unbound, and pretty clearly were not in the beginning connected with each other. The second volume has been only moderately used. It is thus unlikely that the first book belonged to Edward; the second may have done so, and its triplex philosophy may have been read by Edward. There are also other indications that Edward was receiving some instruction in natural philosophy, but these would carry us too far afield for our present purpose.

As will be remembered, Ascham says on December 14, 1550, that Edward was about to complete Aristotle's *Ethics* and thence would proceed to the *Rhetoric*. He evidently did so, for he had a copy of the *Rettorica, Et Poetica D' Aristotile Tradotte di Greco in Lingua Vulgare Fiorentina da Bernardo Segni . . . In Firenze*, 1549 (B. M.; 519. d. 17). I find nothing in his copy to indicate that he read this Italian translation systematically. Presumably, however, Edward had proceeded to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in 1551, and had used Segni's Italian translation and comments as he had used similar materials on the *Ethics*.

We have seen that Edward's second volume of Cicero's rhetoric is also dated 1551. Evidently he read Cicero's theoretical works on rhetoric and oratory along with those of Aristotle. With these, he may have found use for another work which is attributed to him. He is said to have possessed a copy of *Ioannis Sturmi In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis, Dialogi duo*, Argentinae, 1539. It is now, and judging from the stains was probably early though not originally, bound with *De Literarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis Liber. Ioannis Sturmi*, also Argentorati, 1539, and with *Ioannis Sturmi Ad Werteros Fratres, Nobilitas literata. Liber Vnus*, Argentorati, 1549 (B. M.; 835. d. 9. (1-3)). Sturm was through his friends communicating with Edward and Elizabeth at this period. It would be natural for Edward to use Sturm's commentary upon Cicero's *Partitions* when around 1551 he was apparently reading this and the other advanced rhetorical works of Cicero along with Aristotle's rhetoric. Someone has read, underscored, and annotated the *De Partitionibus* with some

care. Since some of the notes are shaved, it is clear that the first two pamphlets have been cut to uniformity with the red fore-edge of the *Nobilitas Literata*. If the notes are by Edward, as they appear to be, they belong to his last days when he had attained some mastery both over his pen and his classics. They would fit very well around 1551, where we should expect them to have been made.

Edward's ethical studies in Aristotle and Cicero, followed by his political from Plato, etc. were supposed to shape him into the ideal prince and ruler. The rhetorical works of Aristotle and Cicero were to give him the theory of expression. Similarly, Demosthenes and Cicero were to furnish the models of oratorical perfection. It will be noticed how the Greek and Latin are in each case being tied together. For models in Latin composition, Edward was continuing to use Cicero, gathering phrases of verbs and nouns as usual (MS Bodl. 899). The surviving collection of these begins February 19, 1551, upon *Pro P. Sylla*. Edward culled phrases from something over a hundred pages through Thursday June 25, 1551, in this second volume of Cicero's orations, the paging being that of his three-volume edition published Argentorati, 1544. These phrases are recorded normally every other week, both upon Thursday and Saturday. Then on Saturday June 27, 1551, Edward skipped to the *Pro Milone* in the third volume (p. 222), and did something over a hundred pages in the next year up to June 4, 1552. There is, however, a gap of eight weeks after November 14, 1551, one of ten weeks after February 13, 1552, another of five weeks after April 28, 1552, besides minor irregularities in the schedule. The large gaps in April and May are due to the fact that Edward was busy having smallpox. Some of these orations Edward had already read in detail for other purposes. Now he is gathering phrases for his orations in Latin, which alternated with those in Greek. Hence his gatherings are also in alternate weeks. Presumably some of the phrases will be found each time in the corresponding oration, but I have not checked on the point. Quite likely Edward also made other use of these sections besides as a culling ground for phrases. We shall see that Edward each time drafted his "theme" or outline for his oration on Thursday and dates the completed form on the following Sunday. His Latin phrases are normally recorded on either or both Thursday and Saturday of the same week with his Latin oration. Thus Edward's Latin oration was each time connected directly with the orations of Cicero. Consequently, the end of these exercises upon the reading of Cicero on June 4, 1552, naturally co-

incides with the end of Edward's written exercises, and pretty certainly, as we shall see, of his formal schooling.

Along with Cicero in Latin, Edward paralleled Demosthenes in Greek, following immediately upon the study of Plato's *Politics* in Greek (MS Bodl. 899). On August 15, 1551, came the first Olynthiac of Demosthenes, another exercise being dated August 29, 1551. The first Philippic begins January 14, 1552, and the surviving exercises are fairly regular through the following March 19. It is especially significant that the exercises from the Philippics of Cicero had begun January 9, 1552, before those of Demosthenes began on January 14. The two are being compared. Edward may have read Aeschines along with Demosthenes, though I find no evidence of it. On November 11, 1550, Ascham had suggested that Cheke should put into Latin the contrary orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes, a particular hobby of his.<sup>37</sup> Ascham was probably in this way plotting to have Cheke try out the former's pet hobby upon Edward. Coelius Secundus Curio also had definite information on Edward's progress, since in September, 1551, he dedicated to him an edition of *M. Tullii Ciceronis Philippicae Orationes XIII*.<sup>38</sup> He lectures Edward on true kingship, and hopes that this edition of the Philippics will be of service in Edward's studies. He had probably received at least a broad hint that this dedication would be acceptable. Edward quite likely used this work in his studies the following January, though I have not attempted comparisons. At any rate, Cicero and Demosthenes have been compared as the twin-pinnacles of Latin and Greek oratory, the last surviving exercise being dated June 4, 1552.

At some time in this process belongs the *Orationes Forēses, Et Responsa . . . Iuliano Taboetio . . . autore*, as printed at Paris in 1551 (B. M.; C. 46. b. 10). It has seen service, presumably with Edward in connection with the Philippics; but there are no notes, either printed or written.

As background for his work on these various Roman and Greek authors, their allusions and points of view, Edward would need a certain amount of Roman and Greek history. We have seen that

<sup>37</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 220. Already in 1548 Gesner says that Cheke had made into Latin the "Demosthenis et Aeschines aduersas," and Bale later accepts the statement (Poole, R. L. and Bateson, Mary, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, p. 190). I do not know Gesner's authority, but Ascham knew of no such work. A long list of other translations from Greek into Latin is attributed by Gesner and Bale to Cheke, and many of these, if they ever existed, could have been used upon Edward; but there is no indication that they were so used.

<sup>38</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cccxxxi.

Edward was to read Justin in 1547, and had later read Livy, Sallust, Curtius, and others unnamed. Presumably he followed out in general the reading program recommended by Olivarius. Some hints survive at this period of how he did so. About 1550 Edward seems to have been making some systematic study of the Caesars. He owned a copy of *Imperatorum & Caesarum Vitae, Cum Imaginibus ad viuam effigiem expressis*, Lyons, 1550 (B. M.; 811. c. 2), by John Huttichius.<sup>39</sup> There are some underscorings, notes, and cross references in Edward's earlier sprawling hand, so probably no long time after the book was printed in 1550. There are a couple of sets of verses on the unprinted verso of the last page. If either inscribed or composed by Edward, the first set, dealing with Troilus and Cressida on the background of the Troy story, is of especial interest. This work on the Caesars was evidently used to give Edward a systematic start on Roman history.

He has made one cross reference to Herodian, but I have found no copy of Herodian attributed to him, though his father is said to have had this author. Another work, however, attributed to Edward must have been used in this connection. This is the *Vitae Caesarum* of Suetonius with the notes of Erasmus and Egnatius, as printed at Basle in 1546. Edward's copy is magnificently bound (B. M.; C. 82. f. 7). It shows some signs of having been consulted, but seems to have been too fine to be marked.

A group of pamphlets probably also belongs to this period and connection. The *MS Catalogue* attributes to Edward a copy of *Descriptio Breuissima Priscaae Urbis Romae* as printed at Venice in 1544, one of *De Antiquitatibus Urbis Romae* by Lucius Faunus, as printed at Venice in 1548 (should be 1549), and one of *Cl. Marii Aretii Patritii Syracusani . . . libri aliquot*, as printed at Basle in 1544. These three are now bound in a single volume (B. M.; 575. a. 3. (1-3)). But they have at some time passed a considerable period unbound, and their stains are probably due more to that fact than to use, though there are signs that they were at least moderately consulted.

From reading and consulting this group of books, Edward should have procured some knowledge of Roman history. From Roman history Edward would have passed to Greek history. Edward had Thu-

<sup>39</sup> I have Sir John Cheke's copy of Huttichius as printed Argentorati, 1534, together with the appended *Consulum Romanorum Elenchus*, at the same place, 1537. "Teacher" evidently approved the collection.

cydides in Greek, printed at Basle in 1540; and Herodotus in Greek, Basle, 1541, which are now bound together (B. M.; C. 66. f. 2. (1-2)). Both works show signs of having been consulted. There is also the characteristic modern-language translation, this time that by Pierre Saliat into French of *Les Trois Premiers Liures des Histoires d'Herodote De Halicarnasse* as printed at Paris, 1552 (B. M.; 585. k. 6). The volume is in rather poor condition, but not from use. I find no certain signs that Edward made any particular use of the volume. Printed in 1552, presumably it came too late. But it likely gives some idea of the time at which Edward was studying Greek history with the aid of Herodotus and Thucydides and checking with the translations into modern languages.

Edward may at some time in his last years also have read the tragedies of Sophocles, with moral intent. Collins points out that, In [March] 1549 a literal version of the seven tragedies, containing brief introductions to each play, "ad utilitatem juventutis quae studiosa est Graecae," and dedicated to our Edward VI., was published at Frankfort.<sup>40</sup>

Vitus Winshemius points out to Edward at some length the godly lessons which may be learned from tragedy, especially from that of Sophocles. Winshemius evidently hoped that Edward would use this Latin translation which he had prepared "for the utility of youth" in learning Greek. But I know of no other evidence that Edward did so.

We have seen that Edward had at some time between 1550 and 1552 probably been permitted to read the "story" of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, as Ascham intimated was to be done. But we shall, no doubt, deceive ourselves sadly if we think Cheke permitted Edward anything more amusing and pleasant in history—to echo Ascham's phrase—than that. If at any time Cheke permitted Edward any belles lettres as such in either Latin or Greek, the record of it has not survived. He would certainly have kept it at the minimum. Story was history, and at that only an exemplum for some philosophical or moral principle. Elyot, Cheke, Ascham, all are interested in the moral and ethical values of Latin and especially Greek, not much in the literary values beyond a pedantic correctness in what one might call grammar and rhetoric, as the terms were then used. So Prince Edward centers his studies upon "moral matters," to use Brinsley's

<sup>40</sup> Collins, *Studies*, p. 39. Gracse says there had already been an edition of this work in 1546 (Gracse, J. G. T., *Trésor De Livres Rares et Précieux*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, p. 444), but I do not know whether it contained this dedication.



regular phraseology for what he thinks should be grammar school ideals, and works through grammar school Latin as rapidly as possible into the Greek. Rhetoric, in the form of oratory, has been emphasized as something of prime importance to a Prince, but apparently poetic<sup>41</sup> has been correspondingly minimized, possibly even to the extent of practical omission. For, paralleling his prose authors, Edward should have studied the poets in Latin and Greek and should have written a verse exercise each week as well as the one in prose. It is peculiar that nearly all of Edward's prose work has survived but none of his verse. Such verse exercise as he did could not have been highly regarded. The Reformation is here predominant, not the Renaissance.<sup>42</sup>

But while this is true for Edward's main studies upon Latin and Greek under the direction of Cheke, yet the reader should be reminded that Edward was getting considerable contact with the vernacular Renaissance, especially through his Italian and French. The teachers of these languages were evidently introducing Edward to the polite literature therein to be found—much of it with very different moral import from that which Cheke was inculcating so thoroughly. One wonders, in fact, if Cheke did not strongly object to some of this literature. But this side of Edward's training cannot be included in our present sketch.

It will be noticed that while Cheke is striving for the same ideals, he has a very different organization from that of Elyot. Sir Thomas had thought it necessary to wait till the Prince attained reason at fourteen before he began oratory, and till seventeen before he began philosophy. Cheke had reached formal orations before Edward was twelve, and had used the whole grammar school routine of preparation in oratorical forms before he was fourteen, including the "art of reason" both in Latin and Greek. The ethical training he has also built on what is to become regular grammar school practice in Latin, using first for moral philosophy the grammar school collection of Cicero surrounding *De Officiis* and the *Tusculan Questions*, and then following with Aristotle's *Ethics* in Greek along with Cicero's *De*

<sup>41</sup> It is also minimized in Sturm, though hardly to this extent.

<sup>42</sup> Edward had some instruction in various other things, as Astronomy, etc.; but these were incidental subjects and are not very clear. It would be a distinct service both to the history of education and to the history of literature in England if someone would edit properly these educational remains of Edward VI. They would give very concrete illustration of the ideals of Elyot, Cheke, and Ascham, and would show in detail how these men expected to shape a boy to those ideals.

*Finibus*, completing all about the time Edward was thirteen. In fact, all the way through Cheke has adapted grammar school practice, first doing the Latin and then working to the correspondent Greek. Neither Cheke nor the grammar schools will pay any attention to the old psychological divisions as advocated by Elyot. But in bringing the elements of oratory and the moral and ethical teaching earlier both in Latin and in Greek, Cheke has necessarily for want of time displaced wholly or compressed considerably the more liberal elements of Elyot's program. Sir Thomas had provided for the regular grammar school authors in Latin poetry, supplemented by the Greek, before the "Prince" was fourteen. There is no hint of such a program with Cheke. Presumably Cheke had consciously deferred as much as possible of the "poetic" on the same principle that he had deferred the *Cyropaedia*; first the bitter pinciple, later the sweet example. He wanted to give Edward the ethical principles by which to judge, before he permitted him interesting examples which might enervate his mental toughness. Cheke was only too satisfactory to the Reformers; he was very far from the spirit of Erasmus.

All this preparation was supposed to issue in oral and written work by Edward himself. He must use his material, models, and theory in work of his own. So at first he writes in Latin an exercise each week, and then when he has sufficient Greek he alternates his weekly exercise in the two languages. In August, 1549, the weekly prose compositions were in Latin. There are then no more dated exercises until after Easter, 1551. At that time Edward is alternating Greek and Latin, the first dated surviving Greek oration being of May 10, 1551, the first Latin of May 17, 1551. This alternation continues through December 20, 1551, though the Greek orations for June 7 (f 176), June 21 (f 172), and July 5 (f 174) are misbound; and the one for October 25 is undated and so misbound (190 r). Similarly with the Latin oration for November 15 (92 r). The "theme" for each of these exercises also survives. Edward has each time set down the "theme"; and these sketches have all survived for this complete group of exercises, though some have been misbound. Their correct order is ff 220, 221, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222. These sketches show that the exercises did not end completely on June 12, 1552, with the last dated one, in Greek, since the sketch of an undated Latin exercise (106 r) follows. But for some reason Edward evidently did regard the Greek oration of June 12, 1552, as being some kind of landmark, for he has not only doubled up endings and signatures to it, but he has

also written "Thank God," both in Latin and in Greek. In that sentiment, the patient reader who has perused the exercises will heartily concur, in all the languages at his command. This Greek oration, however, did not completely end the series, since it was followed by at least one other in Latin, which should have been for June 19, 1552.

For some reason, Edward had been unusually systematic with his exercises from Easter 1551 to June 1552, so that we get a fair idea of his routine. He worked without intermission from Easter to December 20. He had a two-week respite till January 10, 1552. The next break is the omission of January 31 from the schedule, showing that Edward had one exercise off during the "Bacchanalia" at Shrovetide. He then continued the alternation through a Greek exercise on March 20, 1552, though the exercises of March 6 (f 116), March 12 (f 18), and March 20 (f 118) are misbound.

There was no exercise on March 27, but there should have been one on April 3, as we learn by the purest accident. For the final versions are always dated on Sunday. In two instances, the precedent draft is also dated; and in both cases the day is Thursday. One of these is Thursday, March 31, 1552, showing that there should have been a completed exercise on April 3. But the completed exercise is dated May 14, 1552, six weeks later. Edward himself gives the reason when he records in his journal that on Saturday, April 2, 1552, he "fell sike of the measels and the small pokkes." So on Sunday, April 3, he was otherwise sufficiently engaged, and had to defer his completed exercise to May 14, 1552, after which he missed one exercise. There were then only four other exercises before he began a progress in June. At best, Edward had but scant allowance in holidays.

With June 1552, the dated orations cease. In the same month, as we have seen, the accompanying notes on Cicero's orations and the parallel Demosthenes also cease. The reason is that Edward began a progress on June 27, which was to last till October. There is nothing to show that his formal schooling was resumed. Even if it was, it could not have lasted long, since his fatal illness is said to have shown itself in the following January. Quite likely, then, all surviving exercises antedate June, 1552. Since all are accounted for from Easter, 1551, this would mean that the undated ones precede this Easter. There are twenty-four dated Greek exercises and twenty-six undated. Of the undated, nine are certainly early, since the writing is unformed and still guided by scratched rules (156, 158, 160, 162, 178, 184, 186, 190, 210). Incidentally, there are eight ruled Latins (64, 82,

86, 88, 90, 100, 104,<sup>48</sup> 112<sup>49</sup>) to the nine Greek, showing that they form an alternating group. In the Latin, Edward was still using these rules in June, 1549, but had ceased to do so both in Latin and in Greek by Easter, 1551. The earlier group in its subject matter reflects the comparative ethical discussions arising out of Cicero and Aristotle. These exercises are thus probably early in 1550, since Edward began the *Ethics* in December, 1549, and Cicero's *De Finibus* in January, 1550. The remaining seventeen would thus come between this first group of early 1550 and the dated exercises beginning after Easter, 1551. Since there are twenty-six, they occupied somewhat more than a year and doubtless began about December, 1549, when Edward began the *Ethics* and started comparing Cicero and Aristotle. If anyone wishes to know how successfully Cheke was performing the marvels on Cicero and Aristotle which Ascham was in 1550 so much admiring, he can find out by orienting these Greek exercises with their sources, together with the corresponding Latin exercises.

It appears, then, that the alternation between Greek and Latin exercises probably began about December, 1549, and that we have all the remaining Greek exercises. We have seen that nine of these Greek exercises form an early group, leaving seventeen for an intermediate group. This group can itself be further divided by means of two other sheets of sketches for these alternate exercises, which survive undated. One of these has the heading "Rationes," which is what these exercises of 1551-1552 are, probably indicating that it represents the formal beginning of this series. These sheets tend to have a preliminary jotting of notes, which are then organized into a sketch for the final form, whereas those after Easter, 1551, give only the sketch. I take it, therefore, that these two sheets represent the earlier stage, when Edward was still awkward at his task.

As has been said, the sheet at present numbered 214 has the heading "Rationes" on what is now its recto. On this recto comes first the outline of a Latin oration, now at 74 and 75. Then a Greek, at 180 and 181. On the verso, a Latin at 108 and 109, and a Greek at 170 and 171. On the recto of what is now 215 is the outline for a Latin oration, at 68 and 69. Then a Greek, at 164 and 165. On the verso, a Latin

<sup>48</sup> This can hardly date so late as 1551, where Nichols puts it.

<sup>49</sup> Since this exercise is in answer to one by someone else at 66; both are considerably earlier than Easter, 1551. The reference in the margin of 66 is thus to Henry Brandon, who died July 16, 1551, and had been one of the King's fellow-pupils.

exercise, at 94 and 95. Next a Greek, at 212 and 213. Finally a Latin, at 96 and 97. Since 215, whatever its recto, begins with notes for Latin, it was preceded by one which ended with notes for Greek. The now preceding sheet fills this condition either way it is turned, but its recto is in fact determined by the heading. A curious circumstance probably indicates that 215 is for the last exercise of a group. For on its verso as now bound is the outline for the Greek oration which occupies folios 212 and 213. Now 213 shows by the scribbles and stains on its verso that it was the end-paper of a collection. All these facts probably indicate that 214 and 215 now occupy the proper order with relation to each other.

The heading would indicate that these were the first of the series of "rationes."<sup>46</sup> We would expect them, therefore, immediately to precede the dated group which begins after Easter 1551. Now these sketches and their completed exercises represent the work of nine weeks. Since there were ten weeks of exercises between Christmas and Easter, 1552, it is a good guess that our group for nine weeks represents Edward's efforts between Christmas and Easter of 1551.<sup>46</sup> He then systematized his work fully at Easter of 1551 for the remainder of his school career. Since there are four Greek exercises in this group, we have left thirteen to precede Christmas of 1550. There are also twelve Latin exercises for the group. This series should thus have begun about midsummer, 1550. A study of the handwriting and of the sources of these exercises would determine the chronology definitely. But it is already definite enough for our purposes. For we have traced Edward through the Aphthonian forms of composition to the formal oration in Latin in the summer of 1549. Not long after, he began to write alternately Latin and Greek, continuing to write one oration each week to the end of his formal schooling. These were of the several different types, but the analysis cannot here be made.

It is probable that we have nearly, if not quite, all of Edward's exercises from the summer of 1549 in this collection. We shall probably never find a more complete and concrete illustration of exactly how a boy was supposed in Shakspeare's time to learn to write prose themes than in these exercises. It will be worth our time to follow one of Edward's themes from outline through completed form. His notes for one of them run thus:

<sup>46</sup> We have seen that Edward was identifying the "rationes" in Cicero's orations as early as January, 1549.

<sup>46</sup> The phrases from Cicero before Easter, 1551, might settle this matter definitely.

Rationes. amor maior causa obedientiae quam timor.

†amor est in hominem propter amatum.

†Similitudo in patribus.

†in uoluntate.

†quem metuunt oderūt.

in bonis.

††Exempla Codri. Curtii

†diutius permanet

†Themistoclis. Henr. 7<sup>1</sup>.

†Certior est.

†Ricardi 3<sup>1</sup>.

†trahit & corpus & animū

Exordium ab utilitate questionis. Enarratio meae sententiae. Confirmatio per uxoris amorem. timor deterret a malo, non hortatur ad bonum. quid amor fecerit in Alexandro Seuero, quid timor in Heliogabalo. Tyrannorum exitus. quid amor in Themistocle, Epaminonda, Scipione, Metello, Cicerone et &. Confutatio. 1. Rat. Bruta animantia timent, non amant. Nego 2 Sunt gradus amoris. Quid tum. 3 Leges sancitae indicant metum uehementiorē esse amore. 4 Metus trahit nolētes/ 1. Tyrannis obeditur magis amoris causa quam/ sed non bonis regibus/ 2. Amor non satis potest/. Fateor sed & timor non sufficit, neutrum malū amor prestantior.<sup>47</sup>

This outline then gets developed as follows.

Cum nulla natio bene institui possit, nisi inferiores superioribus obtemperant, cum nulla ciuitas ciuilliter gubernari, nisi subditi magistratibus obediunt, cum nullus exercitus possit esse accommodatus ad pugnam, nisi milites pareant uoci ducum, & imperatoris, ita ut eorum nutu in ordines se redigant, parent ad pugnam, & castra metant, necessarium est & ualde utile omnibus ijs qui aliquam curam habent, aut nationis, aut ciuitatis, aut exercitus, cognoscere quo modo possint & hominum mētes attrahi ad bonum, & deterreri a malo. Hi enim gubernatores qui habēt ciues, huic regulae parētes, sunt omnium foelicissimi. De hac igitur re, hoc tempore constitui disserere, & meam sententiam patefacere, in hoc ut ueritas ex orationibus utrinque habitis excussa, sit dilucida, & uobis facile uideatur. Duo autem sunt modi, quibus solent plerunque uulgi animi adduci ad obedientiam, quorum alter est timor alter amor. Timor eos cogit ad benefaciendum & parendum, idque ui; Amor eos allicit ad parēdū idque uoluntate. Quanquam enim utrunque coniunctū multum ualeat, neque boni gubernatores solo amore aut solo timore in eorum gubernaculis utantur, tamen mente iam separata, uter maior sit causa & uehementior obedientiae iam est questio. Ego quidem puto amorem esse maiorem causam, idque facilius perspicietis, qua ratione psuasus, reneam, si prius quae sit natura horum affectuum, quae partes, quae uis, quod robur, denique quinam & quales sint, uelitis perpendere, & animo uestro penitus & integre reuoluere. Amor est animi affectus, qui oritur, ex bona aliqua opinione de aliquo concepta, aut ex familiari consuetudine inter homines, qui extenditur erga eum qui amatur sui causa, non alicuius lucri causa aut uoluptatis eius qui amat. Si enim talis sit affectus, insimuletur, in hoc ut quis decipiatur & sua spe penitus frustetur, non amor est dicendus sed quēdam assentatio, aut adulatio, inter malos

<sup>47</sup> B. M.; MS Addit. 4724, 214r.

maxime existens, etiam max<sup>e</sup> inimicos. Timor est autem animi quidam impetus, excitatus ex repentino aliquo malo futuro, uel imminenti, quo quis deterretur a male agendo, & ueretur, ne si quid malum perperret, statim supplicio afficiatur. Hinc sepe pallor, exanimatio, ceteraque similia oriuntur. Ex his igitur perspicere quis potest amorem esse in homine illius causa qui amatur, timorem supplicij imminenti causa, unde et uideri potest, amorem tam diu permanere posse, quamdiu ille qui amatur existit, timorem solum manere ad tempus, quamdiu quis habeat supplicium & malum imminens præ oculis. Nam quamdiu causa manet tam diu plerunque effectus manet, diutius autem non potest quia nihil fit sine causa. Igitur cum ille qui amatur causa sit amoris, supplicium timoris, necesse est timorem non diutius manere quam pro oculis habeat supplicium, amorem autem tam diu quam cogitat de amato. Vehemētia autem plerunque diutius permanent quam ea quae leuia sunt, quia unumquodque tam diu permanet, quamdiu habet uim & robur. Adhuc si tales debent esse reges erga subditos, quales patres erga filios, ut eodem genere officij gubernatores, quo patres, & subditi, quo filij, tum certe alterutra debent uti, sed magis amore. Nam patres, (dico autem naturales & honestos) semper afficiuntur amore erga filios, & filij, qui ad aliquam aetatis maturitatem peruenerint, patribus, max<sup>e</sup> amoris causa obediunt. Cum autem filius peccauerit, uel in aliquod graue crimen sit illapsus, tum terret eum pater minis, & interdū supplicio, quanquam adhuc eum amare non desinat. Hoc autem indicat amorem in patre maiorem locum obtineri, quod amor sit ipsa causa efficiens eum terrere filium, ueritus ne alias in grauius crimina labatur. Si igitur principes his similes esse debent tum & illos summa ope niti oportet, ut amore parent beneuolētiā ciuium, maius quam supplicio faciant eos timere. Vnde & hoc bene mihi dictum uidetur, quem metuunt oderunt, quem oderunt eum perijisse cupiunt. Quanquam enim coguntur timore, ad tempus obedire, tamen si aliquam sint nacti omnino occasionem uolunt omnibus uiribus ei resistere, qui hoc modo eos in timorem iniicit. Huius rei multa possumus præclara exempla proferre, & inter Athenienses & Romanos. Erat quidem inter Athenienses in primordijs ciuitatis nomine Codrus uir admodum praeclarus, cui cum indicaretur auspicijs eo mortuo in pugna Athenienses uicturi, quamprimum hostes conspexit in eorum se medium coniecit, & ibi fortiter pugnans pro patria mortuus est. Hic uir clarissimus amoris causa concitatus erga patriam in non dubiam mortem se coniecit. Timoris autem causa neminem unquam audiui morti se tradere, quia supplicij solum est timor, & cum mors extremū, & omnium maximum sit, tum omnem timorem mortem euitare, & non patriae causa eam oppetere necesse est. Simile etiam existit inter Romanos exemplū illius uiri nobilissimi Curtij, qui ciuitate multum oppressa peste quadam, ita ut pene deuastaretur natio Romana, cum oraculis traderetur pestem cessatum fore, cum in puteum quandam max<sup>e</sup> horrendum conijceretur optima & preciosissima gemma ciuitatis, armatus insidens equo optimo, & gemmis adornato se coniecit in illum profundissimum ubi statim expirauit. Sed quid quæram externa & antiqua exempla, cum & hic satis eorum habeamus domestica? Nonne magis efficiebat amor erga Henricum septimum eius nominis, insitus in animis populi, quam timor ille quo

crudelissimus tyrannus Richardus eos cohibebat? Nonne semper uidemus populum sua sponte, cum aliqui de regno certarent, ei adhesisse quem max<sup>o</sup> amauerant eum odisse quem max<sup>o</sup> timebant? Alterum enim uoluntate suscipitur alterum inuitus. Ex his itaque est manifestum amorem esse maiorem & uehementiorem causam obedientię quam metus. Dixi. Finis.

Eduardus Rex.<sup>48</sup>

Edward has first jotted down his points as he "invented" them. Then he has sketched the running outline of his speech into the typical, labeled parts of exordium, enarratio, confirmatio, confutatio, checking off each point to see that he has used all of them in some way. Then he writes his exercise in full form, with some changes of omission and commission, as the exigencies of composition suggest. Here is essentially modern pedagogical practice in exposition, only using the old rhetorical terminology and formula. Throughout his work, Edward regularly and mechanically sorts his moral tidbits into the patterned pigeon-holes. Patiently he plods through, and the only sign of enthusiasm is a fervent "Thank God" at the end of it.

Anyone who reads through these exercises and knows what they imply will be impressed with the huge amount of work which in the name of duty to the high office he occupied was demanded of this feeble boy, and will sympathize most heartily with his, "Thank God" on June 12, 1552, as he ends what was probably his last Greek exercise. For he had pretty clearly now come to the end of his formal training. He was preparing to go a progress which kept him till October. Quite likely little Boy Blue laid aside his childish toys as he began this progress in June, for he had been now eight hard years at his Latin and Greek, not to mention other things, and was to return in October fifteen and a man. Cheke had written him about May a valedictory letter from what he thought was his own death bed, referring to this coming change,

you are now coming to a government of your self, in whiche estate I pray God you may alwaies be served with them that will faithfullye, trewlye, and playnlye give you counseill.<sup>49</sup>

Cheke refers to the new turn which was being given to events by John Dudley. Under date of August 18, 1554, Soranzo reported of Edward that

Whilst under the guardianship of his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, he attended to his studies with marvellous success, learning not only Latin but

<sup>48</sup> B. M.; MS Addit. 4724, 74r ff. I have not indicated erasures, etc.

<sup>49</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. clx.



Greek likewise, though when the government was changed and Somerset replaced by the Duke of Northumberland, who was a soldier at heart and by profession, he changed the King's studies accordingly, and had him taught to ride and handle his weapons, and to go through other similar exercises, so that his Majesty soon commenced arming and tilting, managing horses, and delighting in every sort of exercise, drawing the bow, playing rackets, hunting, and so forth, indefatigably, though he never neglected his studies.

By these means the Duke obtained great favour with him, and to gain him more completely not only caused entertainments to be made for his diversion, but supplied him freely with money, appointing a Lord Privy Purse (*un tesoriero suo proprio*), recommending him to make presents, and show that he was King; but what mattered more, he made him acquainted with all public business, and chose to have his opinion, in such wise that his commands might then be executed without delay. But although his Majesty seemed much satisfied with this proceeding on the part of the Duke, yet such was the excellence of his natural disposition that he would never do any act, either of grace or justice, without the approval of his Council, by which means he became so popular with his councillors and the whole country that there is perhaps no instance on record of any other King of that age being more beloved, or who gave greater promise . . .

Last year, however, precisely at the moment when it was hoped he would commence ruling in person, he was seized with a malady, which the physicians soon knew to be consumption (*fu conosciuta essere da etico*), and in a few days his life was despaired of.<sup>80</sup>

Cheke's letter shows that he was well aware by May, 1552, of this attempt to bring Edward to independence, and one wonders just how much to read between his lines.

For this is John Dudley, who in 1553 caused his son Guildford Dudley to marry Lady Jane Grey, whom he proclaimed Queen on the death of Edward VI.

Northumberland became chancellor of the university of Cambridge in January 1551-2. According to a letter sent him by Roger Ascham at that time, he had literary interests, and was careful to give all his children a good education.<sup>81</sup>

It is thus interesting and significant to have the pragmatic test of the inventory of his library just before he took over the educational direction of Edward and Cambridge. An inventory made at Ely House "the last of Januarie Anno 1550" contains a list of his books there.

After a long enumeration of articles of furniture and the various items then forming his Lordship's wardrobe, among which are,—“Item, a cupboard

<sup>80</sup> Calendar of State Papers, *Venetian*, Vol. V, pp. 535-536.

<sup>81</sup> *D. N. B.*, Dudley, John.

whare on my Lorde's bokes to stand," and "Item, 2 pare of sloppes of yellow cotten,"—the books then forming his Library are enumerated as follow.—"Item, thone part of Tullie.<sup>62</sup> Item, Locci [? "Flacci," meaning Horace] et Aeneadas.<sup>63</sup> Item, Anthonius Luscus.<sup>64</sup> Item, a boke to play at Chistis, in Aglishe. Item, a boke to speake and write Frenche. Item, 2 bokes of Cosmografye. Item, a old paper boke. Item, Hormans Volgaries [Vulgaria]. Item, the Kyngis Grammar. Item, Sidrack and King Bockas.<sup>65</sup> Item, a plaine declaration of the Crede.<sup>66</sup> Item, Carmen Buco Colphurnii [Bucolicum Calphurnii].<sup>67</sup> Item, a paper boke. Item, Epistles from Seneca to Paule. Item, aponapis[?] of Mr. Monsons. Item, a Frenche boke of Christ and the Pope. Item, a boke of Arthmetrik in Lattyn. Item, a Tragidie in Anglishe of the unjust supremicie of the Bisschope of Rome. Item, a Play of Love [by John Heywood]. Item, a play called the 4 pees [P's by Heywood]. Item, a play called Old Custome. Item, a play of the Weither [by Heywood]. Item, a boke to write the Roman hand. Item, a paper boke of Synonimies. Item, a Greke Grammar. Item, a Catachismus. Item, Apothegmata. Item, the Debate between the Heraldes [? *temp.* Richard II., recently published]. Item, Tullis Office. Item, Sententie Veterum Poetarum. Item, a boke of Phisick, in Greeke. Item Aurilius Augustinus. Item, a boke of Conceits. Item, a Italian boke. Item, a Italian boke. Item, ad Herenium. Item, a Terence. Item, an Exposition of the Crede, in French. Item, a Testament in Frenche, covered with black velvet. Item, an Anglishe Testament. Item, 3 little tables." Against these books, the consecutive numbers, 2, 4, 8, 16, are placed, denoting the shelves probably on which they stood [? folio, quarto, etc.].<sup>68</sup>

It will be noticed that the solid works here are schoolbooks, presumably accumulated for one or more of the children. There is nothing to indicate any particular interest in any other form of learning or literature. Northumberland doubtless felt it to be the proper thing to see that his children had the polite drubbing of the day, and in accord with his official duty Ascham makes the most of the fact as he performs the rhetorical honors of the occasion. No doubt Soranzo was quite correct as to Dudley's real interests, and as to his management of Edward.

<sup>62</sup> Probably one volume of a two-volume set of Cicero.

<sup>63</sup> The Virgil item is evidently an abbreviation of some such title as "P. Vergilii Maronis Bucolicorum, Georgicorum, et Aeneidos," etc., the "Locci" being probably some form of abbreviation of "Bucolicorum;" it is not likely that Horace is involved (cf. B. M. Catalogue for such an edition at Basle in 1534, the only one of this type there given).

<sup>64</sup> Most likely "Anthonij Luschi Vicentini. . . Inquisitio sup xi. orationes Ciceronis ad fratrem suum."

<sup>65</sup> "Sidrach le grant philosophe Fôtaine de toutes sciences Contenant mille nonante & quatre demâdes et les solutiōs dicelles," etc.

<sup>66</sup> Probably Erasmus, D., "A playne and godly expositiō or declaratiō of the cōmune Crede" (U. M. \*1098 from Cambridge University Library; S. T. C. 10504).

<sup>67</sup> Calpurnius Siculus, *Carmen Bucolicum*.

<sup>68</sup> *Hist. MSS Comm.*, Second Report, Appendix, p. 102b from a MS now in the Bodleian.

Thus Edward likely ended his formal education with heart-felt relief in June, 1552. His Journal he laid aside at the end of November, 1552. Nichols suggests that this may have been due to illness, though he adds that Edward's fatal illness is not supposed to have shown itself till the following January. Edward had begun the Journal systematically in March, 1550. I rather suspect that he regarded it also as part of his boyish school duties, and now felt emancipated from it too. It is likely, therefore, that Edward's "Thank God" on June 12, 1552, is his valedictory speech at the end of his formal schooling. It was a fitting one, but it came too late. For it would have required a very strong constitution to withstand such onslaughts, and our verdict can scarcely be other than "dead in the course of duty."<sup>69</sup> It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. It is sometimes only less fearful to fall living into the hands of godly men. Cox and Cheke had consecrated themselves to the task of making a godly king of Edward. And godly they made him—but a king of dust.

<sup>69</sup> It is not likely that Dudley's regime of strenuous physical exertions improved matters at all—one remembers the case of Prince Henry some sixty years later.

## CHAPTER XII

### EDUCATING THE "PRINCE"; PRINCESS ELIZABETH

OUR INFORMATION on Cheke's ideas of education is somewhat enlarged by his voluble pupil and junior colleague, Roger Ascham, who has managed to get the education of Elizabeth accredited to himself. We have no concrete statements concerning the training of Princess Elizabeth in classics until Ascham admires his handiwork after he began "reading" with her in her fifteenth year. Her first known tutor was William Grindal, who, as we have seen, had been recommended by Ascham to Cheke in September 1544, and began his training of Elizabeth not long after.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem clear, however, that Elizabeth had made a fair amount of progress with her Latin before Grindal began his labors about 1544. For Leland, the antiquary, records how at Cheke's direction Elizabeth at Ampthill addressed him in Latin and French, and played for him. As Nichols very shrewdly remarks,

Another Latin poet, the antiquary John Leland, has also left a memorial of a visit paid to the Prince: but, as it is unaccompanied by any praise of Edward's acquirements, we may conclude that Leland saw him in his early childhood, shortly after the first appointment of Cheke to his tuition, and which is the more probable, as the only other notice that has occurred of Edward's being at the honour of Ampthill, is before he had attained his eighth year.<sup>2</sup>

Since Edward was too young, Elizabeth was permitted to put on the exhibition for Leland. To make even a royal effort at doing what Leland attributes to her in 1544 or 1545 she must already have had some two or three years at least of Latin. Presumably, therefore, she had begun her Latin about the usual age, but under whom is apparently unknown.

Since Elizabeth was about eleven when Grindal began his endeavors, she ought already to have had considerable training under some other tutor before Grindal undertook the task, following upon the recommendation by Ascham to Cheke. This first tutor should have given Elizabeth at least the equivalent of the lower half of grammar school in the four years from seven to eleven. Then Grindal should

<sup>1</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, pp. lxxx-lxxxi.

have given the equivalent of upper grammar school in the next four from eleven to about fourteen.

In this latter period, we have another set of verses upon Elizabeth's attainments. Bishop Parkhurst has an epigram addressed to Princess Elizabeth under date of 1547, in which he speaks of having seen her "yesterday." Parkhurst says Elizabeth surpasses the praises of all by many parasangs, and pays his respects to her learning thus:

Lingua taceo quod Gallicam  
 Probè sones & Italam.  
 Taceo quòd & Graecanica  
 Sit lingua ad vnguem cognita.<sup>3</sup>

If the epigram upon Elizabeth was not revised before publication, then we have the word of one who became a bishop that Princess Elizabeth already had her Greek "ad unguem" not later than 1547, while Grindal was still teaching her, and before Ascham began his marvelous work. Since Elizabeth was at the time around fourteen, she ought to have had at least the elements of Greek some years before.

When Grindal died in January, 1548, Ascham, his friend and teacher during almost seven years at St. John's,<sup>4</sup> began maneuvering for the place and got it. Ascham's endeavors should thus have begun at approximately university level. As a matter of fact, we shall see that Elizabeth's studies were on final grammar school work. So it may be that Elizabeth had not received the same zealous training as her older sister Mary or her brother Edward. Or it may be that Elizabeth had proved less "docile." By July, 1549, Ascham was thinking of returning to Cambridge, and before the end of January, 1550, had done so.<sup>5</sup> Since Ascham himself says that he served almost two years, the term of his teaching thus began presumably in or not long after February,<sup>6</sup> 1548, shortly after Grindal's death, when Elizabeth had been fourteen from the preceding September, and ended certainly in or shortly before January, 1550, after Elizabeth was sixteen the preceding September. According to contemporary standards, Elizabeth was thus already a full-grown woman when

<sup>3</sup> *Iohannis Parkhorsti Ludicra siue Epigrammata Iuuenilia* (London, 1573), pp. 46-47. Copy in University of Illinois Library. Parkhurst also has an epigram upon Cox, Cook, and Cheke as tutors of King Edward (*Ibid.*, p. 58). Michael Toxites, *παλαιῶν προπεριουχῆ* (c. 1547), pp. 49-50, has a puff for Elizabeth's study of Latin and Greek, but gives nothing definite (copy in University of Illinois Library, formerly Arundel-Lumley-British Museum).

<sup>4</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 53, 158, 160, 272.

<sup>5</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 167, 174.

<sup>6</sup> Grant says about February, but he may be guessing too.

Ascham began his endeavors. While Ascham had been Grindal's tutor and had himself apparently made suggestions before he became officially tutor of Elizabeth, yet it is clearly absurd to give him the chief credit or discredit for Elizabeth's education. The difficulty is that we have greatly magnified Ascham's own certificate of praise, which he himself a short time later tried to modify slightly, though hardly enough.

Writing to Sturm on April 4, 1550, Ascham praises his endeavors upon this royal maiden, the brightest star of all the learned ladies.

She had me for her tutor in Greek and Latin for two years. . . . She talks French and Italian as well as English: she has often talked to me readily and well in Latin, and moderately so in Greek. When she writes Greek and Latin, nothing is more beautiful than her hand-writing. She is as much delighted with music as she is skilful in the art . . . She read with me almost all Cicero, and great part of Titus Livius; for she drew all her knowledge of Latin from those two authors. She used to give the morning of the day to the Greek Testament, and afterwards read select orations of Isocrates and the tragedies of Sophocles. For I thought that from those sources she might gain purity of style, and her mind derive instruction that would be of value to her to meet every contingency of life. To these I added Saint Cyprian and Melancthon's Common Places, &c., as best suited, after the Holy Scriptures, to teach her the foundations of religion, together with elegant language and sound doctrine. Whatever she reads she at once perceives any word that has a doubtful or curious meaning. She cannot endure those foolish imitators of Erasmus, who have tied up the Latin tongue in those wretched fetters of proverbs. She likes a style that grows out of the subject; chaste because it is suitable, and beautiful because it is clear. She very much admires modest metaphors, and comparisons of contraries well put together and contrasting felicitously with one another. Her ears are so well practised in discriminating all these things, and her judgment is so good, that in all Greek, Latin, and English composition, there is nothing so loose on the one hand or so concise on the other, which she does not immediately attend to, and either reject with disgust or receive with pleasure, as the case may be. I am not inventing anything, my dear Sturm; it is all true.<sup>7</sup>

Sturm was much impressed with the interest that Edward, Elizabeth, and the English nobility were showing in true learning as contrasted with the Germans, and wrote Ascham a very complimentary letter to that effect under the date of September 5, 1550, saying that he intended to mention Elizabeth in one of his forthcoming works,<sup>8</sup> and was sending her and Edward each a little book. No doubt these are the two copies of Sturm's little book, evidently the *De Periodis*,

<sup>7</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. lxiii-lxiv; 191-192.

<sup>8</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 195 ff.

which under date of October 21, 1550, Bucer was sending from Cambridge to Cheke in London. One copy on vellum had been bound, but since the fresh ink had blotted in the binding, the other had been sent unbound.<sup>9</sup> Sturm was moving, "haste, haste, posthaste." So Sturm on November 18, 1550, again wrote Ascham, including a copy of his earlier letter in case it had gone astray, and saying that he had sent a copy of his *De Periodis* to Elizabeth and hears she was much pleased, but King Edward felt that he had not received quite his share of the limelight, since there was a dedicatory preface to Elizabeth. Sturm intended, therefore, to make amends by mentioning Edward in his Aristotelian Dialogues.<sup>10</sup> Sturm also proposed to publish Ascham's original letter and his own answer to it before long. Then Ascham under date of December 14, 1550 suggested that if Sturm had not already sent their letters to print, he would like to see them on some spare page of the Aristotelian Dialogues.<sup>11</sup> He also furnished further material upon Edward and Elizabeth, and added Lady Jane Grey and her faithful *Phaedo*, which has accompanied her ever since, though apparently Ascham was too late to get her written down for a learned woman in this particular examination, but later made amends in his *Scholemaster*. Mildred Cecil also received a push toward fame, but missed the tide. For apparently the letters had already gone to print, since they appeared as *Rogeri Aschami et Joannis Sturmij Epistolae duae, de Nobilitate Anglicana*,<sup>12</sup> attached to *De Educatione Principum*, in a volume which is dated 1551. After Ascham had thought the matter over still further, he wrote to Sturm on January 24, 1551, asking that if the letters were not already in print Sturm would insert a section giving Ascham's pupil Grindal the credit for having laid the foundations in both languages for Elizabeth's attainments.<sup>13</sup> By laying claim to Grindal Ascham consolidated his own claim to having educated Elizabeth. So by 1551 Elizabeth was "in print" for your best scholar, and there was nothing for her to do but act her part—and Elizabeth is one of the best actresses England has produced.

Camden,<sup>14</sup> as became a court historian, in his *Annales* para-

<sup>9</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 215. The blotted vellum volume is now in the British Museum, C. 24. c. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 222-223.

<sup>11</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 224 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Mayor, John E. B., *The Scholemaster, by Roger Ascham*, p. 214. The copy in the British Museum (827. c. 1) lists these on the title-page; but they are not included.

<sup>13</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 272-273.

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Ocland in his *Elizabetha* (1582) presents a glowing but indefinite picture of

phrased this glowing account of Ascham's, sometimes inaccurately, as when he has Elizabeth read Cicero entire, etc. He adds in parentheses to Isocrates that Elizabeth translated two of the orations into Latin, and John Bale, writing shortly after the event, tells which ones, giving also the opening line of each.

Helizabetha, filia regis Henrici Octauī, transtulit,

Isocratis orationem ad Nicoclem de regno,

li. i. 'Qui soliti sunt O Nicocles, vobis regibus.'

Item tertiam orationem Isocratis ad Nicoclem,

li. i. 'Sunt quidam qui grauiter affecti sunt erga lit.'<sup>15</sup>

These translations are not now known to exist.<sup>16</sup> Since a Latin translation of the first oration of Isocrates, that *Ad Demonicum*, was in the Cato collection, used in the first and second forms of grammar school, Elizabeth had been permitted to skip that and had translated its two companion parenetics. Hieronymus Wolfius had already in 1548 produced the Latin translation of Isocrates which together with the Greek was to become a textbook in Elizabethan grammar schools, to be used along with Cicero's orations in the top forms.<sup>17</sup> Ascham was a little later to meet and correspond with and about Wolfius,<sup>18</sup> but there is no indication in these opening words that Elizabeth's version was influenced by that scholar's translation.

In the *Scholemaster*, Ascham himself refers to the method of double translation by which Elizabeth was taught. It is thus neces-

---

Elizabeth's accomplishments, including Latin and Greek—Edward is mentioned too. This panegyric should have given every little boy who read this required text a patriotic urge to learning.

<sup>15</sup> Poole, and Bateson, *Index*, p. 157. Bale did not put this item into print.

<sup>16</sup> Similar exercises upon Isocrates by Jane Lady Lumley, a contemporary of Princess Elizabeth, are to be found in the British Museum; Royal MS. 15. A. IX, Royal MS. 15. A. I, Royal MS. 15. A. II. The Lady had translated the usual orations of Isocrates into Latin, the first to Demonicus, second and third to Nicocles, fourth to Evagoras, and finally the *In Laudem Pacis* (Child, H. H., "Iphigenia at Aulis Translated By Lady Lumley," *The Malone Society Reprints* (1909), p. v). Then from Euripides she had translated the *Iphigenia* into English. In this work she appears to have used the Greek text together with the Latin translation by Erasmus (see Greene, David H., "Lady Lumley and Greek Tragedy," *Classical Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 537-547). Since these were regular exercises under a tutor, it would be unwise to attribute too much to the lady's own schoolgirl knowledge.

<sup>17</sup> The Latin translation of Wolfe seems first to have been printed alone, in August, 1548 (Graesse, *Trésor*, Vol. III, p. 436). The Greek text in 1550, the two together in 1553 (Graesse, *Trésor*, Vol. III, p. 434). The British Museum has Wolfe's copy, with his MS notes, of *Encomium Demosthenis ex Luciano iam primum uersum & aeditum, auctore Philippo Melancthone. Aditae Sont duae grauissimae Orationes Isocratis Latine uersae*, 1533 (B. M.; 11391. b. 37 (4)). It would be interesting to compare this with his own final result.

<sup>18</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 284, 288, 298, etc.



sary to understand Ascham's system as a whole in order to see what he was attempting to do. The fundamental lies in Ascham's particular theory of imitation. He, too, wishes to train his students to write like Cicero, but he argues that the way to do this is not by direct imitation of Cicero, or by studying how successful writers have imitated Cicero. Instead, one should study how Cicero has imitated the Greeks, Demosthenes, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle's rhetoric, and so by following the same models according to the same principles become another Cicero.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, one would do well to compare Caesar with Xenophon, Sallust with Thucydides, Livy with Polybius, Virgil with Homer, Horace with Pindar, and Seneca with Sophocles and Euripides. When one sees how Cicero has followed others, he will then understand how to follow Cicero. It is useless to seek in Latin alone what Cicero himself could not find there, but had to turn to the Greek. Cicero can be imitated truly only when he is placed on the background of his Greek models.

Ascham's system thus becomes a comparative method of study, involving not merely Cicero and his Greek models, but also all comparable Latin and Greek authors, the idea being to arrive at the underlying fundamental principle. Consequently, Ascham demands not only the principle but also the concrete illustration of the principle. So he wished a book gathered of these comparative examples, and considered it the one thing further needful to complete the apparatus for the proper study of imitation in authors. Here, too, there had been many scattered examples of the proper type. Specifically, Cheke and Sturm had come nearest to Ascham's ideal of the proper theory for true imitation.

But if a man would take this paine also, whan he hath layd two places, of *Homer* and *Virgill*, or of *Demosthenes* and *Tullie* together, to teach plainlie withall, after this sort.

1. *Tullie* reteyneth thus moch of the matter, thies sentences, thies wordes:

2. This and that he leaueth out, which he doth wittellie to this end and purpose.

3. This he addeth here.

4. This he diminisheth there.

5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there.

6. This he altereth and changeth, either, in propertie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one, or other conuenient

<sup>19</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. II, pp. 178 ff. Erasmus had stated this as the true principle, though he did not formulate a method of application (Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 1002).

circumstance of the authors present purpose. In thies fewe rude English wordes, are wrapt vp all the necessarie tooles and instrumentes, wherewith trewe *Imitation* is rightlie wrought withall in any tonge. Which tooles, I openlie confesse, be not of myne owne forging, but partlie left vnto me by the cunnigest Master, and one of the worthiest Jentlemen that euer England bred, Syr *John Cheke*: partelie borrowed by me out of the shoppe of the dearest frende I haue out of England, *Io. St.*<sup>20</sup>

Cheke had been Ascham's master, and doubtless both master and pupil had been to some extent influenced in their pedagogical philosophy by the ideas of Sturm. His ideas from Sturm Ascham derives specifically from the *De Amissa Dicendi Ratione*, first published in 1538, and the *Nobilitas Literata*, 1549.<sup>21</sup> Ascham considered that the *Nobilitas*<sup>22</sup> showed the proper theory and the *De Amissa Dicendi Ratione* furnished concrete illustration of the proper comparative method.<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact, the earlier book does both. The only thing now needed was a separate collection of these and similar materials from approved authors to serve as a proper textbook. Ascham outlines at length the specifications for this work, which he proposed to gather, though death intervened.<sup>24</sup>

This comparative method, based upon the best models only, should be prepared for from the very beginning of school work. So in the *Scholemaster* Ascham is showing how to apply it in the contemporary grammar school organization. The solution proposed was simply that which Cicero himself had made in *De Oratore* for the studying of Greek, and which Ascham christened double-translation. Ascham proposed first to apply this method to Latin-English based on Cicero, and thence to work to Cicero's Greek-Latin method. Quintilian had also agreed that one should begin with the Greek. Since, most perversely, English boys were born to speak English,

<sup>20</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), pp. 47v-48r. Cheke and Sturm had themselves borrowed out of the shop of Quintilian, Book X, Chapter IV, "De emendatione."

<sup>21</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 50r; Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. II, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>22</sup> An English translation of the *Nobilitas* by T. B. was published in 1570, the year of publication for Ascham's *Scholemaster*.

<sup>23</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. II, p. 183.

<sup>24</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), pp. 51v, ff. Of course, Ascham was anti-Ramistic, since he wanted only the pure originals of Cicero and the Greeks. Cicero had condemned paraphrase; but Quintilian, as Ascham alleges, seeking to dissent wherever possible from Tully, approves of it highly, "and so do *Ramus* and *Talaeus* euen at this day in *France* to." Ascham then prophesies a bad end for those who dissent from Cicero and Aristotle, witnessing the sad case of a heretical student at Cambridge. "But to leaue these hie pointes of diuinitie, surelie, in this quiet and harmeles controuersie, for the liking, or misliking of *Paraphrasis* for a yong scholer, euen as far, as *Tullie* goeth beyond *Quintilian*, *Ramus*, and *Talaeus*, in perfite Eloquence, euen so moch, by myne opinion, cum they behinde *Tullie*, tor trew iudgement in teaching the same" (Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 34r).

not Latin, Ascham proposed as a practical necessity the intermediate stage of Latin-English to give one Latin so that he might be prepared to follow the Roman system of imitating the Greeks which had proved so satisfactory in producing Tully and other great Latin writers. One might then hope at best to produce a Greek, at worst a Roman!

We may now review briefly Ascham's grammar school to see how he proposed to fit this pedagogic philosophy into the current system. Ascham would begin by having the child start memorizing thoroughly the first part of the grammar as was regular, but only the Accidence and the three concords, not the English rules.

After the childe hath learned perfitlie the eight partes of speach, let him then learne the right ioyning together of substantiues with adiectiues, the nowne with the verbe, the relatiue with the antecedent (p. 1r).

But he would then depart from the system by avoiding the making of Latins and by deferring the speaking of Latin until the pupil had a store of first rate Latin to use.

And in learninge farther hys Syntaxis, by mine aduice, he shall not vse the common order in common scholes, for making of latines: wherby, the childe commonlie learneth, first, an euill choice of wordes, (and right choice of wordes, saith *Caesar*, is the foundation of eloquence) than, a wrong placing of wordes: and lastlie, an ill framing of the sentence, with a peruerse iudgement, both of wordes and sentences. These faultes, taking once roote in yougthe, be neuer, or hardlie, pluckt away in age (p. 1r).

On similar grounds, Ascham condemns the early speaking of Latin; it will be remembered that after the first year in grammar school, the boy was supposed to use Latin only, unless indeed he wished to use Greek or Hebrew. Ascham objects,

All this while, by mine aduise, the childe shall vse to speake no latine: For, as *Cicero* saith in like mater, with like wordes, *loquendo, male loqui discunt*. And, that excellent learned man, *G. Budaeus*, in his Greeke Commentaries, sore complaineth, that whan he began to learne the latin tonge, vse of speaking latin at the table, and elsewhere, vnadvisedlie, did bring him to soch an euill choice of wordes, to soch a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the daies of his life afterward, both for redinesse in speaking, and also good iudgement in writinge (p. 2v).

By double-translation, Ascham proposed to teach the boy true grammar and perfect style without any bad habit—except, a modern would object, that of utter unoriginality.

There is a waie, touched in the first booke of *Cicero De Oratore*, which, wisely brought into scholes, truely taught, and cōstantly vsed, would not onely take wholly away this butcherlie fear in making of latines, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easie vnderstandyng of the tonge, a readines to speake, a facilitie to write, a true iudgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what tonge so euer he doth vse.

The waie is this. After the three Concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read vnto hym the Epistles of *Cicero*, gathered together and chosen out by *Sturmius*, for the capacitie of children.

First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause, and matter of the letter: then, let him construe it into Englishe, so oft, as the childe may easilie carie awaie the vnderstanding of it: Lastlie, parse it ouer perfitlie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both construe and parse it ouer againe: so, that it may appeare, that the childe douteth in nothing, that his master taught him before. After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompe him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his latin booke, and pausing an houre, at the least, than let the childe translate his owne Englishe into latin againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with *Tullies* booke, and laie them both together: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of *Tullies* wordes, let the master praise him, and saie here ye do well. For I assure you, there is no such whetstone, to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learninge, as is praise.

But if the childe misse, either in forgetting a worde, or in chaunging a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not haue the master, either froune, or chide with him, if the childe haue done his diligence, and vsed no trewandship therein. For I know by good experience, that a childe shall take more profit of two fautes, ientlie warned of, then of foure thinges, rightly hitt. For than, the master shal haue good occasion to saie vnto him. *N. Tullie* would haue vsed such a worde, not this: *Tullie* would haue placed this worde here, not there: would haue vsed this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender: he would haue vsed this moode, this tens, this simple, rather than this compound: this aduerbe here, not there: he would haue ended the sentence with this verbe, not with that nowne or participle, &c.

In these fewe lines, I haue wrapped vp, the most tedious part of Grammer: and<sup>25</sup> also the ground of almost all the Rewles, that are so busilie taught

<sup>25</sup> There is a manuscript of the first book of the *Scholemaster* in the British Museum; Royal MS. 18. B. XXIV—n. 2. It represents an earlier stage of the work, to which many characteristic additions have been made for the printed version. I have noted essential differences between it and my quotations from the printed form. In the present quotation, the MS lacks "and also the ground . . . common Scholes." Most of the applications to the common schools in this first book have been added later, evidently in a revision looking toward publication. See Parks,

by the Master, and so hardlie learned by the Scholer, in all common Scholes: which after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholer shall learne without great paine: the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholer being brought into so plaine and easie a waie. And<sup>26</sup> therefore, we do not contemne Rewles, but we gladlie teach Rewles: and teach them, more plainlie, sensiblie, and orderlie, than they be commonlie taught in common Scholes. For whan the Master shall compare *Tullies* booke with his Scholers translation, let the Master, at the first, lead and teach his Scholer, to ioyn the Rewles of his Grammer booke, with the examples of his present lesson, vntill the Scholer, by him selfe, be hable to fetch out of his Grammer, euerie Rewle, for euerie Example: So, as the Grammer booke be euer in the Scholers hand, and also vsed of him, as a Dictionarie, for euerie present vse. This is a liuely and perfite waie of teaching of Rewles: where the common waie, vsed in common Scholes, to read the Grammer alone by it selfe, is tedious for the Master, hard for the Scholer, colde and vncumfortable for them bothe (pp. 1r-2r).

So the boy learns his *Syntax* through the usage of the best writers, using his grammar only as a handbook to explain difficult points as they arise.<sup>27</sup> He does not attempt to construct analytically by its rules as in the making of Latins. He learns to speak and write only in phraseology which had been used by the best writers. He forms his habits by imitating the best; he cannot err.<sup>28</sup>

Lord Burghley, Cheke's brother-in-law, in writing to his own son at Cambridge attributes the basic device of this system of double translation to Cheke.

I know nothing I would have you more use than writing. And now that I have made mention thereof, I will therein likewise tell you my mind. In writing, to seek variety of invention, to make choice of words and phrases, to use apt examples, and good imitation, I know to be very good things; but if you follow the trade of Sir John Cheke (who was one of the sweetest flowers that hath come in my time out of the garden you grow in,) you cannot do better. One manner of his, amongst divers excellent, was this, to appoint those that were under him, and that he desired should most profit, to take a piece of Tully, and to translate it into English, and after (laying their books aside) to translate the same again into Latin, and then to compare them with the book, and to consider which were done aptly or improperly;

---

George B., "The First Draft of Ascham's *Scholemaster*," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 313 ff. My own work upon the manuscript had been done before this article appeared. The University of Illinois Library has a photographic facsimile of the Ascham MS.

<sup>26</sup> MS does not include from here to end of quotation.

<sup>27</sup> In 1544, Ascham had already expressed forcibly his distaste for teaching boys grammar (Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 42), and he had refused several offers to do such tutoring.

<sup>28</sup> Ascham and Erasmus disagreed here fundamentally, for Erasmus thought that boys should read the poets first and not attempt the imitation of Cicero till they have mastered the precepts of rhetoric (Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 1024).

and how near Tully's phrase was followed in the Latin, and the most sweet and sensible writing in English; continuing this kind for two or three years, you shall come to write (as he did) singularly in both tongues, which is most necessary and most commendable.<sup>29</sup>

It would seem clear, then, that not only Ascham's general method of imitation, but also his specific device for applying double translation both derive through Cheke, the device going back at least to the latter 'thirties when Burghley and Ascham were subjected to it with and under Cheke at Cambridge. Ascham has fitted the device into the grammar school routine, as the instructions prefixed to the grammar at least as early as 1548 had already done in less extreme form. In grammar school, the boy regularly was taught in the master's lecture to construe, parse, and translate his lesson. He then spent the remainder of the morning memorizing the lesson, and at afternoon rendered it again. In Ascham's method, the master construes and parses, and the child immediately repeats to make certain that he knows the lesson. This attained, the child then writes the English translation, which as Ascham himself points out elsewhere is only the construction. Then after an interval the child takes his English translation and from it attempts to reproduce in writing the original Latin exactly in detail. The check upon the child is individual and exact, and the final stage leaves out the analytical intermediary of parsing and construction, throwing the emphasis upon the chief objective, which was an exact reproduction of Cicero.<sup>30</sup> One may be puzzled to know why direct memorization of Cicero with English translation would not have served as well; and that, as we shall see, was in effect Ascham's final stage of the principle. Another similar device carried to its logical extreme by Dr. George Webbe was, omitting grammar wholly, to memorize all the phrases in the best authors, and so to have at least impeccably correct phraseology for everything. And Dr. Webbe got his idea patented!<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *An Essay On A System of Classical Instruction* (1829), pp. 42-43.

<sup>30</sup> A method of about 1520 pointed out by Watson, *Grammar Schools*, pp. 403 ff. is only an attempt to show one how to master the grammar school methods through an English translation without the aid of a teacher.

<sup>31</sup> The University of Illinois has an apparently unique copy of the first heir of Dr. Webbe's invention, "Lessons and Exercises Out of Cicero Ad Atticum. . . . After the Method of Dr. Webbe, Lately priuilegged by Patent from his Maiestie for 31. yeeres. And are to be sold by euery Master licensed to teach by that way. As by M<sup>r</sup> Sherley in Rose-alley, at the vpper end of Holborne, towards Grayes-Inne Fields. M<sup>r</sup> Clarke in Fetter-lane, now teaching at the Church of S<sup>t</sup> Dunstane in the West. M<sup>r</sup> Wastell in Harpe-lane, at the further end of the Church of S<sup>t</sup> Dunstane in the East, and others. Imprinted at London by F. K. An. Domini 1627." "M<sup>r</sup> Sherley" is the dramatist of that name. After the Cicero, Dr. Webbe prepared next the

But to return to Ascham, he would apply the same method to other lower grammar school authors approved for imitable purity of language.

With this waie, of good vnderstanding the mater, plaine construinge, diligent parsinge, dailie translatinge, cherefull admonishinge, and heedefull amendinge of faultes: neuer leauinge behinde iuste praise for well doinge, I would haue the Scholer brought vp withall, till he had red, & translated ouer y<sup>e</sup> first booke of Epistles chosen out by *Sturmius*, with a good peece of a Comedie of *Terence* also. (p. 2v).

The boy should now have sufficient stores to begin speaking in the phrase of Tully and Terence, the two great models of literary excellence. So Ascham proposes to be rid of the various forms of phrase books by which Latins were made and colloquial Latinity attained, and to come directly to Tully and Terence.

The authorized grammar had already made a considerable start in this direction. It had instructed,

Whan [th]ese concordres be well knowen vnto them, an easy and a plea[s]ant payne, yf the forgroundes be well and throughely beaten [in], let them not continue in learnyng of theyr rules orderly all, as they lye in their syntax, but rather learne some prety book[e] wherein is conteyned not onely the eloquence of the tungue, [but] also a good playne lesson of honestee and godlynnesse, and th[er]of take some littell sentence, as it lyeth, and learne to ma[ke] that same first out of englyshe into latin, not seyng the boke, [or] construyng it thervpon: And yf there falle any necessary rule [of] the syntaxe to be knowen, than to learne it, as the occasion [of] the sentence geueth cause that daie. Whyche sentence on[ce] made well, and as nyghe as can bee with the woordes of t[he] booke, than to take the booke and construe it, and so shall he [be] least troubled with the parsyng of it, and easilyest carry his le[s]son in mynde.

The structure and phraseology of this passage show that Ascham is modelling on this bit of direction in the grammar. Here too the boy is to be given some book of godly morality in excellent Latin: The teacher gives the English, which the boy turns into Latin, using his *Syntax* only when necessary, but memorizing each time the necessary rules. When the boy has attained the Latin, he then takes the Latin book, construes, parses, and translates the passage. Here

---

*Confabulatiunculae* of Evaldus Gallus, the only copy of which I know is at Huntington Library. Both of these works are mentioned in the preface to the *Andria* of Terence, which was followed by the *Eunuchus*. In the Cicero, Dr. Webbe still tolerates the grammar, but by the time he comes to Terence he has conceived the idea of a clausulary from Terence, supplemented by one from other good authors, which would be "the most perfect, practick, and perpetuall Grammar of all others." I have not looked up his patent.

again is the influence, if not the hand, of Sir John Cheke in these instructions. The fact that Ascham echoes the phraseology is also suspicious. Ascham reverses the stages of these instructions; the boy goes first from the Latin to the English, then returns from the English to the Latin. The boy is thus not permitted to contaminate himself with an unnecessary number of false guesses before he arrives at truth. If he memorizes the Latin properly in the first place, he can return to it correctly from the corresponding English in the second.

In these instructions of about 1545 from the authorized grammar and in the current practice of the grammar schools on which we can check, we get a pragmatic test for Ascham's criticisms of educational methods. Ascham is forever flogging the dead horses of his youth in the North. He is neither a competent nor a fair witness as to the grammar schools of his own day. As a matter of fact, he is not speaking of the organized grammar schools at all, but of general conditions outside of them. Ascham was a university teacher and private tutor of royalty and nobility. He is in the tradition of educating the Prince. In fairness to Ascham, however, it should be pointed out that he is consciously speaking of such individualized education; and by his exhortations to these young gentlemen to bestir themselves since the poor boys are winning all the good places, Ascham is unconsciously paying tribute to those who were trained by the grammar school methods, were those methods good, were they bad, were they effective, were they ineffective. With his theories of individual education for "the Prince," Ascham would have been as helpless and hopeless had he faced the problem of relative mass education in the grammar schools, as he was in the other practical affairs of life.<sup>32</sup> Most of the reforms in methods which Ascham advocates had already essentially been long embodied in the established grammar schools, though outside of them conditions were probably not much improved from what they had been in Ascham's youth.

After double-translation, Ascham insists the boy must note six points.

But, to go forward, as you perceiue, your scholer to goe better and better on awaie, first, with vnderstanding his lesson more quicklie, with passing [parsing] more readelie, with translating more spedelie and perfitlie then he was wonte, after, giue him longer lessons to translate: and withall, begin

<sup>32</sup> Brinsley knew the weakness of Ascham's theories for schools; "or at least, they haue specially fitted their course, for the instruction of two or thre alone, to be trained vp in priuate houses, as our renowned *Maister Askam*" (Brinsley, John, *A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles*, p. 22).



to teach him, both in nownes, & verbes, what is *Proprium*, and what is *Translatum*, what *Synonymum*, what *Diuersum*, which be *Contraria*, and which be most notable *Phrases* in all his lecture.

As:

<i>Proprium.</i>	{ <i>Rex Sepultus est</i> <i>magnificè.</i>
<i>Translatum.</i>	{ <i>Cum illo principe,</i> <i>Sepulta est &amp; gloria</i> <i>&amp; Salus Republicae.</i>
<i>Synonyma.</i>	{ <i>Ensis, Gladius.</i> <i>Laudare, praedicare.</i>
<i>Diuersa.</i>	{ <i>Diligere, Amare.</i> <i>Calere, Exardescere</i> <i>Inimicus, Hostis.</i>
<i>Contraria.</i>	{ <i>Acerbū &amp; luctuosum</i> <i>bellum.</i> <i>Dulcis &amp; laeta</i> <i>Pax.</i>
<i>Phrases.</i>	{ <i>Dare verba.</i> <i>abijcerē obedientiam.</i> (pp. 3r and v)

These the boy records in a third paper book.

This diligent translating, ioyned with this heedefull marking, in the fore-said Epistles, and afterwarde in some plaine Oration of *Tullie*, as, *pro lege Manil: pro Archia Poeta*, or in those three *ad C. Caes*: shall worke soch a right choise of wordes, so streight a framing of sentences, soch a true iudgement, both to write skilfullie, and speake wittellie, as wise men shall both praise, and maruell at (p. 4r).

After the scholar can translate and mark his six points,

Than take this order with him: Read dayly vnto him, some booke of *Tullie*, as the third booke of Epistles chosen out by *Sturmius*, *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, or that excellent Epistle conteinyng almost the whole first booke *ad Q. fra*: some Comedie of *Terence* or *Plautus*: but in *Plautus*, skilfull choice must be vsed by the master, to traine his Scholar to a iudgement, in cutting out perfetelie ouer old and vnproper wordes: *Caes. Commentaries* are to be read with all curiositie, [where]in specially without all exception to be made, either by frende or foe, is seene, the vnspotted proprietie of the Latin tong, euen when it was, as the *Grecians* say, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the hiest pitch of all perfitenesse: or some Orations of *T. Liuius*, such as be both longest and plainest.

These bookes, I would haue him read now, a good deale at euery lecture: for he shall not now vse dalie translation, but onely construe againe, and parse, where ye suspect, is any nede: yet, let him not omitte in these bookes,

his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writyng orderlie out his six pointes. And for translating, vse you your selfe, euery second or thyrday, to chose out, some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde: and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and than giue it him to translate into Latin againe: allowyng him good space and tyme to do it, both with diligent heede, and good aduisement. Here his witte shalbe new set on worke: his iudgement, for right choice, trewlie tried: his memorie, for sure retyning, better exercised, than by learning, any thing without the booke: & here, how much he hath proffited, shall plainly appeare. When he bringeth it translated vnto you, bring you forth the place of *Tullie*: lay them together: compare the one with the other:<sup>22</sup> commend his good choice, & right placing of wordes: Shew his faultes iently, but blame them not ouer sharply: for, of such missings, ientlie admonished of, procedeth glad & good heed taking: of good heed taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after, groweth to perfittnesse, if this order, be diligentlie vsed by the scholer & iently handled by the master: for here, shall all the hard pointes of Grämer, both easely and surelie be learned vp: which, scholers in common scholes, by making of Latines, be groping at, with care & feare, & yet in many yeares, they scarce can reach vnto them (pp. 31r-31v).

Then follows Ascham's experience "whan I was yong, in the North," upon which he is basing his charges against the common schools. A very good reason why the complete system would prove effective upon the boy Ascham states thus,

or he haue cōstrued, parced, twise trāslated ouer by good aduise-mēt, marked out his six pointes by skilfull iudgement, he shall haue necessarie occasion, to read ouer euery lecture, a dosen tymes, at the least (pp. 31v-32r).

In this second stage, Ascham does not force the boy to double-translate all his authors as he had done before. For these authors are not Tully and Terence; so are not to be ground into the boys to the same extent. Now the boys translate their authors, only construing and parsing them wherever necessary. They also mark out the six points, etc. Their written and spoken style, however, must continue to be exercised on Tully. So double-translation is adapted into a form which permits a bit more of originality. Now the boys do not begin

<sup>22</sup> "Sumo mihi partem aliquam ex eo, quae magis libeat, eam illi in nostrum sermonem dicto, quam mihi latinam ut faciat, iubeo, paret, refert, corrigetur. quo sedulo perfecto Ciceronis locum affero integrum, confero, discipulum, quae eius sunt, doceo, quae communia cum Cicerone, hortor, sic reliqua. ubi is sit paulo pressior, contra Cicero ornatior, uberius, admonco, ut monitus alius meminerit suadeo," etc. (Bartholomaei Riccii *De Imitatione Libri Tres* (Venice, 1545), p. 85v).

from the Latin, but from a translation "into plaine naturall English" of a passage from Tully which they do not know. Their problem now is to hit the very words of Tully by analogy from the corpus of Tully which they have already memorized.

Results from this method were not pleasing to Brinsley, for the boys must have shown positive genius in their ability to miss Tully's very phrase, and must have proved a most severe strain on the schoolmaster's temper, in spite of Ascham's admonition to be gentle. So Brinsley tries to put the boys into further leading strings by giving them an English translation so phrased and ordered that through the application of a set of mechanical rules they could get no other than the pre-determined Latin. The difficulty is, of course, that Brinsley's Englishes are not English, as anyone may see for himself by trying to read these English translations without the Latin. No wonder Brinsley could not trust the ordinary schoolmasters to construct proper Englishes; they would construct them in English, as Ascham still permitted them to do. Brinsley expected the boys to translate words; Ascham expected them to translate ideas in equipollent phraseology from Cicero. Life must have contained many moments of disappointment for both.

Having passed through these two closely imitative stages, the pupil, according to Ascham, may be permitted a jealously guarded third stage, which borders upon original composition, and so is dangerous to Tullian purity of style. Finally,

Whan, by this diligent and spedie reading ouer, those forenamed good booke of *Tullie*, *Terence*, *Caesar*, and *Liuius*, and by this second kinde of translating out of your English, tyme shall breed skill, and vse shall bring perfection, than ye may trie, if you will, your scholer, with the third kinde of translation: although the two first wayes, by myne opinion, be, not onelie sufficient of them selues, but also surer, both for the Masters teaching, and scholers learnyng, than this third way is: Which is thus. Write you in English, some letter, as it were from him to his father,<sup>24</sup> or to some other frende, naturallie, according to the disposition of the child, or some tale, or fable, or plaine narration, according as *Aphthonius* beginneth his exercises of learning, and

<sup>24</sup> "The writing of Latin letters to their fathers, appears to have been a common exercise enjoined to the scholars of Shakspeare's age. Thus in the *Mastive*, or *Young Whelp* of the *Old Dogge* [a collection of epigrams and satires], 4to. 1615, Signat. D. verso:

'Who dares say *Doltas* speaketh barbarisme,  
That scholar-like, can make a syllogisme;  
Can cap a verse which may deserve commend,  
And hath his grammer rules at's finger's ende;  
Can write a 'pistle to his dad in Latin,' &c."

(Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. II, p. 103n.). See Kempe, etc.

let him translate it into Latin againe, abiding in soch place, where no other scholer may prompe him. But yet, vse you your selfe soch discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compas, both for wordes and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heede, lest your scholer do not better in some point, than you your selfe, except ye haue bene diligentlie exercised in these kindes of translating before (p. 32r).

The second stage of translation recommended by Ascham is also adapted from the grammar, and the third is an even freer adaptation. In this second stage, the boy is given an English translation of a Latin passage he has not seen. By analogy with what he has already learned, he must now reproduce the Latin exactly. But he is not to be troubled with the parsing and construction of the Latin, as the grammar directs, unless it is absolutely necessary. The analytical is removed so far as possible in favor of the imitative. The third method was still less capable of imitative check, and so Ascham is suspicious of it. William Kempe will later philosophize the stages involved in the imitative process as four, first precept, second example, third imitation with example, fourth imitation without example. Imitation without example approached too closely to analytical and original thinking to suit Ascham. Ascham proposes to use regular grammar school authors, Tully, Terence, Caesar, Livy (orations); and he proposes to use in prose composition the regular stages of epistles, and the fourteen minor forms of Aphthonius, leading to orations as the capstone. This is regular grammar school practice for prose.

It will be seen that Ascham throughout is a stylist, interested in imitative purity of form almost solely and in content comparatively little. Consequently, he falls under the censure of Sir Francis Bacon, who in the next century says,

So that these four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affectionate study of eloquence and copie of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily to an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the flowing and watery vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop, to be in price. Then did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero the orator and Hermogenes the rhetorician, besides his own books of periods and imitation and the like. Then did Car of Cambridge,

and Ascham, with their lectures and writings, almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, and allure all young men that were studious unto that delicate and polished king of learning. Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo; *Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone*, [I have spent ten years in reading Cicero:] and the echo answered in Greek, *one, Asine*. Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous. In sum, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards copie than weight.<sup>86</sup>

Sir Francis has relied too much upon his own *invention* here to be trusted fully as a historian, and the reader will get a somewhat different and much more correct account of origins in Sabbadini's *Storia Del Ciceronianismo . . . Nell' Età Della Rinascenza*. Like a good Elizabethan, Bacon has written history as it ought to have been in order to prove his point. But he does know that Ascham was much influenced by Sturm, who had labored long on rhetorical purity. And one who has suffered from much of this empty and inflated Ciceronianism will doubtless sympathize heartily with Bacon—and Queen Gertrude in *Hamlet*—in demanding “more matter with less art.” Yet after all, the balance between matter and art is relative; what would have pleased Queen Gertrude, might displease Sir Francis or us. So we had best be content merely to record Ascham's objectives and modes of attaining them, without undue heat.

Knowing Ascham's system, we are now prepared to understand his tactics with Elizabeth in 1548–50. As we have seen, he was exercising her in Cicero, the orations of Livy, and Isocrates, showing that she was in the final stages of Ascham's system. Since, according to Ascham, the objective of the grammar school was to shape the orator, then oratory would form the final work. In this final stage, therefore, one would study Cicero's orations upon the background of Isocrates and Demosthenes especially, with some glance at other Greeks. Preceding stages should lead to this objective. And in the *Scholemaster* Ascham himself refers to this work of Elizabeth in illustration of the final stages of his system.

And a better, and nerer example herein, may be, our most noble Queene *Elizabeth*, who neuer toke yet, Greeke nor Latin Grammer in her hand, after the first declining of a nowne and a verbe, but onely by this double translating of *Demosthenes* and *Isocrates* dailie without missing euerie forenone, and likewise som part of *Tullie* euery afternone, for the space of a yeare or two, hath atteyned to soch a perfite vnderstanding in both the tonges, and to soch a readie vtterance of the latin, and that wyth soch a iudgement, as

<sup>86</sup> Spedding, James, *The Works of Francis Bacon* (1900), Vol. VI, pp. 119–120.

they be fewe in number in both the vniuersities, or els where in England, that be, in both tonges, comparable with her Maiestie. And to conclude in a short rowme, the commodities of double translation, surelie the mynde by dailie marking, first, the cause and matter: than, the wordes and phrases: next, the order and composition: after the reason and argumentes: than the formes and figures of both the tonges: lastelie, the measure and compas of euerie sentence, must nedes, by litle and litle drawe vnto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth vse, which is red (pp. 35r-35v).

In this account, written many years later than the first, Ascham omits Livy and substitutes Demosthenes. Since, as we shall see, Ascham was by 1555 reading Demosthenes with Elizabeth and continued for many years so to do, he may be including this later period with the earlier. At any rate, Elizabeth's chief study was on the oration, which was regarded as the pinnacle of the system, both Latin and Greek, with some Sophocles, and with a great deal of religious instruction added. And for the oration Elizabeth was imitating Tully on the background of his Greek models Isocrates and Demosthenes. She had attained the heights of true imitation. But as Ascham himself points out, these are only grammar school heights. We shall see later that this work upon the Latin and Greek oration came regularly in the last year or so of grammar school. Elizabeth was merely completing the work of a "learned grammarian" under one who had no inferiority complex as to his own marvelous methods as a pedagogue.

With purest ignorance and good will Sir Sidney Lee in his notice of Ascham in *D. N. B.* even further paints this blushing rose upon the classical heights attained by Elizabeth under Ascham. But the account of Queen Elizabeth in *D. N. B.* by "The Rev. Canon Augustus Jessopp, D. D." shows some knowledge of the true state of affairs as well as a sense of humor. The year is that following the Seymour escapade, which ended for him on the block March 20, 1549.

Ascham's account of her studies during this year is somewhat droll: She had read 'almost the whole of Cicero and a great part of Livy,' says the pedagogue, but 'with me,' he adds. Not a line of the poets from anything that appears. 'Select orations of Isocrates and the tragedies of Sophocles' were her Greek pabulum. She had even dipped into patristic learning, but here she had been restricted to extracts from St. Cyprian. They who know Ascham's 'Scholemaster' know what his method was, and will understand the significance of those two words 'with me;' and they who know St. Cyprian's writings will wonder how the royal maiden could have deserved to have that christian father's work, 'De Disciplina Virginum,' inflicted

upon her. A letter which she wrote to her brother during this year has been preserved, in which she rashly ventured to quote 'Orace;' unfortunately the line happens to be one of the proverbs of Publius Syrus, and probably culled, according to the fashion of the day, from some commonplace book.

Elizabeth doubtless got the addition to "Orace" when she was reading Cato, with its attendant Publius Syrus in the all-prevalent Erasmus collection, at the very beginning of her scholastic career, and had forgotten the true source. Elizabeth did not care for the fetters of Erasmian proverbs, not even to the extent of knowing their sources.<sup>36</sup> Canon Jessopp has penetrated very nearly to the true state of affairs. John Hooper, who later went to the stake for his opinions, knew what Ascham was about in all this drill upon Melanchthon and the rest. Writing on February 5, 1550, just after the termination of Ascham's efforts, he says,

Our King is such an one for his age as the world has never seen. May the Lord preserve him! His sister [Elizabeth] the daughter of the late King by queen Anne is inflamed with the same zeal for the religion of Christ. She not only knows what the true religion is, but has acquired such proficiency in Greek and Latin, that she is able to defend it by the most just arguments and the most happy talent; so that she encounters few adversaries whom she does not overcome.<sup>37</sup>

Hooper and the reformers generally knew what Cheke and Ascham were attempting to do. All this Latin and Greek was but a means to a very definite religious end. Literature as such was little in their thoughts. Nor did the method of studying sentences from the scriptures such as the collection of Melanchthon fall into disuse. Elizabeth's own injunctions of 1559 direct schoolmasters,

That they shall accustom their scholars reverently to learn such sentences of scriptures, as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness.<sup>38</sup>

When and if the reader manages to get through the present volume, he will do well in the light of the knowledge of the contemporary system thus acquired to reread carefully Ascham's statement. He will then be able to read a great deal between the lines concerning Elizabeth's reactions to the system. In the meantime, he may be

<sup>36</sup> The case is not altered by pointing out that Horace does have a similar sentiment but phrased in wholly different words (*Classical Weekly*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 24). So do most other writers, both living and dead. The fact is that Elizabeth attributes the words, not a sentiment, of Publius Syrus to Horace, however she came to do so.

<sup>37</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. cxl.

<sup>38</sup> Cardwell, E., *Documentary Annals* (1844), Vol. I, p. 227.

amused by one of Ascham's exhortations to Mrs. Astley while Grindal was tutoring the princess.

I wish all increase of virtue and honour to that my good lady whose wit, good Mrs Astley, I beseech you, somewhat favour. The younger, the more tender; the quicker, the easier to break. Blunt edges be dull, and dure much pain to little profit; the free edge is soon turned if it be not handled there-after. If you pour much drink at once into a goblet, the most part will dash out and run over; if you pour it softly, you may fill it even to the top, and so her grace, I doubt not, by little and little, may be increased in learning, that at length greater cannot be required.<sup>39</sup>

Apparently, Elizabeth was not holding her little goblet very steady; early pricks, will be a thorn.<sup>40</sup> Ascham had the right solution for the problem of managing Elizabeth, as we shall see, and he makes that solution a key point in his *Scholemaster* for managing all children. Sufficient for our present purpose to notice that Ascham allows Elizabeth at sixteen exactly what Jonson was later to allow Shakspeare, "small Latine, and lesse Greeke," his words being, "she has often talked to me readily and well in Latin, and moderately so in Greek." And this translation is probably too favorable to the Greek—despite the fact that the Greek had the marvelous benefits of double-translation under the direction of Ascham himself, who is himself evaluating results. At any rate, Ascham gives Elizabeth the standing of a "learned grammarian," which is what Jonson and Beeston allow Shakspeare.

We get no further information on Elizabeth's studies till 1555, when Ascham has resumed with her the reading of Greek orations where he left off in 1550. Ascham began in 1553 an attempt to get placed at court, and on March 7, 1554, received his patent as Latin Secretary to Queen Mary. On September 14, 1555, when Elizabeth

<sup>39</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 86. Ascham has borrowed one of Quintilian's goblets, "Nam ut vascula oris angusti superfluum humoris copiam respuunt, sensim autem influentibus vel etiam instillatis complentur, sic animi puerorum quantum excipere possint videndum est" (Quintilian, *Institutiones*, B I, c. II.).

<sup>40</sup> Poor Mrs. Astley had no bed of roses, "At *Hanworth*, the Quene told this Examinee [Mrs. Astley] that my Lord Admirall loked in at the Galery-Wyndow, and se my Lady *Elizabeth* cast hir Armes about a Man's Neck. The which Heryng, this Examinee enquyred for it of my Lady's Grace, who denyed it weepyng, and bad ax all hir Women: Thei all denyed it: And she knew it could not be so, for there came no Man, but *Gryndall*, the Lady *Elizabeth's* Scholemaster. Howbeit, thereby this Examinee did suspect, that the Quene was gelows betwixt them, and did but feyne this, to thentent that this Examinee shuld take more hede, and be, as it were in wache betwixt hir and my Lord Admirall" (Haynes, Samuel, *A Collection of State Papers* (London, 1740), Vol. I, pp. 99-100). My Lady Elizabeth's Grace was doubtless learning a great deal, but Grindal's part in that phase of her education is pretty well indicated by his almost getting labeled as "no Man."



was just twenty-two, Ascham writes Sturm of his resumed readings with Princess Elizabeth.

The Lady Elizabeth and I . . . are reading together in Greek the Orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes [*περὶ Στεφάνου*]. She reads [to me (*praelegit mihi*)], and at first sight she so learnedly comprehends not only the idiom of the language and the meaning of the orator, but the whole grounds of contention, the decrees [*scita*] of the people, and the customs and manners of the Athenians, as you would greatly wonder to hear.<sup>41</sup>

Under date of April 11, 1562, Ascham again pursues the theme of Elizabeth's learning,

But the glory she derives from herself, and the adornments of talent and learning that she possesses, I have described to you in another letter. I will now only state in addition, that neither at Court, nor in the universities, nor among our heads in church or state, are there four of our countrymen who understand Greek better than the Queen herself.<sup>42</sup> When she is reading Demosthenes or Aeschines, I am very often astonished at seeing her so ably understand, I do not mean, the force of the words, the structure of the sentences, the propriety of the language, the ornaments of oratory, and the harmonious and elegant bearing of the whole discourse; but also, what is of more importance, the feeling and spirit of the speaker, the struggle of the whole debate, the decrees and inclinations of the people, the manners and institutions of every state, and all other matters of this kind. All her own subjects, and very many foreigners, are witnesses to her proficiency in other languages. I was one day present when she replied at the same time to three ambassadors, the Imperial, French, and Swedish, in three languages: Italian to one, French to the other, Latin to the third; easily, without hesitation, clearly, and without being confused, to the various subjects thrown out, as is usual in their discourse.<sup>43</sup>

Some years later Jan van der Noot found this passage useful for a flattering address to Elizabeth.

Nor in respect of youre learning, knowledge, counsell, iudgement, and eloquence, as well in the *Greeke, Latine, Italian, Frenche, Dutch*, as in your owne natural English, and other languages, wherin your grace may be resembled not onely to *Tullie*, and *Demosthenes*, but to *Mercurie*, the God of eloquence, as is apparant by youre Maiesties most apte and wise aunswers giuen in your own person to al Embassadors, and to euery of them in their owne naturall language with a singular dexteritie and princely maiestie, & with maruellous swetenesse of tong.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Aikin, L., *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1818), Vol. I, p. 100; Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 444, 447.

<sup>42</sup> This story appealed so much to Ascham that he enlarged it for the *Scholemaster* (Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 211). There are some slight differences in the MS.

<sup>43</sup> Mumby, F. A., *Elizabeth and Mary Stuart*, p. 225; Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. II, p. 63.

<sup>44</sup> Noot, Jan van der, *A Theatre [for] voluptuous Worldlings* (1569), A 4r.

He added only his own native tongue of Dutch to the list and was careful to leave her leeway for "other languages."

On October 20, 1562, Ascham wrote Sturm that he had never been in greater favor with Elizabeth, "She reads daily with me something in Greek or Latin."<sup>45</sup> A little later we get a vivid glimpse of Queen Elizabeth's reading of Greek with Ascham. In the preface to the *Scholemaster*, Ascham tells how the work had its inception following a conversation at dinner in Sir William Cecil's chamber at Windsor on December 10, 1563.

After dinner I went vp to read with the Queenes Maiestie. We red than together in the Greke tonge, as I well remember, that noble Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Aeschines*, for his false dealing in his Ambassage to king *Philip* of Macedonie. Syr *Rich. Sackuile* came vp sone after: and finding me in hir Maiesties priuie chamber, he tooke me by the hand, & carying me to a windoe, said, M. *Ascham*, I would not for a good deale of monie, haue bene, this daie, absent from diner.<sup>46</sup>

Whereupon Sackville made the proposition out of which the *Scholemaster* grew. Since dinner was then a midday meal, we cannot quite say that Elizabeth's bed-time story was in Greek, but there is a strong analogy in more senses than one.

The general situation is clear. Ascham could not live in reasonable happiness without someone to lecture to. When he went abroad in 1550 as the secretary of Sir Richard Morison, he had read with his master by May 14, 1551, "whole Herodotus, five tragedies, three orations of Isocrates, and seventeen orations of Demosthenes."<sup>47</sup> Even while he was tutoring Elizabeth Ascham evidently did his endeavors upon "John Astely," who in October of 1552 writes to Ascham of "our pleasant studies in readyng together *Aristotles* Rethorike, *Cicero*, and *Liuius*."<sup>48</sup> What ever else he might do, Ascham must be forever proselytizing someone with his beloved Greek. So when upon his return Ascham was in 1553 trying to get settled at court, he wrote, "my desire shall be after my duty duly done in my service, to course over with some man the histories, orators, and philosophers of both the tongues."<sup>49</sup> He regretted Leicester's lack of Greek and even lectured him upon the state of his Latin,<sup>50</sup> though he

<sup>45</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. II, p. 73.

<sup>46</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. B2r. This prefatory material is not in the MS.

<sup>47</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 285; Grant adds to this list.

<sup>48</sup> Ascham, R., *A Report and Discourse . . . of the affaires and state of Germany* (1570; U. M. 10635 from Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup>. C. 25. Th. Seld.; S. T. C. 831).

<sup>49</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 394.

<sup>50</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. II, p. 102.

never succeeded in making a convert of him.<sup>51</sup> But Elizabeth was willing to continue the pose of the most learned of ladies which Ascham in 1550 had arranged for her. So in 1555 they are reading together Aeschines and Demosthenes; they are still at the same authors in 1562, and on December 10, 1563 Ascham is "hanging around" after dinner in the hope of getting a chance to read some Demosthenes with the Queen's Majesty.

To complete the picture, we must remember that Aeschines and Demosthenes, with whom Elizabeth had been flirting all those years, were Ascham's "pettest" hobby. On April 4, 1550, Ascham had suggested to Sturm that he should translate into Latin the contrary orations of these two, after the model of a section he had done in *De Amissa Dicendi Ratione*.<sup>52</sup> When in September, 1550, Sturm explained that his interest in the authors was purely rhetorical,<sup>53</sup> Ascham turned to Sir John Cheke on November 11, 1550, with his problem,<sup>54</sup> but again without results. From a letter of Osorius to Ascham dated December 13, 1561, we learn that Ascham had just made the same suggestion to Osorius without success.<sup>55</sup> So with Elizabeth from at least 1555 through 1563 Ascham is still pursuing his dearest hobby. Elizabeth delighted to pose as the most learned of ladies, and to the end willingly patronized one of the greatest of pedants. Elizabeth continued to act the part the remainder of her days. Likewise, Ascham delighted to pose as the schoolmaster of royalty, and more times than one managed to turn Elizabeth's pedantic vanity into cash. His cue was that the lady should make the reward commensurate with the scholarship she had attained. By this persistent wheedling to Elizabeth's vanity, Ascham fared rather better than most. I suppose Ascham and Elizabeth continued to read Aeschines and Demosthenes until Ascham's death in 1568. When next we hear of Elizabeth's Greek, it is in 1598 Plutarch. This should at least have made her receptive to Shakspeare's *Julius Caesar* in 1599. Had Shakspeare heard the news?

Here is the glowing account, but here also are some hints as to the reality. Fortunately for accuracy, but unfortunately for the magniloquent contemporary accounts of Elizabeth's marvelous attainments,

<sup>51</sup> It appears that Leicester actually made some attempt at Latin, and that Haddon was also a well-wisher to the scheme (*G. Haddoni . . . lucubrationes* (London, 1567, personal, pp. 270 ff.). Of course, Haddon held up Elizabeth to him as a model in such matters (*Ibid.*, pp. 276 ff.).

<sup>52</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 220.

<sup>54</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, pp. 198-199.

<sup>55</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. II, p. 54.

several of her much praised translations have survived.<sup>56</sup> Yet in spite of the evidence of the facts, even scholars sadly retain as much of the golden legend of Elizabeth's great learning as they can. With all his adulatory good will (in which I hope most of us share), even Nichols was forced to say,

Two specimens of these Translations, one from Seneca's Epistles [Epistle cvii, said to date 1567], the other from Tully's [*Ep. ad. Fam.*, II, 6, said to date 1579], are printed in Harrington's "Nugae Antiquae," vol. I, pp. 109, 140; but these will not be found to bear out the hyperbolical praise of Sir Henry Savile, who affirms that "he hath seen some Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Originals."<sup>57</sup>

Another translation from the Latin is of the Chorus from Act II of Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* into English blank verse, said, therefore, to be probably after 1561.<sup>58</sup> Some idea of its quality may be obtained from the following remarks of the editors,

In order to render the pedantic jargon of this paraphrastic version a little more intelligible, the original Latin is here annexed, on the judicious recommendation of Mr. Heber. . . . On the whole, as Mr. Heber has intimated, this royal translation is certainly a curious piece of pedantry; albeit, if we could raise maister Puttenham and the other court critics of Elizabeth's age, from their tombs, they would be driven to a nonplus to defend this Euphuistic labour of their virgin queen from the charge of vying with the fustian of ancient Pistol.

Further comment is probably unnecessary.

Miss Pemberton in her edition of Elizabeth's translations from Boethius in 1593 and from Plutarch and Horace in 1598, has been forced to face the question of Elizabeth's learning most concretely and squarely.

Of the three translations before us that of Boethius is the one which will add most to the Queen's reputation as a scholar: it is tolerably exact and generally very literal. In a few places, as may be seen by reference to the footnotes, the Queen has mistaken the meaning of the Latin text . . . The Queen's handwriting is not always very legible, and she has in many places so heavily corrected her text that it is difficult to make out her meaning . . . In exactitude of translation the three works appear to me to slide down in a descending scale in the order in which they appear, *Boethius* being indiffer-

<sup>56</sup> For a bibliography of Elizabeth's translations, see Craster, H. H. E. in *The English Historical Review* for October 1914, Vol. XXIX, pp. 722-723, and Chamberlin, F. C., *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 286 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Nichols, John, *Elizabeth* (1823), Vol. I, p. x n.

<sup>58</sup> Craster, giving as reference Orford, *Royal and Noble Authors*, ed. Park, 1806, Vol. I, pp. 102-109.

ent, *Plutarch* bad,<sup>59</sup> and *Horace* worse, being in many places absolutely unintelligible, probably because this was the most difficult of the three . . . The "Queen's English" appears to our modern ideas most defective, and her orthography to have been untrammelled by any rules whatever . . . It is also interesting to notice the remnants of French spelling . . . Queen Elizabeth's translations are, as we have said, anything but exact, and she sometimes mistakes one Latin or Greek word for another in a way which is surprising in a person who was so well versed in these languages as she appears to have been.<sup>60</sup>

Thus does Miss Pemberton finally beg the question, whence she goes on to console herself with the thought that Elizabeth was at least interested enough to try to translate. In this connection, the reader will do well to remember that William Grindal or some other had probably "read" all these works with Elizabeth when she was young. Since "reading" was a more or less thorough memorization of both original and translation, Queen Elizabeth was doubtless in age to some extent "rendering" the memories of youth. That may be one reason for the progressive deterioration noted by Miss Pemberton in the translations.

Besides the translations so far given, Camden says Queen Elizabeth also translated Sallust *De Bello Jugurthino*. Recently, Dr. Craster has added the surviving manuscript of Cicero's *Pro Marcello* translated into English in the last years of her life.<sup>61</sup>

From the Greek, Nichols, following Walpole, says she translated a play of Euripides into Latin and wrote a comment on Plato.

Her Translation from the Greek, of a Dialogue of Xenophon [Hiero], is printed at length in the Miscellaneous Correspondence of the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1742, No. II [pp. 137-157], with a *facsimile* of an entire page.<sup>62</sup>

Sir Henry Savile is said to have become tutor in Greek to Queen Elizabeth for a time about 1578.<sup>63</sup> I suppose it was in this period that she turned to Xenophon, since this appears to have been Savile's Greek hobby, he eventually publishing an edition of the *Cyropaedia* at Eton in 1613.

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth should have taken a leaf out of Shakspeare's notebook, and have used North's translation of Plutarch—from the French, from the Latin, from the Greek.

<sup>60</sup> Pemberton, Caroline, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings* (E.E.T.S., 1899), pp. x-xii.

<sup>61</sup> Craster, p. 721.

<sup>62</sup> Nichols, *Elizabeth* (1823), Vol. I, p. x n. His reference appears to be wrong. While I have his proofsheets, notes for future insertions, etc., in both the Elizabeth and James, yet he did not preserve this material for the first volume of the Elizabeth. Nor do I find the reference in the first edition of the Elizabeth.

<sup>63</sup> Wood, *Athenae* (1813), Vol. II, p. 311.

Savile has also lauded Queen Elizabeth's scholarly accomplishments. In an oration to Queen Elizabeth at Oxford on September 23, 1592, he says that in spite of numerous enumerated duties,

Te magnam diei partem in gravissimorum autorum scriptis legendis audien-  
disque ponere. Neminem nisi suâ linguâ tecum loqui; te cum nemine nisi  
ipsorum aut omnium communibus Latinâ Graecâque. Omitto plebeios  
philosophos, quos rarò in manus sumis: quoties divinum Platonem animad-  
verti tuis interpretationibus diviniorem effectum! quoties Aristotelis ob-  
scuritates, principis philosophorum, à principe foeminarum evolutas atque  
explicatas! Dicerem liberè, nemini unquam ad sacratissimam Majestatem  
tuam aditum patuisse semidocto, qui non ex tuis sermonibus discesserit  
doctissimus, nisi meae vehementer me poeniteret tarditatis, qui in tam  
illustri scholâ tam parùm profecerim.<sup>64</sup>

This leads to the closing plea that Queen Elizabeth protect learning. We must remember that this tardy pupil of Queen Elizabeth's school not merely is not on his Bible oath, but on the contrary is most definitely upon his oratorical Pegasus, soaring in the empyrean. He could afford to be lavish in Queen Elizabeth's praise; he was well rewarded for it. He himself, as we have seen, is supposed several years earlier to have been Queen Elizabeth's tutor in Greek. Perhaps Queen Elizabeth did write a comment on Plato as Walpole says. Pretty certainly she was posing with Plato and Aristotle around 1592. Who was "teacher" for these?

The year before, Savile in his translation from Tacitus (1591) had already thrown a bouquet of the largest at these translations in general. In his dedication "To Her Most Sacred Maiestie," he mentions "the great account your Highnesse most worthily holdeth this Historie in," and hopes by his halting example

to incite your Maiesty by this as by a foile to communicate to the world, if not those admirable cōpositions of your owne, yet at the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them translations, which haue so infinitelie exceeded the originals) making euident demonstration to all who haue seene them, that as the great actions of Princes are the subiect of stories, so stories composed or amended by Princes, are not onely the best patterne and rule of great actiōs, but also the most naturall Registers thereof, the writers being persons of like degree and of proportionable conceits with the doers, etc.

At least, it is clear that Elizabeth delighted to pose as a lady learned in the classics. The laudatory letters of Ascham were published in 1576, and were not infrequently read in grammar school.

<sup>64</sup> Nichols, *Elizabeth* (1823), Vol. III, p. 167.

The golden legend of Elizabeth's learning grew apace, but we need not record all the various stories. Nor were Ascham and Savile the only ones to capitalize on Elizabeth's vanity. About 1593 the Earl of Essex turned it to the advantage of one Francis Bacon, who was at the time in disfavor.

I told her, what I sought for you was not so much for your good, tho' it were a thing I would seek extremely, and please myself in obtaining, as for her own honour, that those excellent translations of hers might be known to them, who could best judge of them.<sup>65</sup>

"This is no flattery!"

In 1597, Queen Elizabeth complimented herself upon being able to scour up her rusty Latin to put the Polonian ambassador in his place. History does not record that he understood her Latin, but he certainly got her meaning.

On August 4, 1601, not many months before her death, Queen Elizabeth was still displaying the pedantic delight of a child in demonstrating to the antiquarian William Lambarde that with his aid as a special vocabulary on the difficult technical terms she could still read Latin. She had insisted upon receiving Lambarde's *Pandecta* from his own hands, and

opening the book, said, "You shall see that I can read;" and so, with an audible voice, read over the epistle, and the title, so readily, and distinctly pointed, that it might perfectly appear, that she well understood, and conceived the same.<sup>66</sup>

It is clear that till death Queen Elizabeth delighted to pose as a lady learned in the classics; but it is equally clear that with all her advantages, including double-translation directed by Ascham himself, she was yet never much, if any, more than a "learned grammarian." In fact, all this adulatory praise of royal learning reminds one of Dr. Samuel Johnson's dog; the wonder was not that the sovereign learned so well, but that being a sovereign, and a woman to boot, she should trouble to learn at all.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Birch, Thomas, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>66</sup> Nichols, *Elizabeth*, Vol. III, p. 552.

<sup>67</sup> Mary Queen of Scots was also indiscreet enough to leave undestroyed her Latin themes, which have now put her halo of learning somewhat awry (Montaignon, Anatole de, *Latin Themes of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots*, pp. xvii ff).

## CHAPTER XIII

### DEFINITIVE FORM ATTAINED UNDER EDWARD VI

AS WE NOW EXAMINE the grammar school curricula for the reign of Edward VI and the latter half of the century, certain changes appear from those in the reign of Henry VIII. These changes also appear in the system of Cox and Cheke, which they adapted from the grammar school for the training of Edward. In view of the desired uniformity for the grammar school, and in view of the central government and church control, this is not a surprising situation.

But since John Sturm published a scheme in 1538 which has much in common with the education of Edward, and since some of our succeeding curricula show some influence from this printed curriculum, it will be well to insert a brief summary of it here. In 1538, Sturm had put his idea of a grammar school into print as *De Literarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis Liber*. One remembers how from the late 'forties Ascham revered Sturm, and so should not be surprised to find some of the latter writer's ideas applied in English grammar schools.

Sturm begins with the thesis that wise and eloquent piety is the end of studies. He makes two large divisions of his school, one of boyhood, *puericia*, which must be kept under constant supervision, the other of adults, who have more freedom. To the first division he assigns nine years, to the second, five.

So it would come to pass that even if in his seventh year the boy be brought to the masters, yet in his twenty-first he may have proceeded through all the classes.

Some are ready to begin at five, others hardly at seven; so six is a good median age. For boyhood,

Let there be, therefore, nine orders, or curiae, or classes, or even tribes, or whatever you wish to call them, so long as the years are nine. Of these we set apart seven for correct and lucid speech; the remaining two are sufficient for preparing ornament, of which the first precepts are taught in these two classes,

but the exercise and perfection in the upper five years. Sturm had once thought six years sufficient for this work, but experience has



proved nine necessary.<sup>1</sup> So seven years are given to the mother and fourteen to the schoolmaster before the boy is ready at twenty-one to assume the manly duties of matrimony and civic responsibility. Sturm's boy is timed to the needs of the state, not to the degrees of priesthood, which is in itself an important departure. There should be each year a solemn promotion from one class to the next, with all dignitaries present, including parents and friends of the children. The two best in each form should receive some reward. The weaker should be encouraged to contend with the stronger as a proof that the distinction has been justly made. This solemn day of contests, awards, and promotions is to be the Calends of October.

So at five or six the boy should be brought to him who teaches the figures of letters, their conjunctions, and sounds, to which cognition we assign the ninth class, the first and a single year.

Thus the boys of the ninth learn the elements of reading, both silent and oral, and of writing. They are to be exercised in the catechism, but this is to be brief, so that they may quickly proceed to the inflection of nouns and verbs, of which certain and many examples must be selected. In one year they should learn to read and should memorize the common inflections. In any remaining time they may learn some of the easier and shorter letters of Cicero, such as those to his wife Terentia and those to his freedman Tiro. Sturm has made a collection of these.

In the eighth class for the first six months two hours daily are spent on the parts of grammar. The remaining two hours are to be given to the *Eclogues* of Virgil and the *Epistles* of Cicero. The boys should be taught to parse the *Epistles* in detail, but the method of construing is deferred to the second six months, where it occupies two hours daily, the other two being a continuation of the Cicero and Virgil alternately. The boy begins to speak the Latin language and to translate set *sententiae* into Latin. The master ought also to fashion verses, and the boys should imitate them more by custom and exercise than by reason. The boy has thus learned to parse and construe, to begin speaking Latin, and to begin translating into Latin. His subjects for construction have been selected letters from Cicero, and Virgil's *Eclogues*.

In the seventh class, the boys master most of the kinds and inflections of nouns and verbs; they know also the rules of construc-

---

<sup>1</sup> Eventually, he had ten classes.

tion. These they must keep fresh by repetition. They learn the principles of versification, etc. They study Cicero's *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute* for their second hour of work. For the third hour, they study Virgil's *Aeneid*, locating types of verse, but seeking others from Catullus, Tibullus, and Horace, though always guarding chastity in those first two unchaste authors. The fourth hour is given to the pen. The subjects of their assignments are to be taken from their readings that they may know where to get vocabulary and forms of *sententiae*. They must distinguish poetic words and figures from the purity of orators, Cicero and the word of the master to be the standards. For poetry, in the first months they transpose the words of good verses, laboring solely in structure; afterward taking free *sententiae*, but being occupied in the invention and connection of words. The boys, therefore, complete most of the grammar including prosody, and apply it to Cicero's *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute* in prose, to Virgil's *Aeneid*, with aid from Catullus, Tibullus, and Horace for forms of versification. They are also drilled in various forms of compositional exercises.

In all three of these classes, ninth, eighth, seventh, especial attention is to be paid to memory work, for these things should be retained forever. In Cicero and Virgil the boys should memorize at least the things useful for imitation, and probably all. They should memorize something every day just to exercise the memory itself. There should be regular and frequent repetitions. The materials should be systematic. The lectures must not occupy too much time, since the boy must digest the matter. "Four or at the most five, but not fewer than four nor more than five hours must be imposed by the master." One must not exercise in more than three things each day; two are to be preferred.

At his ninth or tenth year, the boy enters the sixth class. Now he refreshes and systematizes in his mind the precepts which he has been taught the preceding three years rather than learns new, unless some things had not previously been mastered. So one hour is spent on the *Aeneid* and what may remain to be done in collecting verses from Catullus, Tibullus, and Horace. Outstanding places are also to be collected from Cicero, examples of argumentation for imitation, and various figures. These three things should be collected in three different notebooks by this class. Other authors may be treated in the same way. Caesar is admitted here to be inserted between Terence and Plautus. Sallust also, but he and Plautus are really better

deferred to the fourth class. After Cicero no one is more useful than Terence for a pure and Roman style. These things will occupy the first two hours. The third hour is devoted to composition. Virgil will aid in verse composition, the three notebooks in prose. The fourth hour is given to correction of the compositions. If any time is left, spend it upon Caesar and Terence alternately.

In the fifth class, the boy repeats his previous precepts and proceeds to the Greek precepts. For the first six months some part of the Greek grammar is learned every day, for the next three Aesop's fables, for the last three the *Olynthiacs* of Demosthenes. This accounts for one hour for the year. A second hour goes to Cicero's *De Officiis*, if the three books which were prescribed for the preceding form have been completed. For the third hour might be devoted to this if it cannot be completed without undue haste, since it is more useful to exercise the boy here twice a day on Cicero, even at the expense of the poets. For the first three months, the *Georgics* are scheduled for this third hour, but for the remaining nine months some oration of Cicero as *Pro lege Manilia* or *Pro Q. Ligario*. The fourth hour is given to writing and composition. Joined to this should be the rhetorical books on ornaments of speech. These ornaments (tropes and schemes) should be sought in the third book of Cicero's *De Oratore* and his *Orator*, but explained from Hermogenes. For *elocutio* should precede *inventio*, because the single ornaments of oration are easier to understand. *Inventio* is better learned in actual composition than from precepts. The boys should get greater copy of words, and formulas of *sententiae*. So with exercise of the pen and correction of writings should be joined the partitions of modes and figures, which in teaching should be pointed out singly, but for application mixed and varied in authors.

In the fourth class, Greek and Latin are equally balanced, Demosthenes with Cicero and Homer with Virgil for two hours. For the third hour in the first six months the Greek grammar should be completed. Rhetorical precepts will occupy the fourth place along with the pen, which begins to be more ornate and conformable to the precepts. The *Partitiones* of Cicero surpass all rhetorical books if rightly explained and committed to memory. But the first book of *Ad Herennium* might with profit first be rapidly taught. Sallust and Plautus might be joined after these precepts, not for examples, which are to be taken from Cicero and Demosthenes, but as history and noteworthy writing.

Sturm now pauses for some general principles of studying. The boy must not only understand but also be able to produce something similar himself, and have as it were a storehouse of materials. By analysis he reduces his subject to its elements of the "places" of words, things, art, and then stores them systematically in their "places," based on the ten of Aristotle. Sturm next describes and justifies the use of this system at some length, but proposes in a separate work to pursue the subject at much greater length. The fourth class must not only write but also memorize and recite from memory without writing. So some argument being given for narrating, or proving, or amplifying, space must be given to the pupils the same hour in which it was taught to learn it so that what before they were accustomed to write they now commit to memory and repeat. For there are to be three kinds of lessons, one written, another impromptu, another after meditation. But begin with the pen, then progress to study; after long practice, try impromptu. Study, as writing itself, is rightly begun on known and ordinary affairs, or by putting into Latin or alien tongue what have been interpreted in the Greek writers. Such are the narrations, praises, vituperations, amplifications, and common-places of Homer and Demosthenes. In the lowest classes, the arguments to be written are dictated by the masters, not "invented" by the boys; words are also given. So in the upper classes the passage is first explained by the teacher, who points out the noteworthy things, what are similar with the Latins, what different. The boy will have profited sufficiently if at first he can rightly put together what he has heard, if he can pronounce correctly, if he does not err, if they appear to be like the writing. After this exercise, the contrary reasons must also be found; not only what Demosthenes has said ought to be studied, but also what can be said by the Medes and adversaries. These the teacher should also demonstrate.

At the last year of boyhood, the adolescent ascends to the third class, where the precepts of dialectic are to be added to those of rhetoric, and greater power of speaking and reasoning acquired. The dialectic should be procured from the books of Aristotle and illustrated from the examples of the philosophers and theologians. Much in Aristotle may be omitted, for we no longer need to prove his Art, since it is accepted; we merely need it explained expeditiously. Cicero's books on reasoning, as *Topica*, are to be read. The adverse orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines should be explained and

interpreted in this class, but Demosthenes may be deferred to the second class if there is not time in the third. The method of study begun in the fourth class should be continued in the third. This should now be imposed on the adolescents as they go home, and rendered at return. This is the work of the fourth hour. For history they may read Sallust, or Caesar, then Livy. Perhaps Hermogenes would be better than the *Topica* of Cicero for this form; certainly what he has written upon states should be read. Perhaps this should be substituted for the second book of *Ad Herennium*. The first book was assigned to the fourth class, the fourth book to the fifth class. The third, which is on memory, should be omitted, for the precepts of dialectic which the boys are memorizing will help more than these rules.

In the second class, the boys should get the final precepts for ornate speech and the beginning of apt speaking. In practice, these are not separated, but only for purposes of systematic theory. Demosthenes' *Pro Ctesiphonte* is to be read, if it was not taken in the third class. If it has been, then some other suitable oration may be taken. A second year should be spent on the *Dialectica* of Aristotle, but emphasis should now be on practice rather than on precept. So in the same hour with the precepts of Aristotle some dialogue of Plato or Cicero should be inserted, in which the method of using would be demonstrated, and the correct method of disputing taught. The *Partitiones* of Cicero should be taught here for illustration and for strengthening the memory. This is a most useful work, but should be properly explained.<sup>3</sup> The boys continue their writing and study. After *Partitiones*, they should take Cicero's *Orator*. For in this year is laid the foundations of the building which is to be completed in the twenty-first.

In the first class, the adolescent receives the final touches which are to enable him to pursue liberal arts freely. He reads Aristotle *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, and *De Mundo* for the work of one hour through the year. Also Arithmetic, Mela, Proclus, and the elements of Astrology. Demosthenes, Homer, and the orations of Cicero are interpreted. Writing, composition, study are continued. Sturm then provides for religious work, including Hebrew in the last two years, and for music.

Perhaps the reader will have noticed the absence of Ovid. Sturm thinks that Ovid is so easy that he should be read at home, without

<sup>3</sup> Sturm shortly produced an expanded version of *Partitiones*.

occupying the time of recitations. Since the *Fasti* are useful and difficult as well, that might be excepted. *Metamorphoses* should be read wholly, but not on school time. Apparently, therefore, Sturm reserves Ovid for the independent work of the five years above grammar school. Virgil in Latin and Homer in Greek make up his choice for grounding pupils in poetry. His attitude toward the poets is very much that which Sir Thomas Elyot had expressed but a few years before in *The Governour*, 1531.

It will be seen that Sturm founds his Latin system squarely on Cicero, with Terence receiving honorable mention, but not much apparent use. He also parallels verse and prose from almost the beginning, but the poets are told firmly even though respectfully that they must not interfere with Cicero. Latin grammar is completed early and is followed immediately by the Greek grammar. Thenceforth Latin and Greek are on an equality in Sturm's curriculum. Thus Sturm is already in 1538 emphasizing Cicero and the Greek. This emphasis becomes even more apparent when we place Sturm on the background of his sources, but we do not need to do that for our present purposes.

When Sturm restates his principles twenty-seven years later, in his *Classicarum Epistolarum Lib. III*, this predilection for Cicero and the Greek stands out in conscious emphasis. It will be remembered that in 1538 Sturm's lower school was in nine classes, including the petties, though he had once thought six sufficient. By 1565 he has found it expedient to add one more class, making the number ten. If the child begins at six as Sturm advised, he still completes the ten years of lower school and the five of upper by the time he is twenty-one, as Sturm had from the beginning desired. The added emphasis now is upon grammatical drill, and the boy does not come to Sturm's selections from Cicero's *Epistles* till his third year instead of toward the end of his first or the beginning of his second. No other prose author or subject is specified through the boy's fifth year, and it is not till the fifth year that the boy begins on a collection of selected Latin verse. The prosody, however, is not mastered till the sixth year out of ten, just beyond the half-way point. Virgil's *Eclogues* now are the model instead of the *Aeneid*, supplemented by the verse collection, instead of selections made by the boys themselves from Catullus, Tibullus, and Horace—the boys cannot now be contaminated by those lascivious heathen. The Greek follows the Latin immediately still, but is not reached till toward the end of the boy's

fifth year in school, and is really drilled in the sixth year. Because of the greater time required for drill upon the Latin grammar, Greek has been correspondingly deferred. But because of the extra year available in the total the boy gets as much Greek as before. In fact, then, Sturm has very much emphasized the drill upon Latin grammar and its concomitants in the first half of school, has correspondingly deferred and minimized the amount of prose read, has almost excluded verse, and has wholly excluded prosody from this lower division. Grammatical drill on the basis of Cicero's *Epistles* forms the bulk of the work for the first half of grammar school. The boy must learn to read, write, and speak grammatically in terms of Cicero. Terence and Plautus are no longer taught by the master but are acted competitively by the boys themselves in the third and second classes, perhaps in the first. So the Latin poets are now represented only by Virgil and Horace supplemented by the book of selections. Other exercises and sequences of upper school remain essentially what they were, though with some changes in organization because of the telescoping of authors into upper school. But since I have not noticed any influence of these changes on the English system, I do not summarize them here.

The reader will notice that the fundamental attitude of Sturm in 1565, and that of Ascham as he was constructing the *Scholemaster* at that time is the same. Ascham, too, would use only Cicero in the fundamental position, without any other author at all. His special contention is that this Cicero should be taught by his own system of imitation involving double-translation, etc. Sturm, however, had a grammar school at command, and was actually putting his ideas into effect. Ascham could only theorize—or domineer o'er the pedant who was teaching his boy, poor man! Ascham had long corresponded with Sturm on such matters, and had kept him informed on Edward's progress under Cheke. While Edward had a copy of Sturm's work, and while his instructors used similar methods upon him, yet I find no specific use there of Sturm's ideas, though they had certainly been considered and in general approved.

In 1574, Sturm answered some questions concerning this scheme, which had been raised by Leonhardus Hertelius in 1565, who questioned principally the narrow, uninteresting, and unoriginal imitativeness of the process. But we need not examine the pros and cons of that controversy for our present purposes. The annual examination

of 1578 has been recorded, however, and adds many concrete details as to what was in fact expected.<sup>3</sup> The tenth class learned

Letters, spelling, reading and writing, all the paradigms of nouns and verbs [from the first part of "Instruction in the Latin tongue"], and the German catechism likewise.

We learn also that the tenth class used Sturm's *Neanisci*. The ninth had anomalous and irregular forms of nouns and verbs from the second part of "Instruction in the Latin tongue";

Besides the German catechism, I have committed to memory the *Second Onomasticon*, and translated the *Neanisci* of our Rector into German.

The eighth, eight parts of speech;

Besides a fuller etymology, we have read the first book of the select letters of Cicero, the fourth dialogue in the *Neanisci* [which is entitled *Apparatus*], the last part of the *Second Onomasticon*, and the German Catechism.

The seventh, Latin syntax;

We read two dialogues in the *Neanisci* of our Rector [Convivium and Tabellarius], the second book of the select letters of Cicero, the "Precepts" of Cato, the catechism, and the "Sunday Sermons;" and, in the first book of music, we learn the scale and intervals. Also, in my class, exercises in style are commenced.

The sixth, Greek grammar (first part of the "Instructions in the Greek tongue"); Aesop in Greek,

The last two books of the select letters of Cicero, the Andria of Terence, the first book of poetry [including a selection from Ovid *De Tristibus*], the *Syntaxis Figurata*, the shorter Latin catechism of Luther, and the Sunday Sermons. In [the first book of] music, we have attended to the science of time.

In the fifth, prosody,

Some of Cicero's letters to his friends, the first and second Eclogues of Virgil, the second book of poetry, and the shorter Latin catechism of Luther;

in Greek,

The second part of the "Instruction in the Greek tongue" [, Aesop], and the Sunday Sermons.

For the fourth, in Greek anomalous verbs and Attic tenses;

Aesop's fables, and, on Sundays, the first epistle to Timothy;

<sup>3</sup> All these works are to be found in Sturm, *Institutionis Literatae*, Vols. I and II, Torunij Borufforum, 1586. A summary in English of the items of 1565 and 1578 will be found in Barnard, H., *Memoirs of Teachers*, etc., Part I, translated from Von Raumer.



in Latin,

The Eclogues of Virgil, some odes of Horace, the second book of Cicero's "Letters to Friends," and his speech in behalf of Marcus Marcellus; also, a part of the *Adelphi* of Terence.

In the third, tropes and schemes of speech; in Greek,

the *Menippus* of Lucian, and the two Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians;

in Latin,

The third book of Cicero's Letters to his Friends, his speech *post reditum*, and the greater part of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.

In the second, dialectic; in rhetoric,

The first and second dialogues of Dr. Sturm upon Cicero's divisions of the oration, in which is discussed the five-fold problem of the orator; namely, invention, disposition, expression, action and memory;

also

The [two *Philippics*] of Demosthenes, and Cicero's pleas in behalf of Roscius Amerinus and Caius Riberius, besides the first book of the *Iliad*.

For the first,

In the logic of Dr. Sturm, I have learned the precepts of demonstrative and sophistical syllogisms; in rhetoric, the last two dialogues upon Cicero's divisions of the oration, and his three books "*De Officiis*"; besides the *Phoenissae* of Euripides; out of Demosthenes, Philip's letter, and Demosthenes, reply to the same, the latter part of the catechism of Chytraeus; and, on Sundays, St Paul's epistles to the [Romans and the] Galatians;

also sophistics

as they have been delivered to us by our illustrious rector, Dr. Sturm, from the sophistical problems of Aristotle;

in mathematics,

To that which we learned in the second class we have added astronomy [by David Walkenstein], and some problems from the first book of Euclid.

It will be noticed how heavily Sturm relies upon anthologies. To preserve purity, moral but especially linguistic, he puts within the reach of the boys only approved excerpts. Cicero alone is but partially excepted. The whole emphasis is upon forming a pure prose style. Content is of little importance. We notice, however, that in fact Cato is used to some extent. Of course, as a stylist, Sturm had no love for Cato. In a letter of September, 1550, to Ascham, he asked, "*Sed quas utilitates ad linguae informationem atque puritatem puer*

accipiet, ex Catonis *Distichis*?"<sup>4</sup> But for purposes of morality Cato was retained, though not mentioned in the accounts of the curriculum.<sup>5</sup> Also, at least parts of two plays of Terence had been read in class before the competitive acting by the upper classes.<sup>6</sup> Aesop was reserved for the Greek. No moderns are admitted here, however good they might have been for morals. Other conventional authors make their appearance, but Cicero is dictatorial monarch of all that he surveys. Before him, all must creep.

The curriculum at Lausanne in 1547<sup>7</sup> and that at Calvin's school at Geneva in 1559<sup>8</sup> have much in common with Sturm, with each other, and with the English schools. But the relation of these two to the English curricula seems due principally to common sources and common texts, presenting common methods. One man, however, connected with both Lausanne and Geneva was destined to exercise considerable influence upon the methodology of English grammar schools, especially in the seventeenth century. This was Corderius, whose works had powerful influence upon Brinsley. The most influential of these perhaps was the *Colloquies*, printed in 1564 at Geneva, while Corderius was teaching there. Corderius aimed to give the boys practical formulae for all their speaking. So his first colloquies are devoted to a systematic presentation of lessons upon elementary processes and authors, as the boys ought to learn and recite them; and it will be remembered that Brinsley advises the use of them for this purpose. Since Corderius is a "methodist," he insists upon an exactly correct routine. Brinsley recommends Corderius, translates his colloquies, and takes a great deal of his own "methodism" from that author. The colloquies themselves would have been directly very influential in establishing school routines of teaching and learning. From these it appears that the boys of Corderius did their vocabulary work,<sup>9</sup> their parts of speech,<sup>10</sup> their Cato,<sup>11</sup> and

<sup>4</sup> Giles, *Ascham*, Vol. I, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> This may be the situation at East Retford in 1551. The few other omissions of Cato from the curricula in English schools are probably also due to incomplete statement.

<sup>6</sup> The few instances where Terence fails to appear in English curricula are probably due to similar accidents of statement.

<sup>7</sup> Printed in Le Coultre, Jules, *Maturin Cordier*, pp. 481 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *L'Ordre Des Ecoles De Geneve* as determined in June, 1559, is to be found printed in *Les Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques De L'Eglise De Geneve. Item L'ordre des Ecoles de ladite Cité, Geneva, 1562*, Queen Elizabeth's copy of which is in the British Museum (698. c. 4. (1.)). For a detailed account of the curriculum and methods of Montaigne's school, see Massebieau, L., "Schola Aquitana," *Mémoires et Documents Scolaires*, Fascicule No. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Les Colloques De Maturin Cordier* (1587), pp. 5, 6, 18 ff., 82 ff., 90, etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 21-22, etc.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 24, 57, 92, 235, 265, 268-269, 304.

Cicero's epistles,<sup>13</sup> Terence, Virgil, etc.<sup>14</sup> Only Aesop of these early authors does not appear, but Corderius apparently does not use Aesop at all. He is not mentioned at either Lausanne or Geneva. Neither is Terence, and Cato only at Lausanne. The boys do a verb in Latin and French as English boys did theirs in Latin and English.<sup>15</sup> They receive an argument in French to be turned into Latin,<sup>16</sup> have dictates from Cicero's *Epistles*,<sup>17</sup> and a special one from *De Officiis* to impress a moral,<sup>18</sup> repeat to each other,<sup>18</sup> etc.

These *Colloquies* were early printed and used in Latin and French, and it is this form which is adapted by Brinsley and Hoole. Corderius had also put most of the other elementary authors into the same or similar form, and was the chief authority of Brinsley and his predecessors for such use of the vernacular.<sup>19</sup> Corderius thus came to have a powerful influence on the methodology of English schools.

Of the Geneva group, Beza also exerted considerable influence on the Biblical teaching in English schools, but that is too far afield from our present studies. Other influences eventually from Geneva will appear from time to time. But these influences are all more or less individual.

We may now notice certain characteristic changes which appear in the curricula of the reign of Edward VI. The first curriculum to show these changes is that at Bury St. Edmund's in 1550.<sup>20</sup> Leach points out that the rules of the school are supposed to be modelled in general upon the original *Tabula Legum Pedagogicarum* of William of Wykeham's day. The number of forms, however, is five, instead of six or seven as at Winchester. There is also influence from Paul's and Eton. The "Articles to be recited to them that shall offer their children to be taught in the schoole" are distantly modelled upon those of Dean Colet for St. Paul's; and in 1569 Nowell, Dean of Paul's, passes the system of Bury St. Edmund's on to Bangor. The actual content and management of the curriculum, however, is nearest to that of Eton. It seems, therefore, that the originator of this system, which is first recorded at Bury St. Edmund's, has from all three principal systems selected what he regarded as the best elements, and has adapted them to a five-form system. Since other schools

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 57, 64-65, 98, 294, 304.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 58, 60, 61.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106, etc.

<sup>20</sup> See below, pp. 601 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Suffolk*, Vol. II, pp. 313 ff. I use the translation of Leach wherever available, but I have checked the original in the British Museum, MS. Lansdowne 119.

also use the curriculum first recorded at Bury St. Edmund's, it will be well to examine it in some detail.

The school was to have a "Schoolmaster & Usher." The usher was to be on duty from six to eleven in the morning and one to five in the afternoon. The master had somewhat lighter hours, from seven to ten-thirty, and from one to four-thirty. On Saturdays and half holidays both were on duty till three. The boys were regularly in session from six to eleven and from one to five.

There were to be one-hundred boys in the school. These were to be divided into five classes or forms, with the master teaching the three upper and the usher the others. This looks on the face of it as if the master were carrying the extra burden. But while the usher had officially only two forms, he in fact had more, as the founder himself hints by his "Reliqui ordines" for the fifth and lowest group. There was considerable individual work before the beginners could be grouped as a form. In reality, therefore, the usher had this group to prepare for the first form, as well as to teach the two lowest forms. He was not expected, however, to teach them their English elements.

Let them seek elsewhere the ability to read and write. Let ours (?masters) give nothing but the rules of grammar and the learning of the Latin and Greek tongue.

In effect, therefore, we have the Eton system, with a group below the first form learning the accidence.

The groupings into forms are five, and numbered in inverse order. But the authors are exactly such as are prescribed elsewhere; and while a different system of grouping the forms is used, yet there is in fact the same curriculum, though with some additions. In this grouping, the fifth class is at the bottom, as in the continental system of numbering, and was to learn the first elements of grammar. The boys were thus as far along at the end of the first form as the boys in the Eton system, and for the same reason. The regular authors are taken in the second form.

Form IV. were to be instructed by the usher in *Mimus*, *Public paraemias*, Erasmus' *Dialogues*, Aesop's *Fables*, Cato's *Couplets*, Mancinus' *Poems on the Four Virtues*.

The *Mimus* and Cato are in the usual Cato collection; and Cato and Aesop are regularly the first authors. Mancinus has summed up the four Ciceronic virtues in verse to form an excellent preparation for *De Officiis*. His work is thus in content a fitting companion to the Cato

collection. At Eton in 1530, Cato and Aesop had come in the second form, but the *Colloquies* of Erasmus had not come till the third. This second form is, therefore, the same as at Eton in 1530, except that it adds Mancinus and brings down the *Colloquies* from the third form. Thus somewhat swifter progress is expected than in the Eton system.

The adaptation continues in the third form.

Form III. Erasmus *On Deportment* (*de civilitate morum*), the *King's Grammar*, Ovid's *Tristia*, and the chaster plays of Plautus and Terence.

The *King's Grammar* is, of course, Lily; and would have been used throughout the lower three forms. It is first mentioned here because we are proceeding from the top downward, and it was to be completed in this form. Erasmus *On Deportment* is another work for moral benefit, frequently used, but not specified in any previous curriculum. Terence is always the next regular author after Cato and Aesop, except that at Winchester Lucian's *Dialogues* in Latin translation were inserted, forcing Terence one form higher. So Terence has been all but universal in the third form, and Erasmus with other theorists had agreed that a "piece" of Plautus should be joined to Terence, though this is the first specific inclusion of Plautus in a curriculum. So the *Tristia* of Ovid is the only innovation here. It has not previously appeared, but now becomes regular for the fourth form of a six form system. It is thus appearing at what is to become its conventional place. This third form, then, is regular, but adds Ovid's *Tristia*.

The fourth form continues the regular sequence.

Form II. were to read Sallust, Virgil's *Bucolics* [and] *Georgics*, Horace, and Erasmus *On Copiousness of Diction and Letterwriting*.

In all the early curricula around 1530, Virgil's *Bucolics* had followed Terence, this being the original arrangement contemplated by Erasmus; and so the conventional place for it was the fourth form as here, though the boys at Winchester had it in the fifth. The *Georgics* of Virgil is a suitable companion to the *Bucolics*, though not previously mentioned by name. We are now at the end of lower grammar school as it was around 1530. The order has been the same, but the Eton system has been compressed by nearly a form, only the *Bucolics* being left for the fourth as it was then organized. There Terence was the major preoccupation of two forms, here of only one, so procuring considerable compression.

Thus the remaining authors for the fourth form at Bury St.

Edmund's are those for the fifth and sixth in the early system. So the boys have the texts of Erasmus *On Copiousness of Diction (Copia)*, and on letter writing *De Ratione Conscribendi Epistolas*, the latter of which had come in the fifth form at Eton around 1530, when the boys wrote both epistles and poetry and the former in the sixth. But epistles had been shifted down to the fourth form by the time of the Canterbury curriculum in 1541, and appear in that position here. It will be remembered that the fifth had by 1541 become the resting place of the poets and historians, with Sallust as the universal representative of the latter class. So Sallust appears now dropped to the fourth form. So does Horace, who had regularly appeared in the sixth form in the earlier system. It was also in the sixth form that the *Copia* of Erasmus had appeared as a guide to declamations. It is now in the fourth. But looked at in another way, Horace and *Copia* in the old system first appeared in next to the last form. So do they here; their relative position is the same. The system has merely been compressed.

In the earlier system, the work for the final form had either not been stated or not differentiated from that of the preceding form. It is now at Bury St. Edmund's presented as the fifth form.

The first or highest form was to be taught (*audiunto*, listen to, i.e. be lectured to on), Cicero, *De Officiis*; Caesar's *Commentaries*; Virgil's *Aeneid*; Quintilian's *Institutes of Rhetoric*; or Herennius' *Precepts of Rhetoric*.

Of these, Virgil's *Aeneid* had come at weekends through the fifth and sixth forms at Eton in 1530, while the seventh form was said to be as the sixth. So the *Aeneid* is now specified for the final form. Caesar had been specified at Ipswich along with Sallust in the sixth out of eight forms, and thus is regular for upper work. But neither Cicero's *De Officiis*, nor *Ad Herennium*, nor Quintilian had appeared specifically in the early curricula. The first appears specifically, however, and the second by clear inference in the training of Prince Edward; and the third seems pretty clearly also to have been used. Further, it was in these respects that Cox and Cheke were altering the theory of Sir Thomas Elyot. Sir Thomas thought moral philosophy should be deferred till seventeen, as in the Roman system, hence above grammar school. And there is no mention of the formal study of moral philosophy in the early curricula. But Cheke had altered that, bringing *De Officiis* in Edward's fifth year in school; and it now appears in the fifth and final form of a grammar school. Henceforth, it is a regular subject at that approximate position. Its introduction

here in 1550 thus correlates with the use of it on Prince Edward in 1549. Presumably its introduction to the school curriculum followed the experimental use on Edward.

The same may be true of the oratorical works, *Ad Herennium*, and Quintilian. It will be remembered that Erasmus had prepared *Copia* as an introduction to Aphthonius, *Ad Herennium*, Cicero, and Quintilian. In the early system, *Copia* is regularly specified for the top forms, and there is no specific indication that these forms went further. Their practice thus agrees accurately with the exactly contemporary statement of Elyot in the *Gouverneur*.

These schools may indeed have used Aphthonius, *Ad Herennium*, Cicero, and Quintilian, but the indications are that they were content with *Copia*. This might satisfy Elyot and the makers of the early curricula, but it would not satisfy such a purist Greek-Ciceronian as Sir John Cheke, nor his pupil Ascham. They insisted on the originals. So the originals were used upon Edward, and are now in 1550 specified in the curriculum at Bury St. Edmund's. We shall see that they regularly are inserted thereafter. It would thus appear probable that the addition of *De Officiis* as moral philosophy, and the addition of the old texts on oratory to the *Copia* are due to the purist-reformers who directed the education of Edward. But Erasmus had desired that youth be introduced to *De Officiis*, and had prepared *Copia* as an introduction to the classical texts on oratory. So it is possible that these had always been attached to that nebulous final form and are only now receiving specific statement. At least, they are now and henceforth a part of the system, which is what we really need to know for our present purpose. The rest we leave to the educational experts.<sup>21</sup>

This school of Bury St. Edmund's has thus the conventional curriculum compressed into five forms instead of the usual six to eight forms. The reason for the compression may lie in the greater relative maturity of the pupils, but on that I have no definite information. The will of "John King, of Bury, scolmayster," August 12, 1552, adds a few supplementary details.

Itm I do geue for implements to remayne vnto the scholle the hangyns in my chamber, one table, one ioyned forme, one sede, Pline de naturali his-

<sup>21</sup> The *De Officiis* and *Ad Herennium* had appeared in Sturm's system of 1528, but were by no means peculiar to him; and there is nothing at Bury St. Edmund's to suggest his direct influence.

toria, Virgilius cum commento, Oratius cum commento, Ovidius cū commento.<sup>22</sup>

Here were commentaries for the Virgil, Horace, and Ovid required in the curriculum; and Pliny would furnish forth many a theme with marvels of nature. The school received Cicero's works in 1561, and "a large number of books" in 1565.<sup>23</sup> While Virgil, Horace, and Ovid receive their conventional place in the curriculum, yet there is a significant proviso.

30 Barbarous writers, obscene poets are not to be thrust on the boys, for in the latter integrity of manners is corrupted, in the former the elegance of the Latin tongue.

The obscene poets were to be excluded or properly inoculated.

The regular prohibitions and routines also occur.

35 When writing must be done, let them use their knees for a table.

37 Those who are being instructed in the first elements of grammar are not to utter words at random and without understanding like parrots, but are to pronounce with pleasing and apt modulation, tempered with variety.

38 What things are taught, those let the teachers impart neither all at once, nor obscurely, but gradually and illustrated beforehand with many examples.

39 Never proceed to teaching new things until the old are fully known and understood.

40 On Fridays and Saturdays let the masters read nothing, but let the boys give an account of what they have learnt in the preceding days. Let them bring short speeches (*declamatiunculas*) [and anything] which they have commented on [by themselves] in their leisure hours (*horis [succisiuis]*) [to the masters].

41 Let them exercise daily the memory in learning the things which are approved by the judgment of the preceptors, and let them recite these at stated times.

42 Let them transcribe their lectures in English against the next day and submit their transcriptions to the censure of the preceptors, who are to correct errors immediately.

43 The schoolmaster every evening is to dictate three Latin sayings and explain them in English, the scholars are to write them down [against the] next day.

44 The words which embrace the parts of the human body let them get for the first form; the second the words for diseases, illness, virtues, vices, herbs, fruits, and trees. Then let the master descend to things more known and familiar.

<sup>22</sup> Tymms, S., *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeacon of Sudbury (Camden Society)*, p. 140.

<sup>23</sup> V. C. H., *Suffolk*, Vol. II, p. 315.



45 Let no one of this number go anywhere without doors until he has written down in English and handed in to the teacher either three Latin words, or some excellent *sententia*, and at return, let him recite them in the midst of the school.

46 Half an hour before dinner or supper let them dispute on the inflections and cases of nouns, the conjugations, tenses, and moods of verbs, or dictate in turns proverbs, adages, sentences [*sententiae*], verses, silently and without noise.

47 These speeches are to end at the first stroke of the clock, and the boy who has beaten his fellows, shall have the first place by way of prize. He shall hold it until he has been overcome by another's industry.

48 From this school each is to be dismissed after five years from his first coming, either to Cambridge for study, or sent forth to other arts.

Here are regular procedures, some of which are somewhat more fully explained in the curriculum for Bangor, which we next examine.

Two later curricula are approximately the same as this at Bury St. Edmund's. The first is that prescribed by Dean Alexander Nowell and others in 1569 for the Friar's School, Bangor, this being only a slightly expanded copy of Bury St. Edmund's. Since Dean Nowell was one of the most influential men of his day in connection with the grammar schools, we may notice briefly some of his known activities. As we have seen,<sup>24</sup> Nowell had been appointed in 1543 as master of Westminster, being the second headmaster on the new foundation. Richard Cox became Dean of Westminster in 1549, and on November 27, 1551, Nowell, still schoolmaster at least to that time, became a canon in Westminster.<sup>25</sup> By this date Nowell is thus in close contact with Cox, the King's schoolmaster, who, as we have seen, was a key figure in the development of the grammar school. Nowell was still described as "Schoolmaster of *Westminster*" when he was licensed to preach in April, 1553.<sup>26</sup> Under Mary, Nowell found it advisable to leave England, and in 1555 Nicholas Udall came to the headmastership—the best Terence man in England, and with a more pliant conscience than Nowell's. After Nowell had returned and had become Dean of Paul's, his past experience as a schoolmaster made his advice upon school statutes valuable. So in 1564 Archbishop Parker and Dean Nowell corrected for the Skinners' Company the statutes for Tonbridge School in Kent.<sup>27</sup> At the instance of Archbishop Parker, a committee consist-

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 175.      <sup>25</sup> Churton, *Nowell*, pp. 10, 18.

<sup>26</sup> Strype, *Memorials* (1733), Vol. II, p. 534.

<sup>27</sup> Churton, *Nowell*, p. 107; Rivington, S., *The History of Tonbridge School* (1925), pp. 63 ff.

ing of Nowell, Cox, and Horne, was in 1564 and following associated in supervising the founding of a school at Rochdale in Lancashire.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Nowell had some share in shaping the statutes for the Friar's School, Bangor, in 1569. The reader should not overlook the significance of these facts. When the Archbishop of Canterbury desires to found a school, he appoints two bishops and a dean to make the arrangements. One of these bishops is Cox, former headmaster at Eton, schoolmaster to Edward VI, and Dean of Westminster at a time when Nowell was headmaster there. So Cox and Nowell had long been associated.<sup>29</sup> Nowell had already written the catechism which was to be memorized in some form by every schoolboy after it went into print in 1570, and was himself to take part in endowing his old school at Middleton in Lancashire. From such facts, the reader ought to see how it is that grammar schools have similar statutes and curricula.

The statutes of Bangor grammar school are dated March 2, 1569, and were made with the advice of the Bishop of Bangor, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church there, and Dean Nowell of St. Paul's.<sup>30</sup> Provisions for the curriculum are satisfyingly full. There were to be not more than five-score boys to be taught by a master and usher. "Nothing shall be taught in the said School but only Grammar and such Authors as concern the Latin and Greek tongues." Consequently, at entrance the boy must be able to "write and read competently." These are the provisions at Bury St. Edmund's, only slightly rephrased. Similarly, "They shall use to speak Latin as well without the School as within." There were to be five forms, and it was intended that each should occupy a year, since it is provided that,

No Scholar shall continue in the school above five years, or 6 at the most, but shall depart either to some university or to learning some profitable occupation.

In this respect, the provisions here and at Bury St. Edmund's allowed a year more than did the English cathedral schools. But there are no age provisions as in these schools, where the boys were supposed to be at entrance to scholarships two years older than at entrance into ordinary schools.

<sup>28</sup> Churton, *Nowell*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>29</sup> Nowell was also Ascham's "confessor" (*ibid.*, pp. 133 ff.).

<sup>30</sup> Knight, L. S., *Welsh Independent Grammar Schools to 1600*, pp. 94 ff.

Of the five forms, the usher taught the lower three, the master the upper two, this division being slightly different from that at Bury St. Edmund's.

In the lowest form the Husher shall teach the Rudiments and principles of the Latin tongue commonly called the King's Grammar and intituled the introduction of the eight parts of Speech and once or twice in the day at the least the same Husher calling together the number of Younglings shall labour to induce them to the knowledge of the noun substantive and adjective reciting unto them the rules in their Books for the distinct knowledge of the aforesaid nouns then he shall declare the use of the rule opening the meaning of the same with the many examples after that he shall minister appositions to know and try out whether his head Scholars do perfectly conceive his doctrine. But in all things and at all times he shall use such mildness of countenance and such Gentleness in speech that he may inflame the Dullards (if any such there be) to study.

So in the first form the boys master the accidence and rudiments, and are taught how to apply them.

The work for the second form is mostly regular.

The second form the said Husher shall teach and read the petty proverbs and short sentences. . . . publican annexed to Catos' Works Colloquia familiaria Erasmi Roterodami Esopi fabulas Catones disticha that part of the King's Grammar that teacheth de ratione carminum componend: together with Mancius [*sic*] work de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus and after that such part of the King's Grammar as the Schoolmaster shall think convenient as de generibus nominum de preteritis et supinis verborum.

The authors are the same as at Bury St. Edmund's and in the same order. There is, however, an unusual specification for so early a place in the curriculum that the boys should learn the section on versification.<sup>31</sup> A possible reason is that Mancinus is in metre, as also some of the Cato material. It is for this reason, I suppose, that Mancinus is found, so far as I know, only in these three systems, Bury St. Edmund's, Bangor, Harrow. Thus the boys learn their verse rules at once instead of waiting till they begin writing verse. They also do genders, preterites, and supines, being as far in grammar at the end of the second form as the Eton boys were in 1530 at the end of the third, and Paul's-Ipswich the fourth, though Eton boys by 1560 also were probably thus far at the end of the second form.

The work in the third form is quite exactly that at Bury St. Edmund's.

<sup>31</sup> Sturm had also brought in versification early, placing it in the third out of nine forms. There may be some influence here.

In the third form the said Usher shall teach the work of Erasmus de civilitate and some other part of the King's Grammar de syntaxi et constructione octo partium Ovid's *Tristibus* and some of the comedies of Plautus or Terence such as be most chaste and least meddled with wantonness. And also he shall teach the Alphabet and Greek Letters with all things thereunto belonging for the ready and perfect reading of the same tongue and this he shall do in convenient time besides the ordinary lectures.

Erasmus, *De Civilitate*, Ovid, *De Tristibus*, select comedies of Plautus and Terence give the regular progression of authors, though the Erasmus item occurs elsewhere, so far as I know, only at Bury St. Edmund's, also for the third form. The boys now complete the Latin grammar, learn the Greek alphabet, as well as how to pronounce Greek. Preparation for the Greek is thus following immediately upon the Latin as in the Westminster adaptation of the Eton system. The usher completes the Latin grammar and prepares the boys to begin their Greek grammar immediately under the master. Greek had been specified at Bury St. Edmund's, but it had not been worked into the curriculum. The authors at Bangor are the regular ones for grammar school, except that Ovid's *De Tristibus* together with the study of versification are usually deferred to upper school; but here the boys begin the elements of versification in the second form and continue through grammar school, instead of in the first form of upper school. So here prose and poetry are balanced throughout school, instead of only throughout the upper half of grammar school as is regularly true in the second half of the century. This seems clearly also to have been the situation at Bury St. Edmund's before this date and at Harrow afterward; but after all the distinction may be chiefly one of statement. The boys now passed to the master for the final two forms.

In the fourth form the Schoolmaster shall read *Bucolica sive Georgica Virgillii* *Celonaides* Greek Grammar *Esopi* apologues *Groecæ* Erasmus' work *de copia verborum et rerum* and some part of the works of Horace.

In the fifth and highest form the said Schoolmaster shall read Erasmus work *de conscribendis epistolis* together with some of the familiar Epistles of Cicero. Sallusts' histories *Ciceronis libellos de officiis* libros aliquot *æneidos Virgillii* some part of Caesar's commentaries and some part of *Isocrates* in Greek. And it is strictly charged and commanded the said Schoolmaster and Husher that they nor any of them teach their Scholars or suffer them to meddle with any barbarous Author or with any obscene Work of any poet or other writer for as the one infecteth good manners the other annoyeth eloquence of the Latin tongue.

Since Greek is to be added, the work of the upper two forms in Latin is slightly readjusted to meet the situation, but remains in content almost exactly the same as at Bury St. Edmund's. For the Greek, the grammar of Clenardus comes in the fourth form, with Aesop in Greek as the author. The author for the fifth form is Isocrates. This remains the situation at Harrow, where the Greek grammar came in the fourth form, without any author mentioned, and Isocrates, Demosthenes, Hesiod, Heliodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the fifth. The list of Greek authors has simply been expanded.

For Latin, the boys still read in the fourth form Virgil's *Bucolics* or *Georgics*, and Horace, and also study Erasmus, *De Copia*, all as at Bury St. Edmund's. But the boys at Bangor deferred Sallust and *De Conscribendis Epistolis* till the fifth and final form. In this adjustment, Harrow does not concur, since it fails to mention Sallust, but otherwise uses the same Latin authors as Bury St. Edmund's, only with additions. This and other facts indicate that the curriculum at Harrow does not come through that at Bangor. At Bangor, the boys in the fifth naturally joined Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares* with the *De Conscribendis Epistolis*. This must have been true also both at Bury St. Edmund's and at Harrow, though there is no mention at the former place, and at the latter these epistles are to be read in the third form. As at Bury St. Edmund's, the boys read *De Officiis*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Caesar's *Commentaries*. But no specification is made at Bangor of Quintilian or *Ad Herennium*, the same being true at Harrow. Thus Bangor adds Greek, fails to mention Quintilian, and *Ad Herennium*, and slightly readjusts the order of a subject or so in its upper forms. Otherwise it is the same as at Bury St. Edmund's, frequently even to the phraseology. I believe it is clear that Bangor adapts Bury St. Edmund's.

Along with these authors, other significant processes are required.  
Both master and usher

shall take diligent heed and beware for their Scholars distinct and plain pronounciation and circumspectly shall provide that their Scholars utter not words without full and perfect understanding of the matter and meaning thereof and that they read not nor speak in one time but that diligent heed be given to the due accent in pronounciation.

This is a translation of the provision at Bury St. Edmund's and is the fullest and most concrete statement I have found in the curricula concerning pronounciation, reminding one of Wolsey's stipulation for the first form in the Paul's-Ipswich system. Similarly,

The Schoolmaster and Husher shall beware of making too much haste or too quick speed in teaching and shall daily some convenient time practice and gently induce their Scholars to the making of Latins for the better understanding of the concords in the Latin tongue; albeit they must have always in diligent remembrance that they teach but little at once and with many examples, sentences short profitable and pithy to make every word and thing open evident and plain.

They shall not heap on their Scholars new matters before they have well perceived everything that was first taught them.

Similarly, there was the usual routine at week-ends.

On the Friday nothing shall be read but the Scholars shall make general repetition of all things taught them in the whole week before. Upon which day also every one of the Scholars of the first two forms in the Schoolmaster's teaching shall deliver unto the Schoolmaster or in his absence to the Husher some Epistle or Epigram in verse that the said Scholars have premeditated in the fore part of the week besides their ordinary Lessons.

There were evidently the usual repetitions on Fridays. The exercises of the upper two forms are significant, being epistles for prose and epigrams for verse, showing that, as usual, the boys now compose both in prose and verse. But the specification of the epigram as the verse form is also particularly significant. For it implies that the boys modeled upon Martial and his fellow epigrammatists, as was true rather generally in the 'sixties.<sup>32</sup>

For compositional purposes, the boys also memorize *sententiae*.

The said Scholars shall daily use to commit to their memory and care without the book by the Schoolmaster's or Usher's appointment all petty sentences within their ordinary lectures which the Schoolmaster or Husher shall require and hear without the Book at the time appointed for the rendering of their said ordinary Lectures.

We shall see that in the Eton system the master is instructed as to how and when to pick out such matter.

Another provision seems slightly different from regular routine.

The said Scholars shall use of ordinary custom to translate into the English tongue their lectures and deliver the same the next day at some convenient time by the Master's appointment wherupon good and due deliberation shall note unto every of them their faults either in disorder misplacing evil interpretation mistranslation or in that they have in any point erred in orthography of words and shall also diligently teach them openly how they shall from thenceforth shun the same faults.

This is an expansion of the statement at Bury St. Edmund's. The

<sup>32</sup> See below, p. 340.

usual provision is that original work, not their lessons translated into English, be handed in and submitted to criticism.

There is also provision for vocabulary work.

Besides the said Ordinary lectures the Schoolmaster or Husher by the Schoolmasters appointment, shall every night teach their Scholars three Latin words with the English signification which three Latin words with their English significations every one of the Scholars shall render without the books openly in the midst of the School so that the Schoolmaster may hear and reform them every morning at their first coming to the School.

They shall begin with words that concern the head reciting orderly as nigh as they can every part and member of the body and every particular of the same, after that they shall teach the names of sickness, disceases, virtues, vices, fishes, fowls, birds, beasts, herbs, shrubs, tree, and so forth they shall proceed in good order to such things as may be most frequented and daily used.

The Scholars shall at no time depart from or out of the School to do their necessity before they have recited at their Egress their several Latin words and three others at their regress.

These regulations on vocabulary are practically those at Harrow, the text for vocabulary being evidently Stanbridge. They are also an expansion of those at Bury St. Edmund's.

There were to be grammatical disputations too.

The said Scholars before they shall depart home to Dinner and supper two and two together as they be placed in their forms shall use appositions by the space of one half-hour in the searching out the declinations of nouns with their due articles and Genders in the seeking and finding out of the conjugations with their preterits and supines in the knowledge of the terminations of the cases of the nouns of moods tenses and persons of verbs or in the signification of Latin words and concerning the parts of mans body and other the things aforementioned. The one Scholar at one time opposing his fellow and at the next time answering his fellow's apposition or the said Scholars shall spend the said half hour in reading of adages proverbs petty sentences in prose or verse by interchange and shifting course now giving now receiving one for another. The said appositions to begin half an hour after 10 of the clock in the morning and to continue until 11 of the clock following and to begin likewise half an hour after four of the clock in the afternoon and to hold on until five of the clock. The same appositions to be kept without any contention or loud speaking.

It will be noticed that the boys posed each other on their current grammar and vocabulary work. They also performed similar operations upon adages, proverbs and petty sentences in prose and verse. Here was the "moral matter" for their themes.

The specifically religious work came at the week-end, as usual.

The Scholars shall learn perfectly by heart the articles of the Christian faith, The Lords prayer, the ten commandants [*sic*] and all such other things concerning the Christian faith and Religion both in the Latin tongue and English tongue and the Schoolmaster with the Husher shall every Saturday in the afternoon make proof and instruct their Scholars for their perfectness therein.

It will be seen that all this represents but slight adaptation of the system at Bury St. Edmund's. It is essentially the same curriculum.

The statutes at Oundle in Northampton, which are said to date 1556, though they are really not earlier than 1570, evidently also belong to this group.

Provided that the scholar, before his admission into the Grammar School, be able to write competently, and to read both English and Latin; and if the School Master, or Usher, upon proof or trial of his capacity, find him not meet to learn, to signify the same to his friends to remove him, and none to tarry above five years in learning his Grammar without great cause alledged and allowed by Mr. Wardens of the Grocers.<sup>33</sup>

Here are essentially the provisions of Bury St. Edmund's and Bangor with five years permitted for completion as there. The curriculum is not laid down in detail, but it is incidentally provided that the master

shall teach the Grammar approved by the Queen's Majesty, and the Accidence and English Rules, being learnt in the first Form; to teach in the Second, Mr. *Nowell's* little Catechism; and in the third form, his large Catechism.<sup>34</sup>

Very near to the curriculum of Bury St. Edmund's in 1550 is that of Harrow as attached to the statutes of January 18, 1591.<sup>35</sup> Either Harrow copies Bury St. Edmund's with some modernization, or both have some common source. This curriculum probably belonged to the old school at Harrow, and is in line with the fact that John Lyon's foundation did not make a start till 1608.<sup>36</sup> Almost certainly this Harrow curriculum was established considerably earlier, merely being copied in 1591, probably with slight alterations to bring it up to date. Since the patent to Lyon is dated February 6, 1572, the curriculum may have been provided at that time, or it may have be-

<sup>33</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 216.

<sup>34</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 215. The provision concerning *Nowell's Catechism* shows that these statutes are really not earlier than 1570. See my *Petty School*.

<sup>35</sup> I am indebted to the proper authorities at Harrow for permitting a photostatic copy of this section to the Library of the University of Illinois. Each page bears the signature of John Lyon. The transcription printed in 1853 appears to be from some other copy and is poorly done besides.

<sup>36</sup> Gun, W. T. J., *The Harrow School Register 1571-1800*, p. ix.



longed to the old school. But the present form as attached in 1591 is later than that at Bury St. Edmund's, or that at Bangor. It will be noted also that Harrow numbers its forms in the regular order as at Bangor instead of the inverse one as at Bury St. Edmund's.

After general instructions, we come to the curriculum proper.

All the schoole besides the peties wch have not learned their accidens or entred into thenglishe rules of Gra<sup>m</sup>er shallbe divyded into five fourmes.

To the first shallbe redde the principles of gra<sup>m</sup>er and Qui mihi discipulus, and w<sup>th</sup>in a while after selecte epistolę Ciceronis or mimi pub. paraemię or disticha Catonis.

To the Seconde shallbe redde on foreward in the gra<sup>m</sup>er and Aesopi fabule or Cato or dialogi Erasmi or Mancini carmina de quatuor virtutibus.

To the third shallbe redde all the residue of grammer terentij Comedię Ciceronis epistolae familiares Ovidius de Tristibus.

To the fourthe shallbe redde Ciceronis officia, de Amicitia, de senectute or de finibus virgilij bucolica et georgica Horatij poemata or Erasmus de rerū et verborū copia ac de conscribendis epistolis grammatica gręca.

To the fyfte shallbe redde virgilij Aeneidę Co<sup>m</sup>entaria Caesaris, Cicero de natura deorū Titus Livius, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Hesiodus, Heliodorus, or Dionisius halycarnassęus gręcę.

None shall bee admytted into the seconde fourme which cannot wryte, there they shall wryte out Phrases and learne to make an englishe into lattyn; in the thirde fourme they shall begynne to learn to make an epistle. In the fourthe they shallbe taught to wryte theise fower things out of theire lectures, propria, translata, Sinonima, diversa, and to make a verse. In the fyfte they shall learne to make a Theme, and every lecture shall eyther be learned to be saide by heart or els translated into englishe, and in no lecture they shallbe suffered to goe on forwarde before that w<sup>ch</sup> is in hande be well and sufficiently learned and vnderstoode.

The Schoolmaster shall everye daie by the space of one howre heare eyther y<sup>e</sup> third fourth or fyfte fourme amongst themselves propounde questyons and aunswere one to another of the cases, declinyng and comparysons of nownes of the coniugatyons tenses or moodes of verbes, of the vnderstandinge of the gra<sup>m</sup>er Rules of the meanyng of Proverbes or sentences, or of the quantyte of syllables, so that every of theis three fourmes shall euery weeke vse this exercyse twise, and they w<sup>ch</sup> aunswere the first tyme shall propounde the questions the latter tyme. And they w<sup>ch</sup> doe best shall goe, sytt, & have place before their fellowes for the tyme.

Everye evenyng the schoolemaster ymediately before their departure from the schoole shall recyte vnto those of the seconde, thirde, and fourth fourme, three lattyn wordes and declare the significacion therof plainely in english w<sup>ch</sup> they shall wryte orderlye and relieue vnto him the nexte daie at that tyme He shall begynne with names of the parts of a mans bodye, of diseases of vertues vices, beasts, fyshes, herbes, trees and so forthe.

The schollers shall not be permytted to playe excepte vppon Thursday onely sometymes when the wether is fayre and vppon Saterdag or half

hollyedaies after evenynge prayer. And their playe shallbe to drive a toppe, to tosse a handeball, to runne, or to shoote, & none other.

Everie scholler shallbe taughte to saye the Lordes prayer, the Articles of his faith, y<sup>e</sup> tenne commaundementes, and other of the chief parts of the Catechisme and princypall poyntes of christian Religion in english first and after in latyn. And vppon Sondaye and hollyedaies the master shall reade a lecture to all or the moste parte of his schollers, w<sup>th</sup> he shall thincke meete for the hearinge therof out of Calvins or Nowels Catechysme or some such other booke at his discrecion. And the schoole shall not breake vp at any great ffeast in the yere for any longer tyme then the space of one weeke besides the hollyedaies which hollyedayes allso shall not be spent w<sup>th</sup>out this lecture & instruction in the things before mencioned.

All the Schollers shall coome to the Churche and there heare divyne service and the scripture redde or interpreted w<sup>th</sup> attention and reverence. He that shall doe otherwise shall receive correccion accordinge to the qualitey of his fault.

The Schoolemaster shall vse no kynde of correctyon save onelye w<sup>th</sup> a Rodde moderatelie except yt be a verye thynne feruler vppon the hande for a light negligence, so likewise of y<sup>e</sup> vssher. Yf they doe, by the discrecion of the Governo<sup>r</sup> after admonytion they shallbe displaced.

None above the first fourme shall speake englishe in the schoole or when they are together at playe. And for that and other faults allso lett there be two monytors who shall give vp their Roles euery ffridaye at afternoone. And the Schoolemaster shall allso appoynt privitye one other Monytor who shall marke and presente the faults of th'other two and those faults w<sup>th</sup> theye eyther negligentlye omytt or willinglye lett slippe.

Those which are vnapt to learne the Schoolemaster after one yeares paynes taken w<sup>th</sup> them to verye small proffyttinge shall certefye vnto the gouernors who after prooffe therof shall cause their parents to take them away from the schoole and to employe them otherwyse.

The schoolemaster shall see the schoole to be very cleane kepthe, he shall not receyve any gyrles into the same Schoole.

There is further a provision for emending the statutes, and on a separate page the six articles which the parents or guardians of the child must accept.

As at Bury St. Edmund's, the first form learns the first part of the grammar in English, but in addition reads Lily's *Carmen De Moribus*, which was usually attached to it, begins its Cato collection, and is said to begin select letters from Cicero. These letters may occupy an erroneous position, though Sturm originally placed them at this stage. In the second form, Cato is continued along with the Latin grammar, while Aesop, Mancinus, and the *Colloquies* of Erasmus are studied. So the boys at Harrow are supposed by the end of the second form to have done exactly what the boys at Bury St.

Edmund's had done except that they apparently added some work on Cicero's select letters. Lily's *Carmen* would certainly have been studied at Bury St. Edmund's, even if it appears not to have been specified. At Harrow, the third form completes the grammar. The third form also reads Terence, and Ovid's *Tristia*, but omits to mention Plautus, and Erasmus, *De Civilitate*, and adds Cicero's *Familiar Epistles*. The fourth form reads Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, Horace, Erasmus, *Copia* and *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, but omits Sallust, and brings down from the fifth form Cicero's *De Officiis* and its attendant *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, or *De Finibus*. It also provides for Greek by beginning the Greek grammar. The fifth form has shifted *De Officiis* to the fourth, retains Virgil's *Aeneid* and Caesar's *Commentaries*, omits mention of Quintilian and *Ad Herennium*, adds Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, and Livy for Latin; for Greek Demosthenes, Isocrates, Hesiod, Heliodorus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>87</sup> One hopes that Shakspeare at Stratford got Heliodorus.

The compositional sequence at Harrow is particularly interesting. In the second form, the boys write out phrases and turn Englishes into Latins. In the third, they begin to learn to make an epistle, evidently imitatively upon the model of Cicero's *Familiar Epistles*,<sup>88</sup> which they are reading. They evidently also get their verse rules from the grammar to apply upon Ovid's *De Tristibus*. In the fourth, they continued to write epistles, now under the rhetorical direction of Erasmus, *De Conscribendis* and *De Copia*. Here they also mark *Propria*, *Translata*, *Synonyma*, *Diversa*. Since they had begun to write out phrases in the second form, here are five of Ascham's six demanded exercises, only *Contraria* failing to be specified.<sup>89</sup> The early insistence upon Cicero as well as the methods of doing so are also in accord with Ascham's ideas. These provisions would thus appear to be not earlier than 1570. So certainly is the provision for Nowell's catechism. Both the Nowell and the Ascham statements are most likely to have come in about the time of the patent to Lyon in 1572. But to continue the compositional sequence, the boys were in the fourth to learn to make a verse as they studied Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics* together with Horace. The fifth form came naturally to the

<sup>87</sup> "Dionysius Halicarnasseus undertook the task of handing down certain precepts concerning the kinds of speeches, or of their arguments, according as they concerned panegyrics, epithalamiums, epitaphs and such like" (Watson, F., *Vives: On Education*, p. 182).

<sup>88</sup> See Kempe's recommendation of a method.

<sup>89</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 3v. Ascham himself directs that four out of the six be assigned, as is done here.

theme. These themes were to be their oratorical work after the fashion desired by Brinsley, as shown by the requirement of Livy, Demosthenes, and Isocrates; also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as a possible guiding text. They may have used *Ad Herennium* and Quintilian as at Bury St. Edmund's, but no statement is made as to Aphthonius, which was the conventional text for the theme.

The chief differences, then, of the Harrow curriculum from that at Bury St. Edmund's are that it emphasizes Cicero more, and provides within the curriculum for Greek. It shows very distinctly the influence of Ascham. These differences are probably due to later insertions upon an original curriculum near to Edward's time, which was doubtless an almost exact counterpart of that at Bury St. Edmund's.

Besides the curriculum at Bury St. Edmund's and its copies at Bangor and Harrow, there is another surviving curriculum from the reign of Edward, that at East Retford, where the patent was issued on December 9, 1551, and the statutes are dated April 30, 1552. It is a very interesting curriculum because it shows the views of the extreme protestants who are to become Puritans. These statutes were made "by the advice of the said Most Reverend Father in God *Robert* Archbishop of York."<sup>40</sup> This was Robert Holgate or Holdegate, now about seventy-one years of age. He had been especially interested in grammar schools.

On 24 Oct. 1546 he received letters patent for the foundation of three grammar schools at York, Old Malton, and Hemsworth, each to be a separate corporation with a master and usher, the statutes to be framed by the archbishop, who ordained that Latin, Greek, and Hebrew should be taught free.<sup>41</sup>

"He favoured the doctrines and practices of the foreign reformers," to a very great degree. His Calvinistic leanings are apparent in these statutes at East Retford, which probably bear close connection to those of his own three grammar schools. Apparently the statutes at Hemsworth give some clue to the curriculum there, for Carlisle says, Some other clauses in the Statutes are, however, in a great measure *obsolete*, from laying down and directing customs and modes of Classical education and studies which are quite incompatible with modern times.<sup>42</sup>

For that very reason, however, they would be the more significant to us.

<sup>40</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 281.

<sup>41</sup> D. N. B.; based upon Carlisle, II, 817 ff., 858 ff., 919.

<sup>42</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 819.

But to go on with the curriculum at East Retford, where Holgate was adviser, it was provided,

I. The said Schoolmaster or Usher shall diligently teach and read unto their Scholars of the First Form within the said Grammar School the figures and characters of letters, to join, write, sound and pronounce the same plainly and perfectly. And immediately to learn the inflection of Nouns and Verbs, which if it be done with diligence, a good and apt nature in one year may attain a perfect reading, pronouncing, and declining of Nouns and Verbs, and the more prone natures may spare some part of the year to hear the explication of Tullie's Epistles written *ad Terrentiam Uxorem*, or *Tyronem Libertum*, for the familiar phrase in the same, out of which the scholars must be commanded to write certain Latin words and repeat the same in the morning next after past.

This is unmistakably an adaptation of Sturm's first form (ninth class) as laid down in 1538, and is patterned on his summary.

Is brevis sit, ut statim transitus fiat ad nominum & uerborū inflexiones, quarum certa exempla, eāq; generalissima sunt deligenda. Si rectè institutio accommodabitur, in quo non praua natura est, uno anno & legere discet, & inflectendi formas communes mandabit memoriae. Quibus uerò aliquid superest temporis, his faciliores & breuiores Ciceronis epistolae sunt proponēdae, quales illae sunt, quas ad Terētiam uxorem, & quaedā, quas ad Tironem Libertum scripsit.<sup>43</sup>

II. Item, in the Second Form, after usual repetition of the inflection of Nouns and Verbs, which is attained in the first form, a more full explication of the Eight Parts of reason, with the Syntaxis or Construction, must be shewed, and the other hours of reading may be spent in the *Colloquia Erasmi*, and some harder epistles of Tully, which must be dissolved and discussed verbatim, and the reason of every Construction shewed. The exercise of the Form is to turn sentences from English to Latin, and *e diverso*. Now is attained your analogy of Nouns and Verbs with precepts, orations conjunct, and that no scholar over one month do continue in the said School without books requisite for his Form, unless he do daily write his own Lessons. And further we ordain that in this Form be taught the Scriptures both the Old and New Testament, Salust, Salern, and Justinian's Institutes, if the Schoolmaster and Usher be seen in the same.

III. Item, the said Schoolmaster or Usher shall read and teach unto the Third Form of Scholars within the said Grammar School, the King's Majesty's Latin Grammar, Virgil, Ovid, and Tully's Epistles, *Copia Erasmi uerborum et rerum*, or so many of the said Authors as the said Schoolmaster shall think convenient for the capacity and profit of his scholars, and every day to give unto his said scholars one English to be made into Latin.

And also that the Scholars of this Form, and likewise of the Second and First Form, so many as shall be conveniently able thereof, shall every

<sup>43</sup> Sturmius, Joannes, *De Literarum Lodi Rectè Aperiendis Liber* (1542, personal), p. 156.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, being work days, first in the morning say over one of the eight parts of speech, like as the manner and fashion is of all Grammar Schools, and upon Friday *Sum, es, fui* with his compounds, as shall seem to the schoolmaster convenient, and to repeat upon Saturday, or upon the Friday, if Saturday chance to be a holiday, such things as they have learned in the same week before.

IV. Item, the said Schoolmaster or Usher shall teach to the Fourth Form of Scholars within the said Grammar School, to know the breves and longs and make verses, and they of this Form shall write every week some Epistle in Latin, and give it to the said Master or Usher at the end of the Week. And also the said Master shall teach the scholars of this Form the Greek Grammar and also the Hebrew Grammar, if he be expert in the same, and some Greek authors so far as his learning and convenient time will serve thereunto.<sup>44</sup>

The school was to teach "not only grammar and other virtuous doctrine but also good manners."<sup>45</sup>

Here is provision for most of the usual materials and methods of the regular curriculum, including petty work. There was to be the regular drill on grammar for the lower students, "like as the manner and fashion is of all Grammar Schools." There was the regular routine of repetition at the end of the week, and doubtless at the end of each day and quarter. Latins were provided in their progressive degrees of difficulty up to verses and epistles. The typical textbook aids are mentioned. The standard texts for construction are given, the most notable omission being of Terence. The curriculum is to be based principally on the epistles of Cicero alone, as Sturm had desired, but without the ungodly aid of Terence. He may in fact, however, have been used, as by Sturm. The significance of this curriculum, based entirely on Cicero, will be discussed later. The general order of these authors for construction is much the same as elsewhere. Apparently, it was intended that each form should require a year, and hoped that some of "the more prone natures" might do even better. The boys are thus expected to cover the curriculum in the same time as at Canterbury, Worcester, and the Cathedral schools generally. But whatever the technical division of this material into forms, the curriculum itself is at bottom the standard one, and was to be administered by standard methods.

But in certain respects it varies, chiefly by omission and shift of emphasis. In order to get the significance of the variants of this curriculum in 1552, we may turn to the work of Laurence Humphrey,

<sup>44</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Nottingham*, Vol. II, p. 241.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

*The Nobles or of Nobility*, which was published in Latin, 1560,<sup>46</sup> and in English translation, 1563. We need to remember here that "Throughout his life Humphrey advocated advanced protestant opinions."<sup>47</sup> Humphrey represents so extreme a point of view, that as we have seen, he is quoted with exaggeration by Prynne in his attack upon ungodly authors in grammar school. While we are about it, we may present Humphrey's views at sufficient length to show what his theories were.

Under "A noble mans schoole and maner of studye," Humphrey says,

Prouyde therefore this learned and godly teacher, after the precepts, and rules of grammer moste briefly, and compendiously abrydged, and taught oute of some one, not many auctours: (sith there is great diuersitie and confusion) that the best Latine wryters folowe. As the familyerst exquisitest, and briefest of *Ciceros Epistles. Dialoges* most delight that age. And therefore, *Ciceros Cato*, or *Lelius*, may they reade. Hereto may certayne chosē colloquies of *Chastalio*, and *Erasmus*, bee coupled. Tymely to sowe the seedes of godlynes and vertue, in theyr tender herts. And *Terence* also, but wyth ryper yeares and iudgement. If any fylthe be entermedled, let the trustie diligēce of the teacher remedy it, usinge sounder authours, as tryacle to expelle it. Nor truly, would I yeld *Terence* this roome but for I saw *Cicero* so much esteeme him who, toke not the leaste parte of eloquence of him. As *Chrisostom* of *Aristophanes*, y<sup>e</sup> excellēce of the *Attyke* tounge. A poete neuertheles, bothe nippynge in taunts, and wanton in talke, & no lesse hurtfull to honestye. But bee the hardest firste imprinted. For growen ryper in yeares and knowledge, they lightly neglect them as trifles. Therefore, not litle helpeth it, euen at firste, to learne them *Greeke* and *Hebrewew*. preposterously do al vnyuersities, scholes, and teachers that contrarie it. For aboute the bushe runne they to arts, who vnderstād not the Original tounes. Of the *Greeke*, no vnpleasaunte authours, are *Esope*, *Ioachim*, *Camerarius*, *Ethike Arithmologie*: a lytle booke, but ladynge fewe preceptes, with great stoare of learnyng. of oratours, *Isocrates*, *Demosthenes*, and the moste reuerende aucthour, and Oratour *Christ Iesus*, with *Thapostles*. whose wrytynges, I alowe euer fyrste and laste. The *Hebrewew* oute of the *Bybles* moste purelye, and onely floweth. In these harder tounes, muche auayleth the trustye, playne, and learned explication, of a paynefull teacher. The aunycnt Nobilytie reuerenced chiefelye Poetes. Therefore *Senekes Tragedyes*, *Plautus Comedies*, *Vergiles Georgykes*, and Warryour: of the *Latynes*, for the statelynes of the matter and stile are moste honoured. which yet, ought y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of versifieng forgoe. *Euripides Ciceros* authority preuailleth to admit. Whose euery verse, he deemth as many Oracles. The diuynitie of *Sibilles* verse, commendeth it selfe. And *Pyndarus* and *Homere* sith *Alexander* so muche prysed, no Noble man may despise. Nay

<sup>46</sup> The British Museum has Queen Elizabeth's copy of this, C. 82. A. 6.

<sup>47</sup> D. N. B.

they ought reuerence. For, in the sacke of *Thebes*, he spared *Pindarus* house, *Homere*, ofte he red, & bare in his bosome bothe in war and peace. In sleepe, made hym partner, or rather priuie Counselor of hys state, and companion of his cares. By nighte lapte hym vnder hys pyllowe. On whom by day he waked, by night to sleepe. *Retoryke* and *Lodgike*, are necessary to file the talke, whet the wit, and imprynt order: wherewith *Aristotle*, the prynce bothe of pleadyng and reasonyng, instructed his *Alexander*. The preparatiue to *Retorike*, to yelde theyr talke bothe more plenteous and pleasaunt: conteineth *Erasmus* booke of the Copy of words and matter. Moste profitable if wel and wittily he be red. But muche I ouerpasse. Bothe for I mind not to reckon all, and for I teach a Noble man, who wonteth not to reade all. But this muche shall make hym a good reasoner. Besides the art of wordes, he must be stuffd with store of matter. To become therefore fyrste *Ethike*, and morall, reade he of the greekes *Isocrates*, chiefly to *Demonicus*, and *Nicocles*, *Epictetus*, and other like. of the *Hebrues*, *Deuteronomy*, and *Ecclesiastes*. To learne in the entrie of hys yeares, of thone gods lawe and commaundments: of thother, the worldes vanitie. But chiefly kenne he *Salomons prouerbes*. The like accompt make hee of *Dauids psalmes*. Of this precepte in traynyng youth, thoughte perhaps straüge yet not vnprofitable, mine authour is god. My presidents and guyders, manye *Dukes* in holye *Scripture*. Who knewe no other learninge, no other bookes, then gods. For thus saieth god to *Iosua*. Depart not this volume of the lawe from thy mouth, but day and nighte muse thereon. To obserue and folowe, what so is wryte therin. So shalt thou prosper thy way and haue good successe.

Furthermore nexte *Aristotle* of maners, reade he *Ciceros* duties, which he ought neuer laye from hym. and peruse hee, whatsoeuer that heauenlye wight wrate. Nor neglecte hee what *Erasmus* taughte, of Ciuilitye of maners. It behoueth also, a Noble man bee skild in house Phylosophie: and bee not ignoraunte, in gouernement of housholde. Thereof wrate *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*. Whiche also oure *Paule* touched, wrytyng to the *Ephesians*, *Timothee*, and others. But sithe oure Noble man tendeth to a common Weale, weare hee wyth dayelye and nyghtlye studye, *Aristotles*, and others wrytinges of Ciuyle knowledge, know hee his countries ordinances, lawes, and maners: with the forren states of the *Grekes*, *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians* *Candies*, *Iewes*, *Romās* and other *Christians* in *Europe*. Reade he also all wryters of Nobilitie. *Erasmus* of the institution of a *Christian Prince*, *Sturmes* learned Nobilitye, *Philo*, *Hierome Osorius* & *Lucas Gauricus*: who hādle the selfe *Theame*, & almost all *Plutarches* workes. In them as mirrours, to see and beholde hym selfe. For, *Demetrius Phalereus*, wonted to exhorte *Ptholomeus Philadelphius*, to reade all wryters of regymen of Realmes. For in them hee shoulde see, what hys *Counsaylours* nor durste, nor wote to warne him. For diligence where in, much is *Augustus* praysed. Who, oute of all wryters of common Weales, gathered somewhat. Thinkyng none could rule wel, who wanted skil. And therefore wonted *Cesar* to wonder, how *Silla* wantinge learning, raught so hye. who albeit hee were surnamed happy, yet for he was vnlearned, was maymed and depryued of hys chiefest



hap. The neighbour study to this, is *Historical* knowledge, many wayes auaylable. Herein emongs the *Grekes*, *plutarke*, *Appian*, *Thucidydes*, are of greatest name. Emongs the *Hebrewes*, *Iosephus*, the bookes of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Iudges*, and the *Kynges*. Emonges the *Latines*, *Cesar* no lesse honoured for the pennynge, then atchieuinge of his conquestes. *Liue* also, whom in times past, Nobles trauailed euen frō *Spayne* to see. whom our men, yet breathinge in his bookes, maye easelyer viewe at home. Of this sorte, floryshed in oure time *Sleidane*, *paule*, *Iouius*, and *Bembus*. be he also skilfull in the Chronicles of his countrey. Least amids hys trauail in foren Realmes, he become a forren at home. To this ciuyle knowledge also belong *Iustinians* institutions, the *Pandects*, and the whole course of the ciuyle lawe. And bothe all *antiquitye*, and the law and statutes of our owne realme. wherin, so skilful ought he be, as he dare professe it. For, the Nobles palayces, ought to be the whole contries Oracles. *Plato* had I almoste ouerpassed, with whose lawes and commenwelth, he ought moste famylierlye acquaynte hym. The *Mathematicals* haue theyr manyfolde profite. *Arithmetike*, can hee not want. *Geometry* muche helpeth, to placinge, framinge, and conueyinge of buyldings. Great delyghte and profite, bryngeth *Geography*. But *Astrology*, I see so rauened, embraced, and deuoured of many: as they neede no spur to it, but rather a brydle frō it, no trompeter to encourage them, but a chider to restrayne theyr vehement race. Whereto some haue so much credyted, as almost dyscrediting god, they lyghted not on altogether luckye ende, nor fortolde of the starres nor fore-seene of them. I condemne not vniuersally the arte: but thereto, get they me nor counseller, nor fauourer it hath plenty enough of prayzers. Be the fine of theyr whole studye, fyrste to knowe god, next them selues. To gouerne well theyr famylye, the state. Thus, leaue I muche to priuate readyng, and ouerpasse, both Christyan and heathen wryters of later age, or nearer yeares. I passe by also, the *Catechismes* and institutions of *Christian Religion*. Wherein the chiefe of our age, is *Iohn Caluin*. And forgat *Commentaryes* wherein, bothe of oure time, and the auncients, many excelde. Nor meant I to enter that large playne, of determynynge what autthours speciallye they should folow, in eche trade of studye. Wherefore now wyll I ende. If first I propose oure Nobles *Alexander Seuerus* paterne. Wherein as a moste compendyouis forme, is closed the sum of theyr whole study. For he, was not altogether estraunged from oure relygyon. But in his Oratory, and secrete Closet, besydes the Images of the greate *Alexander* and *Appolonius*: had also *Christes* & *Abrahams* counterfaites. Of all aucthours hee moste delyghted *Virgil* and *Cicero* of the common welth (Which spent throughe the malyce of tyme, nowe appeareth not,) and the same aucthour of duties. But commonly red hee Greeke wryters. After longe readyng, reuyed hys spirytes wyth 'wrestlynge, and *Musyke*. In the after noones, gaue hym selfe to wrytinge, pennynge, and pervsynge letters. which exercises likewise, must our Noble man obserue. Translate in to dyuers tounge, penne Orations *Epistles*, declame, expound aucthours, recount historyes and *Apothegmes*, dylate and amplyfie tales, ken by roate sage sawes, and pleasaunt and wittye prouerbes, haue in store ciuile phrases of talke, to

greete all commers, entertayne straungers, and furnish embassades. And courteous manners of speache, in thankinge, table talke, demaunds, sutes, requests, counsayles, perswasions, and other vsuall cyuyle theames. which practises may not neglect, who coueteth to thriue and profite in learninge. of *Aristotle* and *Plato* I gather, the practises of the auneynts were, exercise, *Musike*, paynting a gentlemanlye recreation, and those partes of learnynge whereof presentlye wee entreate. But whereto bable I thus much? sith this matter requyreth a peculyer treatyse, and more playne and plentifull dyscourse: yea of suche one, as aboundeth bothe in wit and leasure. Therfore this last piller and precept adde I, that in all his life, myds all hys sortes of studyes, he be a deuyne. For, as the aunciente sages, accompted *philosophy* thende of all studyes, and euen the Castle of knowledge: so I in this oure Noble mans race of studye, determyne dyuynytie, both the bound whence, and the gole wherto he runneth. So shall hee imitate the auncient maner of the auneyntes, and become a godly and Chrystian Noble.<sup>48</sup>

It will be noticed that Humphrey, as do other writers upon the "prince," bases his work fundamentally upon the grammar school curriculum. But he introduces Cicero's epistles in the first place, and advises the postponement of Terence till the student has attained some maturity. He also wants the student to cover knowledge in Greek and Hebrew as well as in Latin. The statutes at East Retford in 1552 also emphasize Cicero's epistles, apparently omit Terence entirely, provide for Greek and Hebrew, and curiously enough wish Justinian's *Institutes* taught, as Humphrey had directed. It also adds Salern, for physic I suppose. Clearly, this omnibus curriculum at East Retford, advised by Holgate; and the ideal noble depicted by Humphrey belong to the same Calvinistic tradition, and just as clearly that tradition is not specifically English in spirit, content, nor organization. But we need not trouble for our present purpose to discover its sources. For after all, the curriculum at East Retford is fundamentally that of other English schools, but with the omission of Terence and the addition of an excessive godliness. These changes are not found elsewhere, and were doubtless due to certain tendencies in the reign of Edward VI which take an extreme form in Holgate as an individual. Such extremes were "ironed out" under Queen Elizabeth. Extreme protestants and extreme Roman Catholics were about equally distasteful perhaps to her.

So we shall find that the modifications appearing in the curricula at Bury St. Edmund's and Harrow appear uniformly in those of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These were recognized by Elizabeth as the

<sup>48</sup> Humfrey, L., *The Nobles or of Nobilitye* (1563), pp. y3r ff.

true intent of her "dear brother" Edward. And well she might so recognize them, for they were used in the training of Edward, and probably were developed out of the experience of his schoolmasters. Because of her own connection with Edward and his teachers, Elizabeth would have been trained to sympathy with these ideas. Among these schoolmasters, it is now apparent that we must award the chief praise or blame for these changes in the curriculum to Richard Cox. He had been master at Eton, sending about 1530 a copy of that curriculum to Saffron Walden. As Leach shows, Cox won at Eton the distinction of being "the best schole master of our time" but also "the greatest beater."<sup>49</sup> We hear that he was on the commission which prepared the authorized grammar to serve as a basis for essential uniformity in the grammar schools. He was one of three members to shape the cathedrals, and consequently the curricula of their grammar schools, on the new foundation. It should therefore be no matter of surprise that these schools receive the Eton curriculum as their own. Cox was in 1544 put in charge of the education of Prince Edward, and in that education we have seen the Eton curriculum used as a basis, and are now seeing some of the resultant modifications appearing in the curricula of Edward's reign. We shall see that these modifications were also inserted in the curricula at Winchester, Eton, and regularly elsewhere. They were the official idea of the proper procedure. Cox, Cheke, Cheke's pupil Ascham, and his pupil Grindal, had trained Edward and Elizabeth; and Edward and Elizabeth had been convinced that the system which had produced such satisfactory results upon themselves was likewise the best for the grammar schools.

So the curriculum is now in the reign of Edward fully formed. Mary could not completely undo what had been done, and Elizabeth returned to the system of Edward. We shall see that for the remainder of the sixteenth century and beyond, this is basically the approved curriculum.

---

<sup>49</sup> V. C. H., *Buckingham*, Vol. II, p. 181.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE WINCHESTER SYSTEM UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

WE HAVE SEEN that the Eton system was derived from that at Winchester and that in the first half of the sixteenth century the two systems were regularly and justly bracketed together. The same bracketing continues in the second half of the century. For instance, in 1560, Dr. William Bill provided detailed statutes for Westminster. At some time after Dr. Gabriel Goodman had succeeded Dr. Bill in 1561, he continued these special statutes, noting that they were, "Very like the Orders used in *Eton* and *Winchester* Schools."<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, we shall see that the Westminster curriculum is a slightly adapted copy of that at Eton, which is not surprising, since Dr. Bill had become fellow and provost of Eton in 1559. Similarly, as was to be expected, Dr. Goodman himself modelled upon Westminster when about 1574 he provided a curriculum for a grammar school which he had founded at Ruthin in Wales.<sup>2</sup> So, to return to the original point, the systems at Winchester and Eton were evidently still in the second half of the sixteenth century notably alike.

A great deal of information concerning Winchester is to be had from a surviving notebook by William Badger, who entered Winchester at the age of ten in 1561, remaining over eight years till admitted to New College April 2, 1569.<sup>3</sup> This volume contains the dictates of the master, Christopher Johnson,<sup>4</sup> and when Johnson was absent at election time in some years those of Miller, the usher, from the time Badger entered the fourth form after Michaelmas, 1563, for a little more than three and one-half years.<sup>5</sup> It will be remembered that we have heard of these dictates by the master in various systems. They are naturally colored by the work of the form, and at times make direct reference to some author or process which is being studied. They also give a wealth of information concerning the

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals* (1725), Vol. II, Appendix, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 328 ff.

<sup>3</sup> V. C. H., *Hampshire*, Vol. II, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> As one of the boys at Winchester, Johnson made his contribution to a volume of verse dated September 5, 1552, which was presented to King Edward upon a visit to the school (B. M.; Royal MS. 12. A. XXXIII). But Johnson was no longer a contributor when in 1554 the boys presented a collection of verse to Philip and Mary at their marriage (B. M.; Royal MS. 12. A. XX). In the first collection, Θωμας σταπειλτονος, who was later to become the Roman Catholic controversialist, writes his name in Greek characters. But the verse in both collections is in Latin.

<sup>5</sup> For the chronology of these exercises, see Appendix IV.

various phases of school life at the time Shakspeare was born, some of which we shall notice in passing.

According to Leach, Badger entered Winchester at the age of ten in 1561. Since he was promoted to the upper school in 1563 after only two years, he evidently had the equivalent of at least one form at entrance. Being ten, he ought to have been eligible for upper school at once. He entered upper school at twelve, a year or two late. When his notebook ends after Easter, 1567, he was about sixteen, and had been three-quarters of a year in the sixth and presumably the final form. It was nearly two years later that he entered university. Leach implies that Badger had spent these years at Winchester, since he says that he spent altogether above eight years there. But I do not know on what evidence Leach makes this statement or certain others which I have accepted on his authority.

We may now turn to the various indications of studies and school practice which are embodied in these dictates only a few years before Shakspeare entered school. Johnson welcomed the fourth form with a playful speech on the present hardships of the boys away from Winchester (2r).<sup>6</sup> As we learn from a dictate a few days later, these hardships were occasioned by the plague, the causes of which are discussed by Johnson, who was a physician (11r). In his second dictate, Johnson wished that he had the fabulous charms of various characters so that he might teach the boys with like power. With the third, he settled down to his routine of dictates in prose and verse covering a multitude of subjects, usually interesting and seldom completely boresome. Frequently, he utilized these dictates to give supplementary instruction, so that we get numerous hints as to the studies of the boys. The fourth dictate (3v) begins with the statement, "Si violandum est ius (inquit ille) propter regnū violandū est." This is the much-quoted statement of Cicero from *De Officiis*. Johnson grants the boys three things but on three conditions, the third of which is that they refrain from the maternal tongue (4v). The concessions were due to the disturbed conditions caused by the plague. Johnson gives the boys a succession of distichs, varying the theme of, "May the earth lie lightly on your bones that the dogs may easily dig them up," as expressed by Martial, Alciat, Sleidan, and himself. He then commands the boys to try their hands, "Vos experimēta date" (7v). No doubt the subject of this theme was "grateful to

---

<sup>6</sup> My work has been done from a photostat procured by the Library of the University of Illinois from the original in the British Museum, MS. Add. 4379, to whose authorities I am thus deeply indebted. I have also examined the original.

boys," as the theorists demanded. In this way, the boys were learning to vary verse into other verse.

In a series of distichs, Johnson fixes the characters of seven prominent Romans in the minds of the boys to help them with their history (9r). The dictates frequently convey such items of information. Johnson orders that when he is out, those who can will occupy themselves in writing poetry, those who cannot write poetry will write prose (10v). He advises that verse is the best exercise, especially epigram, of which Martial is master (12v). These various hints indicate that the boys were learning to write verse, as was usual, pretty clearly on the model of Martial. Johnson models upon the opening of the first oration against Catiline a short oration exhorting to the ancient school discipline (13r). He describes two kinds of evil-mannered men, using a couplet from Juvenal (III, 107-108) in illustration (13v), follows in his next dictate with an adapted quotation from Persius (V, 52-68) on the thousandfold differing tastes of men (14r), and in his next with advice as to the opinion of others, using a couplet from Martial as his objective (14v). Next comes a lecture on meteorology (15r), occasioned by the heavy rains of the winter months. The approaching holidays occasion a couplet from Homer to be moralized against those scholars who were bored with school and always longed to go home (15v), but seems also to be moralized in favor of those studying Greek. Then follows a poem aimed at lazy boys who preferred lying late in bed to getting busy with school work (16r). In verse form, Johnson tells the boys that the law was to keep their tongues from blasphemy, their hands from strife, and not to use the mother tongue. Whoever observes these three things will be free, not indeed to play all he wants to, etc., without stint, for he would destroy all law, but free to study whatever he wishes, writing prose, rejoicing in the forensic arts, perusing orations, writing verse, studying Greek (17r). Here are the types of work the boys are supposed to be doing. And so the dictates run on.

The first day after Christmas of 1563 brings an especially significant dictate. Johnson tells the boys that when he had been offended with those who had brought together a multitude to the spectacles, he had vanquished them with angry words, and then the thought had come to him that plays are like life. To illustrate, he uses the characters of *Acolastus* (20v). The illustration implies that the boys had *Acolastus* fresh in mind, else they could not have been expected to understand. I believe it is clear that the Winchester boys had put on *Acolastus* in 1563 as their Christmas play. Since the boys were still in

the country because of the plague, presumably the performance occurred there. Johnson's anger at the crowd may in part have been due to fear of contagion.

While he was in minatory mood, Johnson gave the boys a bit of advice next day as to not using the maternal tongue and as to keeping their verbs, cases, genders, tenses, etc. straight. He wishes that in Pythagorean fashion those who were ignorant would keep quiet and learn, while those who knew something would speak only in premeditation (21r). It seems that some of the boys had set him off by claiming that in laying down his law he had been guilty of a solecism in using the phrase "abuse the mother tongue" to mean that they were not to use it. Evidently the boys were studying figures of speech, as was customary at this stage, and were attempting to turn their knowledge to practical advantage. These two dictates seem to have cooled Johnson down from Christmas, and he then continued with his regular moral and literary routine.

Thursday, February 3, 1564, of the second week of school after Christmas seems to have been the final day of rustication before returning "home" (24r). Johnson later gives the boys a poem, perhaps original, on Horace's precept to take a subject suited to one's powers (25v). He refuses a request from the boys to go to the woods (26r). On the Monday preceding Shrove Tuesday he lectures on "Nothing too much" (27r), and apparently on the following Wednesday refers to a play, seemingly in Greek, which they had given the day before (27v). He sums up neatly for them the divisions of all philosophy, in a dictate which is worth translating.

Philosophy is the knowledge of things human and divine. This is twofold; theoretic which they call speculative, and practic which they call active. Of the first, there are three kinds, natural, supramundane, and mathematical. Of the latter, two, acting and making. To these are added as auxiliaries certain subsidiaries which they call trivials; grammar, rhetoric, dialectic. Natural considers the motion and quiet of those things which are under the circuit of the moon. Supramundane aspires higher and penetrating through the skies themselves reflects upon the divine nature. Mathematical treats either of numbers as music and arithmetic, or of measuring magnitude as geometry and astronomy. Practic contains moral philosophy, but doing contains mechanics. The trivials and mathematics are summed up in these verses:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> These verses are to be found with slight variations in at least some editions of Mirandula Octavianus, *Illustrium Poetarum Flores* under *De Arte*, also in Germbergius, Hermannus, *Carminum Proverbialium* . . . *Loci Communes* under *Ars et Doctrina*. Wilson gave an English version of them in metre in his *Arte of Logike*. For a representation of these seven liberal arts, see the title page of Lily's *Grammar*.

Grammar speaks, dialectic teaches the truth, rhetoric colors words,  
music sings, arithmetic numbers, geometry ponders [ponderat],  
astronomy concerns the stars. (29v).

The boys now have a bird's-eye view of all knowledge into which to fit their worm's-eye view of grammar school trivials.

Johnson ends his next dictate with the advice "but concerning arguments of this kind consult the *Noctes* of Aulus Gellius and the *Rhetoric* of Caesarius"<sup>8</sup> (30r). Aulus Gellius would furnish material; the rhetoric of Caesarius would give technical advice. So the boys are studying rhetoric now, with Caesarius as a text, or at least as a book of reference. This we might have expected from the advice Johnson has been giving in his dictates.

A little later Johnson explains what a paradox is and refers to those of Cicero (32v), reminding us that in 1530 Winchester boys read Cicero's *Paradoxes* in the fourth form. That is probably the motivation for this dictate.

After Easter, Johnson's first dictate is devoted to the hope that the boys spent their vacation not in the accustomed frivolity of most but in sober reading, etc. (37v). He then begins his next dictate with some significant rhetorical questions, "Quid agit Cicero, vestre meeq; deliciae? quid Titus Livius? quid ille poeticus chorus?" (38r). The boys have been studying Cicero, Livy and the poets. At Sandwich in 1580, where the curriculum is apparently based upon that of Winchester, the boys studied Livy in all three of the upper forms, beginning with the fourth. Evidently, Winchester boys also used Livy at least in the fourth. We have seen that the boys probably read Cicero's *Paradoxes*. The boys at Sandwich read also the *Epistles* in the fourth form, though Winchester boys had in 1530 come to these only in the fifth.

Johnson gives a dialogue of two boys disputing (45v). This is a fancy grammatical disputation, a regular grammar school exercise. Then comes a significant statement. Johnson reminds the boys, "In Plautus you have read Alcmena's complaint" (46r). Under the custom of the time, the reading of Plautus implies that a great part at least of Terence had already been read, and Johnson makes frequent allusions to characters, incidents, and sayings in Terence as something with which the class is familiar. We remember that in

<sup>8</sup> I have seen only three copies of this; my own, printed at Paris by Wechelius in 1536; that of the Library of the University of Illinois, "Coloniae, Ad intersignium Monocerotis. Anno 1565"; and the copy belonging to Cambridge University Library.



1530 the boys were to read Terence in the fourth form. Since this dictate is after *Whitsuntide* in the fourth form, the boys are now far enough through Terence to have read also some Plautus. Thus Johnson's earlier references to the acted comedies of the preceding Christmas and Shrovetide were apposite. Did the class in Terence by itself put on the Christmas and Shrovetide plays? It is interesting to note that one of the plays read from Plautus was *Amphitryo*. No doubt William Shakspeare also read *Amphitryo* along with his Terence in the corresponding stage at Stratford, thereby preparing himself later to write *The Comedy of Errors*.

Johnson warns the boys not to lose their fear of the still raging plague (47v). He tells the boys that Homer and Virgil are the highest in poetry, Demosthenes and Cicero for eloquence (49v). He also mentions Hesiod and Lucretius. The boys will go from Terence to Virgil, and are being pointed to the heights.

Miller now gives the dictates for the next six weeks, "In the time of election," as Badger labels the period which here begins. Miller in his first dictate lays down the law in such a way as to indicate that he has not before had this class (53r). Since he came only about June 24, 1563,<sup>9</sup> we have external confirmation of the fact. Miller begins a dictate on patriotism by saying, "Quoniam vt apud Ciceronē legimus ðnia cōmoda sunt a patria accepta, nullum incōmodum pro patria grave putandum est" (59r). This is from the first book of Cicero's *De Oratore*, and was to be had in the quotation books under *patria*. The present tense probably does not imply that the boys were then reading this work, though they might just possibly have been doing so. Miller mentions Ovid and Tibullus as sources for writing, but it is not clear that the boys were reading these poets (60r). He also addresses a poem to the "Somniculose puer," exhorting him to learn to write verses, for shame, if for nothing else, that his juniors were surpassing him (61v).

Shortly after his return Johnson gave the boys a dictate on how Cicero, though as a boy he was weak and unpromising, yet attained the heights of eloquence (67v). No doubt this was supposed to encourage the boys in their labors. A quotation from the *Eunuchus* of Terence (68v) is self-sufficient, and does not necessarily imply knowledge of the play by the class; but the class, as we have seen, would recently have read the play.

<sup>9</sup> V. C. H., *Hampshire*, Vol. II, p. 311.

Soon Johnson is discussing and Christianizing a sentiment of Cicero's from *De Amicitia* (73r). The boys should have been reading Cicero's essay about this time. A saying of Quintilian's furnishes the subject of an essay (76v), but there is nothing to show that the boys were then reading Quintilian, though they may have been doing so. There is now a direct reference to the reading of Virgil, "Agriculture (since that book is in your hands)" (79r). In conventional style, Johnson points out that agriculture should not be despised, and with the Romans was in higher estimation than at present, so that the boys must make allowance accordingly. Evidently the boys are reading the *Georgics*, as had been done in the fifth form in 1530, to which high estate Badger and his comrades had now come, if one uses the system of division into forms which was in vogue in 1530. For then the boys spent a year in each of four forms. Now also they spend at least four years; but they spend a year and a half in the fourth and a like amount in the fifth, ending with at least a year in the sixth.

A little later, numerous animals are moralized for the benefit of the boys, and Pliny is mentioned as the source of a great deal of such edification (80r). No doubt, the boys were expected to extract these moral tidbits from Pliny for their essays, as was usual. Johnson quotes the *Georgics* to point a dictate (80v), "quū interim non sit nulla (vt Vergilius egregie cecinit) inaratę gratia terre."<sup>10</sup> He then gets several occasional dictates from a Latin translation of Homer's *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, which translation he later printed. The original Greek was regularly printed along with the Greek Aesop, and thus was a grammar school item. A saying of Cicero's concerning Dolabella is referred to (83r), which is from the eleventh Philippic. Virgil's lines

interque nitentia culta  
Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae<sup>11</sup>

serve as a parallel to what happens in the state (83v). We are following the progress of the boys with the *Georgics* very closely. About half way through Post-Michaelmas term they were evidently just beginning that work. The third dictate forward uses line eighty-three of the first book. The sixth dictate onward then utilizes lines one-hundred fifty-three and four. We shall get still other hints of their progress with Virgil.

A dictate on the common opinion that literary people are for the

<sup>10</sup> Virgil, *Georgics*, Book I, 83.

<sup>11</sup> Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 153-154.

most part bilious quotes a phrase from Horace and seems to be colored by his opinion (84r). Johnson next delivers a technical dictate which may well be translated.

Many rack themselves while they investigate anxiously what is the difference between dialectic and rhetoric. Some, discriminating by the subject matter, have placed dialectic in all matter, rhetoric only in civil inquiry. Others, among whom Zeno the Stoic, thought they differed not indeed in subject matter, but in method as it were, because dialectic is seen to be more concise and like the closed hand, rhetoric more diffuse and like to the same open. Nor are they lacking to whom the distinction seems to lie in this that dialectic is between two, rhetoric from one, because the latter uses perturbations, the former does not; because the latter progresses, the former stands still, and at times is broken off. But those who dispute thus seem to me especially to ignore what should be known to everyone, that all arts have received their name from the subjects and things of which they treat. For Arithmetic has its name from numbers, a tanner from hides, and others in the same way. Since this is so, let them consider whether dialectic is not named from reasoning, rhetoric from the flow of words, so that the latter is copiousness of words, the former copiousness of things (84v).

Johnson's conclusion, "hec sit copia verborum, et illa copia rerum" echoes the title, and his distinction reflects the content of the well-known grammar school text by Erasmus, *De Duplice Copia, Verborum ac Rerum*, which is developed from exactly this view.<sup>12</sup> Presumably Johnson is "inducing" the boys to that work.

Statements by Terence and Horace (*De Arte Poetica*, 175) on age furnish forth a dictate (85v), which one suspects was to accompany Cicero's *De Senectute*, which the boys should have been reading about this time. In the fourth dictate after Christmas, Johnson refers to the plays they had given at Christmas and sums up the benefits he expects the boys to have derived from them.

From those stage plays which we have lately exhibited publicly to the view I think you have derived this benefit besides others, that what must be pronounced with what expression, with that gestures not only you yourselves learned, but are able also to teach others (if need were). For there should be in the voice a certain amount of elevation, depression, and modulation, in the body decorous movement without prancing around, sometimes more quiet, at others more vehement, with the suppletion of the feet accommodated to the subject. These I remember I taught, all which you expressed dexterously enough. It remains that you so remember that if anything hereafter be undertaken in a similar matter neither I shall seem to have lost my labor nor you the fruit of labor (88v).

<sup>12</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 176 ff.

Johnson has given his Christmas plays from the educational point of view, but his next dictate makes it clear that the over-flowing audience has again irked him as at the preceding Christmas with its desire merely to be entertained by the plays. Rather ruefully he ruminates,

The interpreters of Terence and Plautus say a great deal about the origin of comedies and of their nature, disputing not a little so that it may be clear what comedy is. Some wish it to be an imitation of civil life, others wish it to be a representation of the manners which are found in old men, youths, courtesans, pimps, parasites, and others of that kind. From these if it were permitted me to dissent, I think I could give both a truer and shorter definition of comedy. For what else is comedy than a laborious nothing? Invention difficult, disposition laborious, the description of parts [characterization] difficult, of those who act, if they are rather inept, the training exasperating, the providing of the curtains well-nigh impossible [*inexorabilis*], the construction of the theater expensive, the exclusion from the doors not without the offense of many, and the comedy itself nothing. For what is so completely nothing as that which in one moment of the hour, point of time, winking of the eye both begins to be and ceases? (89r).

Vanity of vanities! The Christmas plays were evidently a strain on Johnson's temper.

In the eighth dictate after Christmas, Johnson refers to the fact that the boys had been hunting the day before (90v). It appears from the dictate of a substitute that there were but two teachers in the school, "in hac, et Primarij vestri p̄sidis, et Archididascali vestri absentia" (93r). There was thus the regular arrangement, as provided by the statutes, with an usher presiding over the lower three forms and a master over the upper three. Johnson was the master; Miller, who regularly substituted for Johnson at election time, was the usher, having come to the office on June 24, 1563.<sup>18</sup> Johnson managed, however, to return in time to give the next dictate (93v). A little later Johnson speaks of studying anatomy, "quum heri anatomiam faceremus" (95r). Since he was a physician, this study was doubtless personal and does not indicate that the boys were applying themselves to the subject.

Again we learn of the progress the boys are making with the *Georgics*. Johnson uses lines two fifty-two and three of the second book to drive home a moral (97v). A statement of Cicero's in *De Senectute* furnishes the theme for another dictate on old age (99v). In the next dictate, Lent is showing its influence. Johnson is arguing against a previous stuffing as preparation for a fast. Evidently, then,

<sup>18</sup> V. C. H., *Hampshire*, Vol. II, p. 311.

this is a dictate close to Shrove Tuesday. "The daughter of Abstinence, Chastity, whom I have presented in a comedy, he who keeps company with her, must, I think, abstain from Gluttony, whose daughter is Luxury" (100r). Johnson has written, and evidently the boys have at some time presented, a morality play involving these characters and this moral. We are to remember that the dictate which was probably on Wednesday following Shrove Tuesday of the year before also referred to a play given the day before. Evidently the boys had given Johnson's morality play about Shrove Tuesday. Apparently, in both these years the boys presented a play at Christmas and another on Shrove Tuesday. Johnson's morality play is a fitting companion to the *Acolastus* of the Christmas 1563. If people insist on seeing plays, Johnson proposes to see to it that they shall at least be edified with godly lessons, not merely amused with the frivolities of Plautus and Terence.

Lent also furnished the boys an opportunity to exercise their highest style. The Archbishop of Canterbury gave them permission to eat flesh on Wednesdays (102v), and they had to return thanks. Johnson takes occasion to say, I told you so, "What I said a short time ago, that everyone should prepare for himself a copious fund of letters against every chance." Now the boys have a chance to unlock their word hoard. Two poems of thanks are given in Badger's notebook (105r, 106v). Johnson also commends to the boys the *De Civilitate Morum* of Erasmus (104r) to polish their manners by. He advises them on reading, taking as his text Quintilian's, "multum potius quam multa" (105v). A definition of liberty by Persius furnishes another text (106r).

After Easter, the boys become the fifth form. Badger celebrates with a fancy title page (108r) to mark the beginning of his elevation. The boys had spent six quarters as the fourth form, and were now to spend six more as the fifth. Having spent three years in these two forms, they then spent at least a year as the sixth. Thus they took at least four years to the work of the upper school as in 1530. In his first and second dictates Johnson refers to the recent holidays and exhorts the boys to their further progress (108v). Later he tells them that having translated much from the good Greeks into Latin, he now proposes to try his hand at translating a dictate from the French (109v). He was just completing (110v) his translation of Homer's *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, which he had been giving in broken doses to the boys as dictates for upward of a year.

The boys are now also reading Juvenal,

Juvenal in that satire which you have in hands teaches very aptly the negligence of parents in educating children. For nothing is more removed from reason than that he who has a care for his horses and oxen should not have for his children, than that he should procure the best possible grooms and herdsmen with a very large wage, yet provides masters either none or cheap to form the manners and characters of his children,

and so on (112r). It appears, therefore, that the reference is to the seventh satire of Juvenal. Earlier, Johnson had given the boys a dictate along the same line, quoting VII, 187-188 and X, 116 (44v). These two dictates are in the vein of Elyot and Ascham, who evidently also owe part of their inspiration eventually to Juvenal. The boys are now reading both Juvenal and Virgil, to both of whom we shall again have direct references.

Miller takes charge again at election time in 1565. He uses for several successive dictates two dialogues of Lucian translated into Latin verse (116v-119v). In 1530, Winchester boys had select dialogues of Lucian in the third form. So Miller, who presumably is teaching Lucian to the third form, also utilizes this material for upper work by putting it into verse. Johnson had turned the fable and other lower grammar school work to similar use. Miller, as had Johnson, also advises the boys to master a few things as well as to read many (121r); it was a favorite theme of schoolmasters, deriving from the advice of Quintilian. Two of Miller's dictates seem tied together in an interesting way. One is a short classical oration, the other develops a parallel schoolboy situation upon it as a model (121v, 122r). This was a frequent imitative device.

Shortly after Johnson's return, there is another reference to the *Georgics*, which serves as a landmark to the progress of the boys. "Virgil describes marvelously the nature and industry of bees as may be seen in that volume which you have in hands" (128v). The republic of the bees as described in the fourth book of the *Georgics* comes in for its meed of praise. Probably no Elizabethan schoolboy ever escaped those bees. At least Shakspeare did not,<sup>14</sup> whether they stung him in Virgil or out, in school or not. The next dictate warns the boys that the rain of the night before is not the cause that they are not permitted to go nutting, but a lack of diligence in work, which they must amend (129r). In the second dictate before, the Forest had expressed its feelings in verse upon the shocking noise the boys made

<sup>14</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 472 ff.

when they went nutting (128r). At Eton, it was provided that the boys may go nutting some day in September.<sup>15</sup> It was a very ceremonious occasion, as was evidently true also at Winchester. In the next dictate after the refusal, Johnson pursues the matter further, being so horrified at the desire of the boys to play all day that he quotes Virgil's *Georgics*, IV, 105-107 against them (129v). And yet again he returns to the matter a couple of weeks later (132v). It must have been a beautiful autumn. Here one meets Shakspeare's miching schoolboy face to face—and sympathizes with him too. Had not Johnson just a few weeks before been etymologizing on the name of May (109r), as if that were the only use he could think of for the month, and that just as the boys had returned from Easter vacation—insult to injury! The boys probably thought Johnson's soul as dry as the remainder biscuit after a very long sea voyage, being *panis nauticus triplex*, in fact the *panis lapidosus* of Horace.

Juvenal again suggests a dictate, "Diogenes (to whom Juvenal alludes in yesterday's lesson)" (130v). The allusion is to the story of Diogenes and Alexander as used by Juvenal in Satire XIV, 308 ff. The boys are now nearing the end both of Juvenal and of the *Georgics*. They had begun the *Georgics* shortly after Michaelmas of the previous year, so that they required about a year or slightly more for that work. Juvenal does not make his appearance definitely till after the previous Easter, when the boys were reading the seventh satire. Evidently, the boys had been reading him a considerable time before his first definite appearance.<sup>16</sup> Another dictate reminds one strongly of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (134r), which were sometimes read in grammar school.

Johnson delivers a crisp dictate on the remissness of some boys on hills for play, in school for work, in church for worship (138v). The fifth dictate onward Johnson insists that many of the boys, like rats thirsting from poison, are hastening to the fountain of perdition that they may drink up the whole muddy swamp of Lethe (140r). These fulminations finally result in additional regulations or interpretation of existent regulations (141r). At least, Johnson's dictates are neat and very clear-cut essays. They are models of construction, whether they helped the moral defects of the boys or not. Badger's form seems really to have developed a streak of laziness or worse, but

<sup>15</sup> Creasy, E. S., *Memoirs of Eminent Etonians* (1850), pp. 79-80.

<sup>16</sup> It will be remembered that Johnson was using quotations from Juvenal and Persius along with Martial in the fourth form.

then in such matters good schoolmasters are always a bit underoptimistic.

Johnson also gives as a dictate the rule of the school on speaking Latin.

The speech of youth we wish to be Latin, of all even of those who are buried in the obscurity of the lowest classes, nor anyone to use his native language except when it shall be necessary. This custom must be especially preserved and practiced in the upper forms, must both be decreed by law, and preserved with severity and castigation. When the boys come to school and when they return home, when they play together, when they walk together, whenever they meet, let their speech be Latin or Greek. Let there be no place for lenience if anyone offends against this criminally (141v).

The boys ought now to know what Johnson meant earlier by "abusing the mother tongue." This rule of speaking always Latin or Greek is universal in grammar schools of the time, however well or ill it may have been observed.

In his next dictate, Johnson uses to point a moral concerning holidays a conventional piece of information concerning comedy which the boys would have learned with their Terence a few years before.

Of comedies three parts are enumerated, prothesis, epitasis, catastrophe. But comedies are said to be imitators of those things which are in life, as there is no one who doubts that these same parts are in life. You know that there are also three stages in diseases, augmentation, state, decline. The same thing has happened to these holidays, for they have had a beginning a middle and an end, that you may know to be true what is with Cicero [in *De Senectute*], nothing should seem eternal, because it must have an end (142r).

Johnson's particular statement of the rule concerning comedy shows that he is well abreast of critical discussion, but we cannot pursue that matter here. A poetic dictate on the same page also uses the figure of plays, referring to Mitio, Nero, and at length to Cambyzes and his court, causing one to suspect that the Christmas play had been on Cambyzes. But Nero and Poppea have a dialogue of four and a half pages shortly after Christmas (143r-145r). One feels certain that this is lifted from the Christmas play. Johnson is again in his first dictates referring to the Christmas plays for timely illustration.

We happen to have reference in the college accounts to the play or plays of this Christmas.

An allusion to theatricals at Christmas occurs in the accounts of the year 1565, through the accident of some part of the expense of the performance



having been borne by the College in that year:—‘In exp. fact. circa ludos in feriis nataliciis xj<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>’. These theatricals had taken the place of the festival of the boy-bishop.<sup>17</sup>

But to continue with Johnson’s dictates, he advises against a hand-to-mouth existence in literary matters, as also against rigid Ciceronianism (142v), taking approximately the view of Erasmus on that matter. Johnson delivers a dictate on procrastination, ending with the sting that if the boys think him procrastinative about permitting them to go hunting, they are to remember how frequently they have procrastinated about learning their lessons (145v). Johnson seldom misses a chance to give the boys a polished barb, and his barbs now fly thick and fast, as to various forms of loafers, incorrect clothing (*cf.* especially 153r), etc., etc.

Johnson uses a statement of Aristotle’s to impress the importance of rhetoric and dialectic (154v). Lactantius is referred to, but there is nothing to show whether the boys were required to read him (157v). There is a story of Stephen Gardiner as ambassador to France (157v). The boys are exhorted to model upon the style of Cicero as the best (159v). They are given eight distichs, each meaning “it dawned” (16or). They were then probably expected to invent for themselves a few more ways to get the sun up.

After Michaelmas, Badger’s form became the sixth. It had spent six quarters as the fourth, and six as the fifth, so that it is now beginning its fourth and presumably last year in upper school. Johnson tells the boys in his first dictate that they must turn through all approved authors in both languages to gather materials (174r). This is the regular statement and implies some knowledge of Greek, though we have had no certain indication as to what the boys had done in that language.

Johnson gives a group of dictates on writing a theme, which show very concretely what the boys were taught on the matter.

He who is about to treat a theme, ought at the very beginning to examine thoroughly what is its *sententia*, to what common place it must especially be referred, and whether it must be restricted by some added word. Then he should lead out all his forces, not indeed in tumultuous battle and disordered ranks, but in regular line of battle, should fight with his elephants, his whole cavalry, slings, ballistae, and darts,

<sup>17</sup> Kirby, T. F., *Annals of Winchester College*, p. 287.

and so on with this military figure (185v). Next day Johnson says,

To those things which we said yesterday concerning the treatment of a theme we will add a few. For in proof two kinds of arguments are used: either enthymeme or syllogism. Of the enthymeme the parts are the proposition, the reason, the confirmation of the reason, the embellishing, the conclusion. Of the proposition and conclusion the *sententia* should be the same with the theme itself. The embellishing serves rather for ornament than proof. The confirmation of the reason is not of the form of the enthymeme, but proves its assumption. For example, let the theme be this, "Virtue being praised increases."

By love of praise all things are governed and especially stimulated, therefore virtue also.

There is no animal so stupid which does not permit itself to be petted, there is no man so barbarous who does not permit himself to be praised, therefore all are captivated, etc. Here now the oration should run on into similitudes, examples, apothegms, and other ornaments, and thence concludes (186r).

Of the rhetorical syllogism, which is the other part of explaining the theme, six parts are enumerated, the proposition, the major, the proof of the major, the minor, the proof of the minor, and the conclusion. Let the theme be, "A philosopher should never be an avaricious person."

Proposition No one doubts, I think, that especially disgraceful in a philosopher is that avidity for riches which we call avarice.

For avarice (that I may say it in one word) as it is the contrary of virtue, so certainly it fights directly against wisdom. For wisdom is

Major a kind of right habit of the mind lifting itself to celestial and eternal things. But avarice is what other than depravity depressing the

Proof of mind in itself immortal to the enfeebled members of this money, the major that is, earthly dregs? So that no one does not clearly see what

is the difference between avarice and wisdom. Further, since the philosopher teaches others wisdom, so too he himself should also be a

Minor participator of the same in his life. For wherefore that boast, wherefore the name of philosopher unless as he professes to love wisdom,

so also he can follow it and live according to its prescript? Wherefore, since this is now manifest that wisdom does not at all couple with

Proof of avarice, but a philosopher both in fact and in name is a wise the minor man, how disgraceful in a man of this kind would even a

Conclusion slight suspicion of avarice be. Those of whom I speak this ought to appear wise (186v).

What in the proof of themes we have omitted must here be added that nothing may be lacking. For there are certain propositions so general and universal that it is possible for each one to be demonstrated a priori (as they say). These are to be proved by enumeration, which is accustomed to be called induction by the dialecticians, and confirmed by multitude. Let the proposition be one in Aristophanes that all obey money. But this, what

enthymeme? What syllogism? will so appositely establish it as if one by running through all orders of men, arts, inventions, labors should show with Chremulus that nothing is done except for money? Therefore in these three ways all themes must be treated, by enthymeme, syllogism, and enumeration" (188r).

In a nutshell, the boys now have the fundamentals of the theme, with concrete illustrations attached. They should not henceforth get lost in the voluminous discussions with which the theorists usually obscure these simple fundamentals. They would, of course, be expected to construct themes in accordance with these principles.

Johnson also dictates a poem of praise on the volumes of Silius which the boys were reading. Silius is only less great than Virgil and Cicero (188r), whom, of course, the boys have also been reading.

For the first time, there is no direct allusion to a play or plays this Christmas of 1566. Probably that is because of an unfortunate circumstance. For, as Kirby tells us, there was at this Christmas

a riot, and no performance, but whether there was no performance in consequence of the riot, or a riot in consequence of there being no performance, is not recorded. The scholars broke the lantern looking down the staircase of Hall, and the locks and keys and hinges of the doors, and, which is scarcely credible, smashed to pieces three of the scholars' tables.<sup>18</sup>

We should remember that there had evidently been a less serious disturbance at Christmas, 1563, when, as we have seen, Johnson claims to have been content with giving the offenders who had wanted to crowd in to the play merely a tongue lashing. He also mentions in 1564 as among the annoyances of giving plays the dissatisfaction of those who were turned away. I find no hint of particular trouble over plays in 1565, though both before and after Christmas Johnson aims his shafts at numerous forms of unruliness; but the pent-up dissatisfaction of several years evidently broke out at the Christmas of 1566.<sup>19</sup>

Some of Johnson's dictates probably reflect the late disturbance. He gives the boys a verse description of himself as rather a peppery individual (192r), which he clearly was. The customary rules of the school are again stated in considerable detail (194r). There is a dic-

<sup>18</sup> Kirby, *Annals*, p. 287.

<sup>19</sup> Johnson clearly had serious difficulties with some of his students. A letter of his to Sir William Cecil, dated May 17, but without year, shows that one boy with a knife, Richard Lyllington by name, had to be overpowered (Ellis, H., *Original Letters*, Second Series, Vol. II, pp. 311-313).

tate built upon the conventional interpretation of Mitio and Demea in the *Adelphi* of Terence (194v). The boys must have known the play in order fully to understand the dictate. Johnson commends to the boys the advice of Erasmus to read and make notes systematically (198r).

In the first dictate after Easter, Johnson makes several significant allusions to school processes.

Grave-sounding verses (as I think), or the best prose you have turned into other choice and apposite words, you have treated the lawsuits previously elaborated by Marcus Tullius, you have turned verses from their numbers back to a freer course (201v).

The boys now returned "to the most witty poets, the gravest historians." Here are regular processes, with the added information that the boys have been studying the orations of Cicero. The next dictate begins, "Since we had speech yesterday in connection with Horace of that statue of Marsus which was placed in the Rostra at Rome" (202r). The reference is to the *Satires* of Horace, I, 6, 120, whom the boys are now studying. There have been frequent references to and quotations from Horace throughout these exercises. The last page has several lines of Greek versé (204r), though the Greeks have made but slight first-hand appearance in these dictates. Evidently the boys have had some Greek, probably from the fourth form; but we get little hint here concerning it.

After going through these dictates, one feels that Erasmus would in general have approved of Johnson as a teacher. Johnson was sufficiently stored with both Greek and Latin to bring apt illustrations to bear upon all kinds of discussion. He had at least a proper reverence for the Greek, whether he taught the boys much of it or not. In general, his tone is Renaissance; that is, he usually tells the boys, "Don't be fools," instead of "Don't be sinners." He has good literary taste, and some literary ability of the neat, clear-cut variety. But Johnson is also strongly Reformation, in some respects even Puritanic. Plays are to be used as instruments of culture, but as amusement they are not even tolerable. If one does not find the moral plays of Johnson and his kind amusing, let him remember that they were not intended to be so. On the whole, we may gladly grant Johnson that modicum of rather peppery "humanitas" which is all that he claims for himself. No doubt he and the boys thought rather ill of each other at times, but on the whole they evidently managed well enough. At least Johnson had a rueful sense of humor after his ex-

plosions which must have done much to heal the wounds he had inflicted.

The curriculum of the upper school in the 'sixties is very much the same as in 1530. The school is now divided into lower and upper school, with one teacher for each division. The lower division has three forms, and the upper three or more, which require at least four years for completion. From the case of Badger, we cannot be quite certain, since he was coming to the end of his notebook at Easter, 1567, but seems to have remained in school some time longer. He may have continued his work in another notebook, which has not survived. If he did so, he may have remained in the sixth form six quarters, as he had done in the fourth and fifth. Six quarters in the sixth, and four in the seventh will take him to the time of his entrance to college. Winchester may thus have had seven forms as in 1530, requiring a year and a half for each of the upper four. Or it may have had only six, and Badger missed an election. There are hints that the lower school had much the same subjects as in 1530, but our definite information is only for the upper school.

In the upper school, the boys now begin in the fourth form the study of poetry, and continue throughout the upper school the parallel reading and writing of both prose and poetry. In 1530, the writing of poetry had not come till the fifth form. But we shall see that the Eton system, adapted from that at Winchester, had by 1560 also shifted the study of poetry down by one form to the fourth. Along with their rules for versification, Eton boys in 1560 were to read Ovid, *De Tristibus* for two days, and epigrams of Martial, Catullus, or Thomas More the other two, following with the *Metamorphoses* in the fifth, and Horace. Virgil, and Lucan were to come in the sixth and seventh. Also Thame, which was to be exactly on the Winchester system, provides in 1574 that the boys learn to write verse, and it lists for poets Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Plautus, Lucan.<sup>20</sup> These agree exactly with the Eton list, except that Plautus is added and Martial and his satellites are not included. But Plautus was a satellite of Terence, and we know that both Plautus and Martial were taught at Winchester. By adding Martial to the list at Thame or Plautus to that at Eton we ought to have essentially the list at Winchester in the 'sixties.

With slight rearrangement, nearly all of these authors appear at

<sup>20</sup> *Schola Thamensis Ex Fundatione Iohannis Williams Militis, domini Williams de Thame* (1575), G2r.

Winchester in an account of about 1647.<sup>21</sup> At that time, both lower and upper fourth studied Ovid, *De Tristibus*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Fasti*. Martial, Horace, and Virgil then came in the fifth and sixth. Thus the Winchester system in poetry about 1647 is almost exactly that of Eton about 1560. Martial is now deferred till all of Ovid has been completed. Otherwise, practice appears to be the same. Since one finds Martial in the fourth form at Winchester, the Eton position in the 'sixties, one would naturally infer that at that time the Winchester system for poetry was almost exactly that at Eton and Westminster.

We shall soon see that in the 'sixties Virgil's *Bucolics* make appearance at the next stage at Winchester. This position is explained by the practice at Winchester in 1530. At that time, the boys began memorizing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the fourth form and continued memorizing through the remainder of grammar school. They then got their verse rules and read Virgil's *Bucolics* in addition to Ovid in the fifth. Thus in Johnson's time in the 'sixties, Virgil's *Bucolics* still keep their old position, and were moralized by Johnson in the Erasmian fashion. Did Ovid still continue in the fourth form, there to accompany Martial as at Eton and Westminster? From earlier and later practice at Winchester and from the list at Thame, it is easy to see what ought to have been the situation at Winchester in the 'sixties. Both before and after, Ovid had been begun in the fourth form. As at Eton and Westminster at this time, so at Winchester, the boys should in the fourth form have memorized their verse rules, and have studied Ovid, *De Tristibus*, Martial, and possibly Catullus. Then would have come the *Bucolics*, and so on. But I can find no conclusive direct evidence that under Johnson the boys studied Ovid at all. It is clear, however, that they did study Martial in the fourth, and along with him they should have had some other poet, which could hardly have been other than Ovid. Since Virgil comes later, it appears again that Ovid should have come here. We should remember also, as Johnson points out, that it is the imitable nature of the epigram which brings Martial to this position. The verse types of Ovid were too large to be imitated. It would thus be natural for Martial to be mentioned by Johnson rather than Ovid. But if Johnson had been an ardent Ovidian, we should certainly have had some reflection of his interest. He reflects the *Bucolics* quite fully indeed.

<sup>21</sup> Cook, A. K., *About Winchester College*, pp. 3 ff.; V. C. H., *Hampshire*, Vol. II, p. 334. Cf. also *Surtees Society* (1843), Vol. XVII, pp. 239 ff.

Johnson's predilection for the epigram as the first type of poetry to be studied is explained for us by Sturm. As the boys take up the study of the forms of verse, Sturm expects them to find illustrations of the different types. So he says of the poets,

The *Aeneid* of Virgil has all the virtues of heroic verse; the remaining varieties must be gathered from Catullus, and Tibullus, and Horace. Many from Catullus and Tibullus if they be chaste, but if that may not be, and if any are lacking, for better you will hardly find elsewhere, yet what are lacking, are to be collected from Horace. But let nothing enter the ears and mind of the boy which are not chaste, pious, elegant, liberal.<sup>22</sup>

It was decidedly a problem to have the boys find illustrations of all the verse forms without at the same time finding in these forms many things which were not good for little boys. Sturm would risk Catullus and Tibullus along with the respectable Virgil and Horace. As we have seen, Christopher Johnson and others preferred the epigrams of Martial instead of the Catullus and Tibullus. Eton and Westminster mention both Catullus and Martial, so that they are doubtless using all three, which may have been the case of Johnson at Winchester also. At any rate, Martial, Catullus, and More were at Eton to furnish illustrations of the different verse forms which the boys were at the time studying.

We may also notice how Sturm thought the process should be initiated.

In the making of verses the work must be lightened for the boy. For getting accustomed to writing is of itself irksome, especially in the beginning. Also, the language of the poets has the more difficulty in that the succession of words (periods) is more closely knit and more compact. Wherefore the words of good verses are to be transposed in the first months, so that they may labor solely on structure. Later, original *sententiae* are to be assigned but yet all in such a way that he shall not have labor in the investigation of them but may be occupied in the "invention" and connection of the words.<sup>23</sup>

Eton, as we shall see, evidently followed these stages in the fourth and fifth forms, since their themes were not in verse till the sixth and seventh. Probably Winchester followed the same progression.

This use of Martial at Winchester, Eton, and Westminster, is a very significant step, and explains a great deal of the spread of the "epigram" in the period. Because of its limited size and comparative pointedness, Johnson thought it the best form on which to ground students. Even though other school masters might not go quite so

<sup>22</sup> Sturmius, J., *De Literarum Lodiis* (1538), p. 15v.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15v-16r.

far as Johnson, yet many of them evidently did see the advantages to this form, of which Martial was the prophet.

Since Johnson appears to be following the system of Sturm on teaching verse forms, he may also be following it in the treatment of Ovid. Sturm does not place Ovid in the curriculum, saying that Ovid is for the most part easy and so should be read at home. But *Fasti* is both useful and difficult. The *Metamorphoses* should be read entire, but there is no room for that work in the curriculum at school.<sup>24</sup> It is likely, therefore, that Johnson is following some similar policy with regard to Ovid. Of course, one might study verse forms in Martial and the rest, and still use Ovid as the ideal poet, as was regularly done. But it seems clear that Virgil rather than Ovid was Johnson's ideal poet, as was also true of Sturm. In other respects also there are suggestions that Sturm's influence was rather strong upon Johnson.

For Prose, the boys are evidently studying rhetoric, and writing the usual exercises. Caesarius is referred to as a source of information. They are reading some Cicero and Livy. In Cicero, they were pretty certainly reading the *Paradoxes* as in 1530, and quite likely were also reading some of the epistles. As in 1530, the boys are reading Terence in the fourth form and some Plautus. At Christmas, morality plays are given as practice in what we would call elocution.

With the second year of upper school the boys progress from Terence and Plautus to the *Georgics* of Virgil as in 1530, though the first half year of that study is now technically in the fourth form. Along with Virgil the boys are reading Juvenal, I suppose as a kind of continuation to Martial, leading to Horace. At this period, Juvenal and Horace are almost certain at some time to involve a certain amount of Persius, from whom there are quotations, though no clear indications of assignments. There is also a hint at the beginning of this second year that the boys are reading Cicero's *De Amicitia*. Toward Christmas one catches echoes of *De Senectute*, and again after Christmas. These facts almost certainly mean that the boys are now working through the usual grammar school collection of Cicero, which contained *De Officiis*, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, *Paradoxa*, and *Somnium Scipionis*. In the previous spring the boys had apparently been reading the *Paradoxes*, as we have seen, and much of the material in these dictates is in the mood of *De Officiis*, though I have not noticed any direct reference to that work. Toward Christmas we find John-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26v-27r.



son differentiating dialectic and rhetoric, indicating that the boys were as usual still pursuing those subjects. This particular dictate was probably introducing the boys to the *Copia* of Erasmus.

At Easter, after a year and a half in upper school the boys become officially the fifth form. They are still continuing their Virgil and Juvenal on into the following Post-Michaelmas term. In this term there is a hint that the boys may be reading Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, as was sometimes done. They also pretty certainly read Sallust during their year and a half as the fifth form. In 1530, Sallust was prescribed for the sixth and seventh, which would now be upper fifth and sixth. At Sandwich in 1580, based on Winchester, Sallust comes in the fifth. In Johnson's dictates, I find only three references to Sallust (115v, 127v, 166r), all three spread over the work of the fifth form. I take it that the boys still read Sallust, and now did so in the fifth form.

In the sixth form, Johnson sums up for the boys instructions on the different types of theme. Just before Christmas he praises Silius Italicus, whom they are reading. Immediately after Easter Johnson refers to the fact that the boys have been reading and modelling upon Cicero's *Orations*, as well as performing the regular processes of turning verse to other verse, to prose, and back again. At the same time, Johnson alludes to the study of the *Satires* of Horace.

While our hints have been only incidental and there are many less definite suggestions of other studies, notably Greek,<sup>25</sup> yet we have enough to make it clear that Winchester in the 'sixties<sup>26</sup> had but slightly adapted its curriculum of 1530.

The curriculum at Sandwich in 1580, which is clearly based on that at Winchester, confirms these conclusions and renders significant certain other hints in Johnson's dictates. The statutes at Sandwich provide for six forms also, and furnish some idea of school routine.

Of the Ussher's formes, the first shall learn the Accidence to the rules of construction, and be exercised in declynynge of nownes and verbes according to the form prescribed in the preface to The Queenes Grammar: the second

<sup>25</sup> In his statements on the Greek, I believe Mr. Leach has failed to notice the character of these dictates. They emanate from the master, not from the boys.

<sup>26</sup> The notebook of a play-struck Winchester grammarian named Thomas Clarke survives from the reign of Charles II (B. M., MS. Addit. 29,308. I owe this reference to Miss Margaret Dowling). One of Clarke's characters refers to "all Winton," to "a colledge school;" and there is an exercise headed, "In Rosam Wicchamicam Anglicane emulam." The collection furnishes interesting illustrations of school work, but is too late for our present purposes.

form shall learne the rules of construccion, and therewith have *Cato* read unto them, and be exercised in making of Latyne, and other lyke, by discreacion; the third form shal have read unto them such Lattine Catachisme as shal be sett forth by publique auctoritie, and the Dialogs of *Castilio*, and be exercised in tounring of Lattin into English and English into Lattin, and other lyke, by discrecion.

The first form in the Master's charge shall have read unto them *Terrence*, the Epistells of *Tulley* chosen by *Sturing* (*sic*), and *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, and be exercised in varying of Latine and in practising th'exercises of *Aphthonius* at tymes apointed, and other lyke, by discreacion: the second forme shall have red to them *Salust*, *Tullis Offices*, with the rules of versefienge, and *Virgill's Eglogs*, or some chaste poet, and shall use th'exercises of the first forme, with doing the same, and disputinge *extempore*, and other lyke, by discreacion: the third forme shall have red to them *Tullie's Oracions*, *Virgill's Eneidos*, the *Epistles of Horace*, and certen of his chaste *Odes* chosen, and have th'exercises of the second forme, with making of verses, and other lyke, by discreacion.

*Item*, I ordeine, that as manie of the rules followinge shal be observed as by discreacion of the Master shal be from tyme to tyme thought meete, or other lyk at his discreacion; that is to saie, everie lesson shal be said without booke and construed into Englishe by everie Scholler reading that author: *the wordes shall first be Englished severallie as the Grammaticall construccion lieth, and afterwards the hole sentence or lesson rehersed in English as it lieth together*. In the parsing the teacher shall not need more then to examyn which Scholler he will, at adventure, upon which wordes he will in the lesson. The phrases, synanomies, and elegances shal be chosen out and apointed to the Schollers to write. Everie Mondaye the Ussher shal deliver an Englishe of two lines to his second form, and of ten lines to his third forme, to be translated into Lattin at their vacant times against Thursdaye afternoone. The Master shal at and against the same times deliver to his first form some Epystell which he hath Englished out of *Tulley*; to the second forme, some matter translated out of *Tulley*, *Cesar*, or *Livie*; to the third forme, some question wherof themselves shall write *marte proprio*. Everie Thursdaye after dinner every Schollers doings to be read, the faultes gently shewed, the translacion compared with the originall, and then the Children dismissed to play at the discreacion of the Master, not otherwies but as he findeth deserte. In suche Thursdaies doings, and all other exercises, prompting and helping one of another to be more punished then lack of well doinge, with rodd, shame, restraint of plaie, or otherwyse. *Every Friday*, or *Saturday*, or one of them, shal be spent in rehearsal of the learninge of that week neere spent. The Schollers of the Master his forms, for furnishing of their declaracions, disputacions and other exercises, shal be called upon to have and read in private studie *Livie*, all good histories, poetes, bookes of common places, sentences, apothegmes, and such like; and accordinge to their well doinge to have the highest places with other preferments and priviledges of favor, and in no case aney respecte therein shall be had of birth, welth, parentes, or any thing but of profyting

in learning; and at everie Christmas time, if the Master doe think mete, to have one Comedie or Tragedie of chaste matter in Latin to be played, the partes to be divided to as many Schollars as maie be, and to be learned at vacant times. And if the Master for the time shall not see good to observe the form or course of teachinge the Bookes or Aucthors before mentioned, that neverthesse he doe followe som suche matter of the same as he shall think expedient. And in mine opinion, *during a Schollar's remayninge* in the Grammar Schole, *he should learne but a fewe bookes* in Lattin, and in Greek correspondent to them, and *not to be suffered to rove in many authors*, but that that *fewe should be learned most perfectlie*, and then he maie after with better judgement reade as many as he lyst.<sup>27</sup>

Here is the old Winchester system as it needed to be adapted in the reign of Elizabeth; and it throws great light upon the cryptic instructions of about 1530. As in 1530, the boys do all their grammar in form, thus causing a lag so that they do not get to Terence till the fourth form, whence they continue in the fifth form with Virgil's *Bucolics*. This was still the case in the 'sixties. The first three forms now constitute the lower school, and the various authors and routines are but sketched in barest outline. But there is much greater detail in describing the work of the upper school, where the new sequences of the reign of Elizabeth are also worked in. As has been said, Terence has been delayed to the fourth form, and with him appears Sturm's collection of Cicero's letters, as is now frequent. This is probably the Cicero referred to in the 'sixties. The boys were also to have read to them "*Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, and be exercised in varying of Latine and in practising th' exercises of *Aphthonius* at tymes apointed, and other lyke, by discreacion." Among "other lyke," discretion would doubtless require *Copia* for varying. The compositional sequence begins upon the theme with Aphthonius as guide and is paralleled with varying. Before the boys began to vary in the fourth form, they would need at least their figures of speech. The varying is continued in the fifth, where versification becomes the chief pre-occupation, but with some disputation added. The sixth and final form continues its versification, and studies Tully's *Orations*, showing that it is doing the final stage of oratory. Poetry has been based chiefly upon Virgil, it would appear, with the *Bucolics* accompanying versification in the fifth, and the *Aeneid* in the sixth, where Horace lends the aid of his *Epistles* and some of his chaste *Odes*. Sallust represents the historians at the conventional place along with versifica-

<sup>27</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, pp. 605-607.

tion, here in the fifth form. At the same place, Tully's *Offices* are inserted for moral philosophy as is now also usual. Though retarded and compressed, the subject sequences of the curriculum at Sandwich are the now conventional ones. But they are based on the Winchester system as recorded c. 1530.

Many interesting details concerning these processes are added. It appears from these instructions that on Monday the master gave certain compositional assignments to be rendered in Latin on Thursday. For the fourth, it was the English of a letter of Tully, showing that along with themes and varying the boys were studying epistles also. This was, of course, the conventional combination.<sup>28</sup> For the fifth, it was some matter translated out of Cicero, Caesar, or Livy. So Caesar and Livy accompany their brother historian Sallust in the fifth form, but serve also as models of oratory. The sixth and final form do original work on "some question." They are thus doing oratorical work along with Cicero's orations. Livy served especially to furnish forth "declaracions (*sic*, clearly declamations), disputacions and other exercises" of the upper forms, along with "all good histories, poetes, bookes of common places, sentences, apothegmes, and such like." As we have seen, these are approximately the routines of Winchester boys in the 'sixties. If Badger's notebook were properly edited, tracing Johnson's dictates to their sources, it would probably be possible to reconstruct the curriculum of the Winchester system in greater detail, but we must be content for the present with what we already have.

Bishop Pilkington's statutes for his grammar school at Rivington are close kin to those at Sandwich and give rather a full picture of the curriculum in an ordinary, standard, two-teacher, grammar school. The Letters Patent are dated May 13, 1566.<sup>29</sup> The curriculum, however, is not earlier than 1570, since it prescribes Nowell's *Catechism*.<sup>30</sup> One of the oldest copies of the English translation of the statutes, said to be the original one, is dated 1576.<sup>31</sup> So the curriculum may be dated 1570-76.

Bishop Pilkington provided in detail for the religious training of the boys, but we need to notice here only the use of the Bible.

<sup>28</sup> See for instance the Eton system c. 1560, etc.

<sup>29</sup> Whitaker, J., *The Statutes and Charter of Rivington School*, p. 93.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95n.

When they go to School every one shall carry with him the Psalms in prose and meter, besides those books he shall occupy at the School.<sup>32</sup>

For church,

they shall be at the beginning of prayers, and tarry to the end; and bring with them every one a Psalter and New Testament, in that language which they understand. And the elder sort may have the Holy Bible . . . They shall diligently mark the chapters when they be read, the Homilies,<sup>33</sup> or Sermons, and repeat them when they come home, and the next day be opposed of them in the School by the Master or Usher; that so it may appear who hath been diligent in hearing and remembering, and the negligent shall be corrected.<sup>34</sup>

Church service was built principally upon the Psalter and New Testament. Hence the boy was taught in school how to participate properly, first in English, and then in each of the other languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, as he progressed to those languages. In other schools, we get details of this system of training.

There is a general provision for division of labor between the master and usher.

The Master and Usher shall divide their Scholars into forms more or fewer, as the number of them shall require, and as they be able to teach, and the Scholars have wit to learn. Commonly either of them may teach three forms, and ten or twelve in every form . . . If the number of the pettys that learn to read be more than the Usher can well teach, some of the eldest Scholars by course may be appointed by the Master and Governours to help him.<sup>35</sup>

It was hoped, however, that the boys would already know how to read.

First, it is to be wished that none be admitted to the School but that can read; yet in great need the Usher shall teach such to read and learn the Short Catechism in English as have not learned it; and the other that can read and say it, shall enter first to the learning of the English Grammar and rules, commonly called the King's Grammar; and in learning to read much time is not to be spent, for the continual exercise of learning to read other things shall make it perfect.

As the young Scholar is learning to decline a noun and a verb, the Usher shall daily exercise him with diversity of words in every comparison, declension, gender, tense, and conjugation, teaching him the English of every

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>33</sup> Hart, Alfred, *Shakespeare and the Homilies* (1934) has shown at least that Shakspeare accepts fully the chief political doctrines of the Homilies, whether he derived those doctrines directly from the Homilies or not. Under the conditions of the time, the probabilities are very high that the Homilies had a leading part in impressing these doctrines on Shakspeare.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

such Latin word; and examine him oft what is Latin for every such thing, that by this means he and others that hear may learn what every thing is called in Latin, and so be more ready to understand every word what it signifieth in English, when they shall come to construction. As first to begin with Latin words for every part of a man and his apparel; of a house and all household stuff, as bedding, kitchen, buttery, meats, beasts, herbs, trees, flowers, birds, fishes, with all parts of them; virtues, vices, merchandise, and all occupations; as weavers, tanners, carpenters, ploughers, wheelwrights, tailors, and shoemakers; and cause them to be written every word that belongs to one thing, together in order. And if this be done often and loud, that every one may hear and give ear, they will strive who shall learn and remember most Latin words, and rejoice in it, one opposing another who can do the best.

After the Usher hath thus exercised his Scholars in learning Latin words, and practising his rules, and declining words, then he shall use them to learn some short wise sentences<sup>36</sup> out of Cato, and examine what part of speech every word is put in such gender, number, person, case, tense, and conjugation; and for the better exercising of his memory, he must be often examined in saying them and his rules by heart; and for helping his memory (because youth soon forgetteth) he shall cause his Scholars to write these words and sentences in a book, that so he may see his Scholar's diligence, and the Scholar not forget that which he learned.

When the young Scholar hath been thus indifferently well exercised in under exercises, and can answer indifferently to all his rules, he then may be brought to the reading of *Dialogi Sacri Castalionis*, *Apothegmata Erasmi*, or some witty dialogue in *Colloquiis Erasmi*;<sup>37</sup> that so with daily exercise in reading he shall wax perfect in understanding; for perfection is not to be looked for in these young years, nor in these Grammar rules, but rather in observing, noting, and learning how the best Latin authors or writers have used to write, or to speak, and place words and sentences; and these are not so scrupulously to be used and sticked at, but some boys may have a sentence or two as they are able to take and other many of the same book or the like, that joining altogether every one may have the whole by hearing his fellows, and the meanest wit may attain to great perfection of it. And for the encouraging of young wits, the Usher shall oft take like sentences in English himself, and turn them into Latin, making his Scholars to repeat them after him, and to make the like in Latin themselves, that the younger wits may learn to do the like by themselves afterwards, when they be thus led unto it, by hearing him.<sup>38</sup>

Here is regular lower school practice. It is hoped that the boys will already at entrance know how to read and write. They first master the *Short Introduction* of grammar. As they drill upon grammatical

<sup>36</sup> Some copies insert Ludovico Vives, which was the *Ad Sapientiam Introductio*, of course, not the *Exercitatio* (Kay, M. M., *The History of Rivington and Blackrod Grammar School*, p. 185).

<sup>37</sup> Some copies add Petrarch's *Dialogi* (Kay, *Rivington*, p. 185).

<sup>38</sup> Whitaker, *Rivington*, pp. 207-210.

forms, they are also getting a vocabulary systematically by way of illustrative words for their drill. When they have learned a sufficient quantity of words, rules, and declensions, they begin to construe and parse Cato memoriter. With Cato and the *Short Introduction* mastered, the boys proceed to Castalio, and the *Apothegms* and *Colloquies* of Erasmus. They also begin making Latins. Later the process is spoken of as "making some wise sentences in Latin,"<sup>39</sup> indicating quite clearly the nature of the exercise. Here is the usual progression for grammar school, except that progress is rather slow, Aesop not being mentioned, and first classical authors being deferred to upper school.

The processes for upper school are also rather fully indicated.

After this, your Scholars may be brought to the reading of Terence his *Adelphi*, or *Selectae Epistolae Ciceronis*, and then to some verses, as *Psalmi Buchannini*, *Epistolae Ovidii*, or *Ode Horatii*, where both the matter and the metre is to be observed; and will be great help afterward to the making of verse, which will not be hard, if he then join that piece of Grammar rules withall, to know the quality of syllables and kind of verse, after he hath been exercised in making examples of every figure of Grammar, and short Epistles which he must do weekly, following Tully's examples. To all which aforesaid, *Erasm. Copiae verborum et Rerum*, et *de conscribendis Epistolis*, will give a great light, and make the way more easy, if they be not so much tarried in, as laid before them like a pattern to learn by, and to follow. But all these things must be gotten by often examining and diligently practising, which the Master must earnestly look that the Scholars do, and help to declare and lead them in it.

When your Scholars have been thus exercised in passing through these exercises before rehearsed, with often repeating them, and other like, to keep them in memory, their wills shall be well framed to better things. And now they may enter one part of the day into the Greek Grammar, and such a one as is the shortest and plainest, if he be meet and willing thereto, not meddling so much with the variety of tongues, as briefly setting forth the common tongue. And other part of the day to be exercised in *Cicero de Senectute et Amicitia*; and the eldest Scholars may learn Tully's *Offices*, and *Tusculan's Questions*.

After that they have been exercised with variety of words in their Greek Declensions and Conjugations, as was said afore, for the Latin Grammar they may have read unto them, first, *Tabula Cebetis* in Greek, and then some Oration of *Isocrates*, and then *Euripides*. But weekly besides this, they must write some Epistles or Verses, which they may more easily do, if they use often to turn their Lectures into English, and then into Latin, again by other words to the same meaning, sometimes in verse, and sometimes in prose: and after turning Greek into Latin, and Latin into Greek,

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

and changing the one kind of verse into another, and verse into prose, and prose into verse, observing the propriety of the phrase, the purest Latin words, and making the sentences full.

And now daily the Master must more diligently than before, teach his Scholars to note and observe the figures of grammar and phrase, how the verbs and nouns be joined together after the fashion that such an author useth; and how the Epitheta and adjectives be joined with their nouns, after the manner of Texton's (*sic*) Epitheta, and Officina.

That all these long painful exercises may have some better show of learning, with stronger kinds of persuading and teaching others, the Master may now enter his Scholar into the rules of Rhetoric, in Tully's Books, (ad Herennium) to let him understand the divers kinds, and parts of an Oration, giving him examples out of other Authors, and how to furnish his sentences with figures of all sorts, as they be plainly set forth in the fourth book, which will be more easy to follow by daily practice; for he that cometh thus instructed with plenty of matter that he hath read and noted in other books before, and hath been diligently trained in these lower exercises, which were but introductions to this kind of perfection, now he may use to declaim probably on any Questions propounded after the example of Aphthonius, Quintilian, or Seneca, and for example, follow and see the practice of these Rules. It shall bring great light to declare unto them the parts of Rhetoric, and Elocution out of the Orations of Tully, after the Scholars have interpreted it themselves before the Master in English, without any other help, that so they may try their own wits in this doing, as Actio in Verrem, et pro Cluentio, per lege manilia; which may be patterns to follow for his Scholars, with Sallust and Virgil.<sup>40</sup>

Religious work is provided for Saturdays and Holyday Eves, but we do not sum it up. Progress is regular in upper school as it was in lower, but it has the lag in coming to classical authors which is characteristic of the Winchester system. The boys delay till upper school their Terence, which may be accompanied by select epistles of Cicero, evidently Sturm's collection. After these authors comes verse, as usual, with Ovid's *Epistolae*, or Horace's *Odes* for classical authors, and Buchanan's Psalms for religious material. When the boys come to verse, they get the verse rules in the grammar, of course, and learn to make examples of the figures of grammar, and to write a short epistle weekly after the example of Cicero. Here they were to be directed by the *Copia* and the *De Conscribendis* of Erasmus. Thus the boys proceed from Terence to epistles, to verse, using verse epistles as a transition. This is still the system in epistles as planned by Erasmus, and it still uses his texts. Such boys as are fit and desire to do so may now begin Greek. They also begin the moral philosophy

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-215.



of Cicero, reading *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, and in the final years *De Officiis* and *Tusculan Questions*. In Greek, they read Cebes, some oration of Isocrates, and Euripides. Other instructions imply that they would have begun upon the New Testament in Greek. Weekly they continue to write epistles and verses, doing a great deal of varying. They also learn figures and the use of epithets, Textor being the guide for the latter. Finally, they take up formal rhetoric, with *Ad Herennium* as guide, and declaim on questions after the models of Aphthonius, Quintilian, and Seneca.<sup>41</sup> Orations of Cicero are studied rhetorically to serve for illustrations. Sallust and Virgil are also studied at this stage. This is regular grammar school practice, with peculiarities of the Winchester system.

So are the further suggestions on exercises regular.

Both the Master and the Usher must see diligently that all and every one of their Scholars, as their wits will serve, do exercise themselves daily in speaking Latin, and in making some wise sentences in Latin for the younger sort, or other divers matters, that shall be given them weekly; and the elder sort must be exercised in devising and writing sundry epistles to sundry persons, of sundry matters, as of chiding, exhorting, comforting, counselling, praying, lamenting, some to friends, some to foes, some to strangers; of weighty matters, or merry, as shooting, hunting, &c. of adversity, or prosperity, of war, and peace, divine and profane, of all sciences and occupations, some long and some short; or else in making verses, orations, and declamations, and noting the parts of them, in such things as they do read according to the rules of Rhetoric; in turning also verse into prose, and contrary wise; out of English or Greek into Latin, or from Latin or Greek into English; out of Orators into Poets, and Poets into Orators; in rehearsing to their Master that which hath been read unto them in other good pure Latin words to the same purpose and meaning; in noting the phrase *Copia Synonima*, Contraries,<sup>42</sup> the grammatical or rhetorical figures in words and sentences. The younger sort must be exercised in repeating their rules often, and the elder sort in teaching their inferiors; committing many things to memory, and writing them in their paper books, that so both the memory may be confirmed, and they may yearly see how they have profited, and then correct those things which were rudely and imperfectly run over in the beginning; for time and labour must perfect all imperfections. And these things shall better appear how profitable rather in exercising of them by practice, than declaring them by words.

In the forenoon the Master and Usher shall read to their Scholars such lectures as be appointed for them, declaring unto them the nature of the words, the hardness of the sentences, with the phrase and figures. And in the afternoon they shall examine the same things again, to see who hath

<sup>41</sup> Seneca the Father, not the author of the tragedies.

<sup>42</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 3v.

noted his saying best, and profited most. The rest of the hearers, all the day they shall employ in teaching them to make and speak Latin, in making verses, writing epistles and declamations, or orations; and the younger sort in exercising their Grammar Rules; and some hours they shall learn to sing and to write.

But above all things both the Master and the Usher shall continually move their Scholars to godliness, both in manners and conditions; and prosper their studies, that they may serve God and the commonwealth diligently, as becometh Christians, and faithful members of his church; teaching and noting unto them such wise and godly sentences out of the Scriptures, and other authors, as may stir them up more earnestly thereto, and will them to learn them by heart, and oft to think upon them.<sup>43</sup>

The Master and Usher must see diligently that their Scholars do repeat their lectures both with their fellows immediately after they are read unto them, and privately by themselves long afterwards; and also that they use every day to learn something by heart. And the elder sort must be taught how to refer every thing they read to some common place, as to virtue, vice, learning, patience, adversity, prosperity, war, peace, &c. for which purpose they must have paper books ready to write them in. But the eldest sort that are ready to be ministers, must be diligently practised and perfect in Calvin's Catechism and Institutions, and the New Testament, which the Master shall declare unto them; and especially the Epistles to Timothy.<sup>44</sup>

Bishop Pilkington has adapted the Winchester system for the purposes of his school, and the result is close kin to the system at Sandwich, which likewise is an adaptation of the Winchester system. Thame in 1574 was also to be exactly on this Winchester system. The boys were at entrance to be able to read English and ready to learn the first rudiments of Latin grammar.<sup>45</sup> Elsewhere, the customary requirement of ability to write is added,<sup>46</sup> and reference is made to repetition of lectures, writing down information, writing themes, verses, keeping an ordered notebook, reciting to the master, and never using English, but pure Latin or Greek only. Many other interesting touches are given, including the fact that in 1578, it was thought that emblems might impress the boys.

*Transitio ad Emblemata.*

Sed te picta magis fortasse figura mouebit.  
Et tanquam testes oculati, viua colorum  
Forma fidem citius faciat, quàm carmina mille.  
Nam verè scripsit Lyricus tuus ille Poëta:  
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216-219.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.

<sup>45</sup> *Schola Thamensis* (1575), H1r.

<sup>46</sup> Thame School, *Preces*, etc., sheet two in the British Museum copy.

Quàm quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus.<sup>47</sup> Isthæc  
Cerne quid ergò tuis oculis Emblēmata dicent.

There are then three emblems, moralized to the effect that the boys must not waste time. The first of these is of Occasion, with long hair blowing in front, but bald behind. Of this moral Shakspeare had heard. The other two are intended to adorn the same moral. Many years later, Brinsley was to insist on the value of this kind of moralized emblematic material for boys.

For authors, the boys were to read Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Plautus, Lucan, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Justin, Herodian, Terence, Lucian, and others of that type.<sup>48</sup> It is instructive to note that Terence is still grouped with the prose writers. We are reminded that Matthias Bergius was in his edition of Terence in this same year urging what he seemingly thought was the rather novel suggestion that Terence ought really to be taught as verse. Of these authors, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Cicero, Sallust, Terence, and Lucian had been in the list for Winchester of about 1530. Johnson's dictates add Plautus and Livy in the 'sixties. So only Lucan, Justin, and Herodian of the Thame list are not directly known to have been taught at Winchester. Similarly, the Thame list omits only the Cato and Aesop, moral authors, of the 1530 list, though we may be certain that both were actually taught. Clearly, Thame uses the Winchester curriculum, as it purports to do.

Thus the old Winchester system now in the 'sixties shows the characteristic adaptations which have been introduced since 1530, and it is still being adapted by newly founded schools.

<sup>47</sup> Shakspeare seems to have had this saying of Horace's impressed upon him. See Vol. II, pp. 522 ff.

<sup>48</sup> *Schola Thamensis*, G2r.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE ETON SYSTEM UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

WHEN WE NOW TURN to the Eton system, we find that it also has received changes similar to those we have found elsewhere, and is transmitting them to other schools. Fortunately, we have the Eton curriculum early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, dating probably about 1560.<sup>1</sup> This enables us to see what changes have occurred at Eton in the intervening thirty years from 1530. Since this account gives a full picture of the curriculum of probably the most influential school of the period, just before Shakspeare was born, it may be well to quote pertinent sections of it in translation.<sup>2</sup> The boys were called at five, but we are not interested here in their routine till school starts at six.

#### SIX O'CLOCK

The usher enters and in the upper part of the school begins prayers on bended knees, which being finished, he descends to the first and lowest class, demanding from them both a part of speech and a verb, which on the preceding day he had given to be conjugated.<sup>3</sup> From the first he turns to the second, from the second to the third, from the third, if it seems desirable, to the fourth, which sits in his part till seven o'clock, there to be examined if anything rather obscure should arise. Meanwhile one of the prepositors of school, going to the prepositors of each form in the part of the master as well as of the usher, brings from them the listed names of those absent from morning prayers, and gives them to the usher. Likewise another prepositor (who by himself always performs this duty) having inspected carefully the hands and face of each individual, if perchance any have come to school with unwashed hands; these he presents to the master immediately upon his entrance.

#### SEVEN O'CLOCK

The fourth form transfers from the part of the usher to that of the master.

<sup>1</sup> Creasy, *Etonians*, pp. 77 ff.; *Etoniana*, December 6, 1905. The latter appears to be from the authentic form.

<sup>2</sup> There is a translation of the whole in *Etoniana* for December 6, 1923, which I did not see till my own translation had been made. Some of the technicalities have not been fully grasped. I have noted each time differences in curriculum as they occur in Baker's transcript of the Eton statutes (Creasy, *Etonians*, pp. 77-84), in the Westminster curriculum as transcribed in 1568 (University of Illinois Library), and in the Westminster curriculum after 1574 (Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 496-525, reprinting from Cathedral Commission Report of 1854, p. (59), which purports to be from Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. xi, but is not).

<sup>3</sup> Final clause not in Westminster copies.

The master enters school.<sup>4</sup> Here all the prepositors of all forms report their absentees after seven o'clock; and also one of the prepositors of school reports the names of those who the day before were absent from school after six and seven in the evening, to the master his, likewise to the usher his. Then all forms render from memory what had been read to them, in such an order that the custos shall always begin and shall listen to the others as they recite.

## EIGHT O'CLOCK

The master assigns some *sententia* to his, to the fourth class to be translated, to the fifth to be varied, to the sixth and seventh to be put in verses; from whose mouth the custos first receives it and first translates it. The usher likewise assigns some *sententia* to the third and to the second class to be translated, and to the first also, but a very short one. The vulgars produced by each are written down that morning, which they recite the next day in order and from memory.<sup>5</sup>

## NINE O'CLOCK

Or thereabouts, first the custos of each form above recites and explains from memory the lecture of the class next below him; then the master reads the same lecture to his, and likewise the usher to his.

On Monday and Wednesday the four upper forms write in prose on a theme set for them; each one of the second, third, and first forms sets himself a *sententia* and translates it.

On Tuesday and Thursday the [two] upper forms put into verse the themes set them. The remaining two write the same in prose.<sup>6</sup>

On Monday and Tuesday the master reads

4th Terence.<sup>7</sup>

To form 5th Justin the historian, *De Amicitia*,<sup>8</sup> or others at his discretion.

6th } Caesar's *Commentaries*,<sup>9</sup> *Officia* of Cicero.  
7th }

<sup>4</sup> Eton copies read, "Ingreditur scholam ludimagister, Hinc omnes," etc. The Westminster copy of 1568 changes "hinc" to "huic," thus spoiling the routine. The Westminster revision then alters further to "Ingrediatu scholam, huic omnes," etc. (Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 508-509).

<sup>5</sup> Westminster adds "before or about 9 o'clock," which belongs to the next sentence, as in the Eton draft.

<sup>6</sup> Since the boys of the lower forms turned in every day at four, *sententiae* which they had set themselves at nine, instructions should have been attached for these exercises here as in the preceding paragraph.

<sup>7</sup> Westminster 1568 adds, "Sallust or others," which becomes in Westminster revised, "Sallust, and Greek Grammar." Sallust had been in the fifth form at Eton about 1530, and so was pretty certainly still used, as the Westminster copies show, though the Eton copies do not mention it.

<sup>8</sup> Westminster 1568 has almost the same, "Justin, Cicero, Friendship, or others," which becomes in Westminster revised, "Justin, Cicero on Friendship, and Isocrates." Baker's transcript of the Eton statutes (Creasy) places "*De Amicitia*, or others at his discretion" after the *Officia* in the sixth and seventh forms. Baker's transcript is, therefore, in error here as to the position of the item, as is also shown by Aldenham, which copies Eton.

<sup>9</sup> Westminster 1568 has "Caesar's Commentaries, Titus Livy, or others"; Westminster revised specifies Demosthenes and Homer instead of "or others." Westminster 1568 does not

From which lectures the boys excerpt flowers, phrases, or locutions of speaking; likewise antithets, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similitudes, comparisons, histories, descriptions of time, place, persons, fables, merry jests, schemes, and apothegms.<sup>10</sup>

On the same days the usher reads

To form { 3rd Terence.<sup>11</sup>  
2nd Terence also.<sup>12</sup>  
1st Vives.<sup>13</sup>

On Wednesday and Thursday the master reads

4th Ovid, *De Tristibus*.<sup>14</sup>  
5th Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.<sup>15</sup>  
6th { Virgil.<sup>16</sup>  
7th {

On the same days the usher reads

3rd Cicero's *Epistles* selected by Sturm.  
2nd Lucian's *Dialogues*.<sup>17</sup>  
1st Ludovicus Vives.<sup>18</sup>

At nine, when [the master and usher] have read, they go out of school.<sup>19</sup>

#### TEN O'CLOCK

The prepositor of school cries, "Rise for prayers."

These standing erectly from both parts of the school follow the words, someone designated at the discretion of the prepositor leading.

#### [ELEVEN O'CLOCK]

Thence two by two in a long row they all proceed into hall.

Dinner finished, they return to school in the same way they left.<sup>20</sup>

mention *De Officiis* at all; Westminster revised inserts it for the fourth on Tuesday and Thursday. It would seem clear that it was not in the Eton curriculum of c. 1560, but was later added in the sixth and seventh forms at Eton, in the fourth at Westminster.

<sup>10</sup> This paragraph is placed after the complete instructions for the first four days by the Westminster copies. Baker's transcript of the Eton statutes (Creasy) moves it down one section, placing it after the instructions for the usher on Monday and Tuesday. It was probably an insertion upon the Eton statutes, and so was differently placed by different transcribers. Westminster has given it its logical position. <sup>11</sup> Westminster copies add Sallust.

<sup>12</sup> Westminster revised adds "or Aesops Fables."

<sup>13</sup> Westminster revised adds "or Cato." The copy at Ruthin about 1574 shows that the Vives is *Ad Sapientiam Introductio*.

<sup>14</sup> Westminster revised adds "Cicero on Duty, and Lucian's Dialogues in Greek."

<sup>15</sup> Westminster revised adds, "or Plutarch in Greek."

<sup>16</sup> Westminster revised adds, "and Homer."

<sup>17</sup> Westminster 1568 adds, "the Colloquies of Erasmus." Westminster revised then substitutes "Sacred Dialogues" for Lucian.

<sup>18</sup> Westminster revised adds, "Corderius' Dialogues, or Boys' Talks."

<sup>19</sup> At Westminster, the master and usher probably were never both out at the same time, as at Eton. Westminster 1568 and revision add here, "At 9, when they have read the lesson to their forms, an interval should be given to the pupils to think over the lessons."

<sup>20</sup> The afternoon routine at Westminster in the revised curriculum begins an hour later in each case than at Eton or at Westminster itself in 1568. In some instances, the necessary transpositions have not been made in the Westminster revision.

TWELVE O'CLOCK<sup>21</sup>

The usher enters, and those things which the master read to the fourth class before dinner, from the same now sitting in his part till one he demands them, and discusses each part of speech. To whom when he first enters the prepositors of the first four forms exhibit the names of their absentees.

ONE O'CLOCK  
[and two]

The fourth class migrates into its proper seat, and now the prepositors of each form turn over their absentees to the master when he enters. The master spends the time between one and three<sup>22</sup> in examining the fifth, sixth, and seventh forms, and out of the assigned lecture makes vulgars for the practise of the Latin tongue; so that, however, half an hour before three the prepositors of the three upper forms hand in their own and their classmates themes, which he examines carefully.

The usher spends the same hours in examining his three forms.<sup>23</sup>

## THREE O'CLOCK

Each goes out.<sup>24</sup>

## FOUR O'CLOCK

Each returns.

At which time they render as much from these authors as has been assigned to them by the teacher, one assigned by the master requesting it.

- { 4th From the figures in grammar<sup>25</sup> and the system of versification.
- { 5th Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus,<sup>26</sup> or Cicero's *Epistles*,  
    Susenbrotus.
- { 6th The Greek grammar or something else at the discretion of
- { 7th the teacher.<sup>27</sup>

To the usher their absentees are exhibited, also the themes of the third form, as also the *sententiae* of the second which each one shall have set himself and shall have turned into Latin. Then each and everyone says from memory as much as had been assigned to him from the rules, then also the vulgars by which the grammar rules may be better understood are made by the boys, that thence Latin speech may in every way become more familiar.

FIVE O'CLOCK<sup>28</sup>

They go out and return in the same order as before dinner.

<sup>21</sup> Westminster revised places this at one o'clock, thus throwing the whole afternoon schedule an hour later. <sup>22</sup> Westminster revised, "2 and 4."

<sup>23</sup> This provision is not in either Westminster copy. Westminster revised inserts here a provision that the boys of the Grammar School study music from two to three on Wednesdays and Fridays.

<sup>24</sup> In Westminster 1568 only the master goes out from three to four, then at four, or when the master returns, the usher is out for half an hour. In Westminster revised, the time is in each case an hour later.

<sup>25</sup> Leach's translation of the Westminster copy as "figures of speech" is decidedly misleading.

<sup>26</sup> The Westminster revised copy presents this author as Lucian's *Flowers*.

<sup>27</sup> Westminster revised, "Form Sixth, Greek; Seventh, Hebrew Grammar, with a lesson in the Psalms in both languages, viz. Greek and Hebrew."

<sup>28</sup> Westminster revised retards to six and seven.

## SIX O'CLOCK

Those<sup>29</sup> who from the highest form have been designated by the master to teach other classes take up their duties, and exercise those committed to their faith in explaining lectures and in translating *sententiae* from the vernacular speech into Latin.<sup>30</sup> Also, they recite and put in order those things dictated by the teacher that day. The prepositors of individual classes undergo this duty, so that the moderators of school may set their minds diligently on all for profit in letters and the forming of manners.

## SEVEN O'CLOCK

They are dismissed to drink. Returned after seven, they exercise themselves in the same way as after six, except at a certain time of the year, when they play after supper according to the discretion of the master and the custom.

## EIGHT O'CLOCK

They go to bed pouring out prayers.

## FRIDAY

On Fridays after the lecture recited which they had the day before, those who have committed any grave crime are accused.

They call them corrections, for they give the proper punishments of evil deeds.

Before dinner nothing is read.<sup>31</sup>

The first hour after noon both enter and demand the lectures which they have given that week.

At three o'clock they go out.

At four they return and whatever they have taught between four and five that week is rendered to them.

Before five the master reads

To form	{	4th	Apophtegms, or Epigrams of Martial, Catullus, or Thomas More. <sup>32</sup>
		5th	Horace.
		6th	Lucan or some other at discretion. <sup>33</sup>
		7th	

And against seven o'clock in the morning of the next day he assigns some theme to the sixth and seventh in verses, but to be varied by the fifth in prose. And against the first hour in the afternoon of the same day to be

<sup>29</sup> Westminster 1568 reads "ij"; that is, "two," instead of "ii," and Westminster revised reads "duo." Eton copies have probably been misread.

<sup>30</sup> Westminster revised is forced to limit this process to half an hour, so as to let the boys drink before they start to bed at eight. Other provisions are altered accordingly.

<sup>31</sup> The Friday routine is differently stated at Westminster in 1568. "Then everyone is to repeat with the greatest diligence the lessons which have been read to them that week, partly before dinner up to 12, partly from 1 to 2, leaving out nothing of what they have read in the morning during the whole week" (Leach's translation adapted). The Westminster revision sets dinner at eleven, as usual with it. Both Westminster schedules set the further repetition at three instead of four as at Eton.

<sup>32</sup> Westminster copies have "or others" instead of "or Thomas More."

<sup>33</sup> Westminster copies specify Silius Italicus.



explained more at large by the same again and by the fourth form also in prose.

Before five the usher reads

To form { 3rd Aesop's *Fables*.  
2nd Aesop's *Fables*.  
1st Cato.

#### SATURDAY

At seven o'clock, all forms render the things which had been read the day before.

The variations are turned over to the master.

The usher examines all he had read the day before.

At nine o'clock each goes out.<sup>34</sup>

At one o'clock both enter school and hear the boys recite what they (the master and usher) had dictated that week.

The themes are also turned over to the teacher.<sup>35</sup>

Here if there are any assigned<sup>36</sup> that week by the teacher for the sake of exercising ability they declaim on a set original theme, and one inveighs against another in speeches.

Before seven the power of going out for the necessities of nature is permitted to no one; but not even thereafter is it permitted to go out to more than three together, and that with the club which they have for this purpose.

In every class he is assigned custos who either speaks in English, or who is not able to recite entire for one questioning him some rule of those he had learned, only three words being excepted, or who neglecting the mode of writing correctly has in his papers offended three times in orthography.<sup>37</sup>

Of Eton school four of the boys are constituted prepositors.

One moderator of hall.

Two of church.

Four of campus.

Four of dormitory.

Two of townsmen.

Of those filthy and dirty ones who do not wash the face and hands and who keep themselves too sluttishly, one.

We shall soon see that Westminster adapted the Eton curriculum and routine. It will thus be just as well to insert here a description

<sup>34</sup> Westminster copies omit.

<sup>35</sup> Westminster copies omit.

<sup>36</sup> Westminster 1568 says the assignment was made to two or three "superiore sabbato"; that is, the preceding Saturday. Westminster revised reads "feria septima," which is the "Christian" term for the same thing, and adds that the bell should be rung for assembly.

<sup>37</sup> Westminster 1568 provides for Saints' Days, "Before noon let some psalm or chapter of the New Testament be used for edification; after noon let the catechism be worked on for at least two hours." Westminster revised provides, "Before midday, at least one hour shall be spent, sometimes in learning the catechism, sometimes in learning Scripture; in the afternoon the three highest forms shall show up to the Head Master in verse, the Fourth and Third in Latin prose, and the Second and First in English, a summary of the sermon preached the same day in the morning in the collegiate church."

of the routines of Westminster written about 1630, supposedly by Archbishop Laud.<sup>38</sup> Since this description is for only the upper two forms, it explains numerous things which are only alluded to in the Eton curriculum.

This course was in my time taken by the Schoolm<sup>r</sup> of Westm. Spec; for those of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> forms wherein I spent my time there.

About a q<sup>r</sup> of an hour after 5 in the morning we were called up by one of the Monitors of the Chamber (with a Surgite) and aft<sup>r</sup> Lat. prayers we went into the cloyst<sup>r</sup> to wash, and thence in order two by two to the Schoole, where we were to be by 6 of the clock at the farthest. Between 6 and 8 we repeated our grammar p<sup>ts</sup>. (out of Lilie for Lat., out of Camden for the Greek) 14 or 15 being selected and called out to stand in a semi-circle before the M<sup>r</sup> and other scholars, and these repeated 4 or 5 leaves in either, the M<sup>r</sup>. appointing who should beginne, and who should goe on with such and such rules. After this we had 2. exercises that varied every other morn<sup>g</sup>.: the first morning we made verses extempore lat. and gr., upon 2 or 3 severall theames, and they that made the best 2 or 3 of them had some monie given them by the schoolm<sup>r</sup>. for the most parte. The 2<sup>d</sup>. morn<sup>g</sup>. one of the 7<sup>th</sup>. forme was called out to expound some parte of a Latin or Gr. author, Cicero, Livie, Isocr: Hom<sup>r</sup>., Apolli: Xenoph: &c. They of the 2 next formes were called to give an account of it, some other parte of the day, or else they were all of them (or such as were picked out, of whom the master made choice by the feare or confidence discovered in their lookes) to repeat and pronounce distinctlie w<sup>h</sup>out booke, some piece of an author that had been learnt the day before.

From 8 to 9 we had time for beav<sup>r</sup> and recollection of ourselves and preparation for future exercises. Betwixt 9 and 11 those exercises were made which had been enjoyned us overnight (one day in prose the next day in verse); which were selected by the M<sup>r</sup>.; some to be examined and punished, others to be commended and proposed to imitation; wch being done we had the practice of Dictamina, one of the 5<sup>th</sup> forme being called out to translate some sentence of an unexpected author (extempore) into good Latin, and then one of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> forme to translate the same (extempore also) into good greeke; then the M<sup>r</sup>. himself expounded some parts of a Lat. or Gr. author (one day in prose, another in verse) wherein we were to be practised that afternoon. At dinner and supper times we read some portion of the Latin in a manuscript (to facilitate the reading of such hands). And the prebendaries then hav<sup>e</sup> their table commonlie set in the Hall, some of them had oftentimes good remembrances sent unto them from hence, and withall a theame to make or speak some extempore verses upon. Betwixt one to 3 that lesson which out of some author appointed for that day, had been by the M<sup>r</sup>. expounded unto them (out of Cicero, Virgil, Hom<sup>r</sup>., Eurip;

<sup>38</sup> This cannot represent Laud's own experience, since he entered St. John's, Oxford, in 1589, whereas books mentioned (Camden's grammar, for instance) are several years later. Laud was in the 'thirties attempting to raise the standards of Canterbury to those of the good old days. Cf. above, p. 179.

Isoc, Livie, Sallust, &c.) was to be exactlie gone through by construing and other grammatical waies, examining all the rhetorical figures and translating it out of verse into prose, or out of prose into verse, out of G<sup>r</sup>. into lat. or out of lat. into G<sup>r</sup>. Then they were enjoined to commit that to memorie against y<sup>e</sup> next morning. Betwixt 3 and 4 they had a little respite, the M<sup>r</sup>. walking out, and they (in beav<sup>r</sup> times) going in order to the Hall, and there fitting themselves for theyr next taske.

Betwixt 4 and 5 they repeated a leafe or two out of some booke of Rhetoricall figures or choice proverbs and sentences collected by the M<sup>r</sup> for that use. After that they were practised in translating some Dictamina out of Lat. or G<sup>r</sup> and sometimes turning Lat. and Gr. verse into English verse. Then a theame was given to them whereon to make prose and verse Lat. and Gr. against the next morning. After supper (in summer time) they were called to the M<sup>r</sup>'s chamber (spec. those of the 7<sup>th</sup> forme), and there instructed out of Hunter's cosmographie, and practised to describe and find out cities and countries<sup>39</sup> in the mappes.

Upon Sundayes, before mornin<sup>g</sup> prayers (in the summer) they were commonlie in the schoole (such as were King's Scholars), and there construed some parte of the gospels in g<sup>r</sup> or repeated parte of the g<sup>r</sup> cathechisme; for the afternoone they made verses upon the preacher's sermon, or epist. and gospels. The best scholars in the 7<sup>th</sup> forme were appointed as tutors to reade and expound places of Hom<sup>r</sup> Virg., Hor., Eurip., or other g<sup>r</sup> and lat. authors; at those times (in the forenoone or aft<sup>r</sup>noone or aft<sup>r</sup> beaver times) wherein the scholers were in the schoole, in expectation of the M<sup>r</sup> . . .

And so (at other times) other faultes were often punished by scholastic taskes, as repeating whole orations out of Tullie, Isocr. Demosth., or speeches out of Virgil, Thucyd., Xenoph., Eurip., &c.

Upon play dayes (within an houre after leave granted and the Oppidales dismissed) the scholers of the house were often called in againe for an houre or more till they had brieflie dispatched the taske of that day. . . .

When 'Plumpe Walkers' came in (*i.e.* such as strived to hold M<sup>r</sup> in long discourses), the M<sup>r</sup> would call out some of his scholers to shew what verses they could make on a sodaine upon a theame to be given by them if they were scholers.

Everie friday they had Repetitions of what was learned the former parte of the week.

Upon Saturdayes they pronounced their Declamations in g<sup>r</sup> and lat. and the preb. did often come in and give encouragement unto them.

All that were chosen away by Elect<sup>a</sup> tooke their leave in a pub. orat. to the Deane, Preb: M<sup>r</sup>, Ush: Scholers, made in the Schoole.<sup>40</sup>

When now we examine this information, it becomes evident that the same general routine prevailed at Eton around 1560 as had prevailed in 1530. For subject matter, drill on the parts of grammar was still the first business of the day for the first four forms. While no

<sup>39</sup> Cf. "I could find out countries in her," *Comedy of Errors*, III, 2, 116-117.

<sup>40</sup> Forshall, F. H., *Westminster School* (1884), pp. 415-418.

statement is made, the grammar would be Lily, as prescribed by authority, and the drill is on the first part of the *Brevissima Institutio*. The usher naturally conducted this drill, including that for the fourth form. So the fourth form attended the usher's first hour of drill upon the grammar parts, from six to seven, and then transferred to the master, who began upper school an hour later than the lower. The next routine for all forms is rendering. From seven to eight "all forms render from memory what had been read to them." Apparently, this applies to all their current rules and the illustrations of them, but not specifically to their authors, which are cared for in a different sequence. At eight o'clock came the compositional exercise of turning Latin into English. Those who were still studying grammar, first through fourth, were given a *sententia* of proper difficulty to illustrate their rules, which they turned into English. The fifth class varied the *sententia*, showing that its rules were *Copia* or some similar work. The sixth and seventh put it into verses, showing that their rules were those of versification. This could mean that the sixth and seventh at Eton were in effect taught English versification from the Latin rules, but more likely the fifth, sixth, and seventh are performing their operations in Latin, but impromptu. "The vulgars produced by each are written down that morning, which they recite the next day in order and from memory," doubtless at the seven o'clock period. Here is in general the same routine before breakfast as in 1530. Incidentally, these vulgars show that the first four forms were studying grammar, the fifth some text on varying, the conventional one being the *Copia* of Erasmus, the sixth and seventh were studying versification, probably with some further text than the brief summary of fundamentals in the grammar, which they had memorized in the fourth form.

After nine, the *custos* of the next higher class recites the lesson of the day from memory and explains it to the next lower class. The master or usher in each case then gives their lectures upon the various authors. There is also work in composition, English to Latin. For the sixth and seventh forms, this is divided between poetry and prose. On Monday and Wednesday these two upper forms write in prose upon an assigned theme; on Tuesday and Thursday on a theme in verse. The fourth and fifth forms write in prose all four days on the assigned themes. The first, second, and third do a *sententia* into Latin prose. These lectures, and the corresponding assignments in composition given between nine and ten occupy the boys in mastering them

till eleven, when they go to dinner. It will be noted that composition in verse at Eton is still deferred to the sixth and seventh forms, though preliminary steps were begun in the fourth. This had been the case at least as early as 1486, when William Paston, who was connected there, told his brother, "for my coming from Eton, I lack nothing but versifying,"<sup>41</sup> and submitted a sample of his handiwork, which was even at that time upon a theme.

Then in the afternoon comes the rendering. From twelve to one the usher had examined the fourth form on the lectures which the master had given them before noon, after which the fourth form transfers to the master. From one to half past two the master examines the fifth, sixth, and seventh on their lectures, and out of this assigned reading makes vulgars to exercise the boys in Latin.<sup>42</sup> At half past two the prepositors of these three upper forms gather the themes which had been set before noon, and the master spends the time till three examining them. The usher spends the same time with the repetitions of the lower forms. The routine for the fourth form has been omitted, or else the sixth and seventh forms are thought of as one. So the work from nine till three, forms in general a closed cycle, being given before noon and rendered after noon.

The master and usher are out from three to four, but the boys have work to do in mastering their before-breakfast rules and vulgars; that is, they begin the overnight cycle. The first three forms repeat the sections of the grammar rules which have been assigned them to master that day, and make vulgars to illustrate them. Each also presents the *sententia* he has been required to write for composition, this being called for the third form a theme. These *sententiae* had been assigned, it will be remembered, in the morning between nine and ten, and the compositions for the upper forms had already been turned in to the master at half past two. Since the boys of the upper forms had already turned in their compositions, they spent their time on their rules. For the fourth form, these were the figures in grammar and versification. So the boys had completed the grammar proper by the end of the third form and were now in the fourth studying grammatical figures and versification, the concluding sections of the authorized grammar. Their illustrative vulgars would

<sup>41</sup> Creasy, *Etonians*, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> Sturm says that the arguments of themes for the boys are to be taken from the things which have been read to the boys, so that they may know where to get words and the patterns of *sententiae* (Sturm, J., *De Literarum Lodi* (1538), p. 15v).

thus presumably be in verse, though they will not begin extended composition in verse till the sixth form.

With the grammar completed, the fifth, as we have seen earlier, takes up varying. Current texts for this stage will help us to see the significance of this statement. One of these was that of Macropedius on letter-writing. Macropedius also included as necessary at this stage the figures of speech as well as a treatise on copy or the method of varying. Now the boys of the fifth not only vary, but they are connected with the other two processes as well. For their figures, the boys were to study Susenbrotus, who furnished these in detail, being *elocutio* or rhetoric proper. They were also to use Cicero's *Epistles* for compositional purposes. Eton boys of the fifth form are thus performing the operations provided for by Macropedius, but they are not using his text, since in that case they would not have needed Susenbrotus. It is reasonably certain that they are using the usual combination of texts, with Susenbrotus supplying the figures, the *Copia* of Erasmus still directing the varying as was true for the sixth and seventh forms at Eton in 1530, and probably the work of Erasmus on epistles directing that operation as was apparently the case in the fifth form in 1530, though these latter texts are not specifically mentioned in 1560. It will be well to notice also that as early as the third form the boys had studied the epistles of Cicero as selected by Sturm and had doubtless done some epistolary work in connection with their themes before they came to a formal study of the epistle in the fifth form.

The boys in the fifth were also evidently to study a companion compositional form to the epistle. For they were besides to study Valerius Maximus and Lucius Florus. These were conventional sources for getting matter to furnish forth themes. In the corresponding compositional routine at the end of the week, it is stated that the boys of the fourth were to study *Apothegms*. This would be the collection which Erasmus made for themes, or the adaptation of it by Lycosthenes. Doubtless, therefore, the boys of the fourth were making themes of the kind suggested by Erasmus in *De Ratione* and in the preface to the *Apothegms*. Erasmus expected these to precede formal Aphthonian themes, which is probably the type being studied by the fifth at Eton, though Aphthonius, the only known guide, is not specifically mentioned there. It is clear, then, that Eton boys were to write both formal epistles and formal themes by

the fifth. They would have had elementary forms of these before, leading up to the formal study in the fifth.

Thus the statement for the fifth simply refers to well known processes, without any attempt at description. The statement for the sixth and seventh forms is left even more general. These forms may take up the Greek grammar. Those who were to study Greek would certainly do so. These would thus study some Greek for two years; but no further specific provision is made for Greek at Eton. Other matters are left to the discretion of the teacher. In prose, the boys would work up to the declamation "on a set original theme." Of this exercise we hear on Saturday afternoon, when selected individuals performed before the school. There would be other texts to give the boys the necessary rhetorical-logical preparation, but these are not mentioned. We have seen that the boys were in the sixth and seventh forms also writing extended themes in verse.

It will be noticed that in the compositional sequence the boys begin in the first and second forms simple *sententiae*, which by the third form are sufficiently large to be called themes. In the fourth and fifth forms, these themes become extended and are still wholly in prose, though the compositional types of prose are not specifically stated. These were probably epistles, Erasmian and Aphthonian themes, and their preparatory processes. In the rules sequence, the boys had begun to learn the rules for verse in the fourth form. Thus by the sixth form half of the themes are in verse, half in prose. The compositional processes have been shifted down by one form since 1530. Verse rules begin in the fourth instead of the fifth, figures in the fifth instead of the sixth, etc.

So from three o'clock to five Eton boys have been busied with these routines. At five they have supper. From six to eight, with a slight intermission for drinking at seven, they engage in study, with the various prepositors aiding in the process by explaining lectures, helping with the translations of *sententiae*, hearing the dictates repeated, etc. At eight comes the end of the day and a bed which must have been welcome till five came all too soon next morning. The daily routine in 1560 is thus very much what it had been in 1530. But it seems clear that composition is in 1560 much more emphasized.

There is, of course, the inevitable repetition at the week end, but with a great deal more of original work than apparently was provided for in 1530. Friday morning was used for repeating work assigned the afternoon of the preceding day and for expiating in blood the

accumulated sins of the boys. From one to three the boys repeated and were examined upon the lectures of the whole week, which they had rendered each day at that time. Similarly, at four the boys rendered the material they had acquired at the same time during the week. Then the master and usher gave the boys lectures and attendant compositional work to be rendered on Saturday morning, in the same way and on the same subjects as on Thursday afternoon for Friday morning. Here are thus two extra days of original work in the lecture-compositional sequence, but assigned in the afternoon of one day and rendered in the morning of the next instead of being assigned in the morning and rendered in the afternoon of the same day. On Saturday morning the boys rendered the work of the previous afternoon. The afternoon might be devoted to the dictates of the week, to themes, and to orations. Thus the fundamental repetitions continue as in 1530, but two more days of lectures and composition are worked in with them. This has been made possible by displacing some of the formal religious instruction which had come at this time.

The Westminster description of about 1630 shows more in detail how the work of the upper two forms was there fitted into this general routine. It will be simplest to begin with the master's lectures between nine and eleven. At this time, he expounded a Latin or Greek author, alternating prose and verse. From one to three the boys went through the assigned lesson, parsing, construing, etc. for grammar, examining the rhetorical figures, translating from verse to prose or the reverse, from Greek to Latin or the reverse, etc. This material they were to memorize against next morning. From four to five, they repeated from memory rhetorical matters, such as figures, proverbs, sentences, etc. Also, they had practice in impromptu writing through having to translate dictamina from Latin to Greek or having to turn Latin or Greek verse into English verse. Finally, a theme was assigned upon which they were the next morning to make Latin or Greek proses or verses, according to the alternation of languages and types of composition. After supper, the seventh form might in summer time receive some instruction in geography.

The next morning the boys had to present their assignments. At Westminster, even the boys of the upper forms were reviewed upon their Latin and Greek grammars, as Hoole was to advocate; and the review was managed somewhat similarly. So all forms had to appear for the six o'clock review, not merely the lower four as at Eton. Then came on alternate days extempore composition in Latin or Greek



verse upon an assigned theme. This occurs at the period devoted to illustrating the current rules, and is aimed to serve that function. The exercise on other days is aimed in the same direction. A boy of the seventh form expounded a Latin or Greek author, as if he were the master, and the boys of the fifth and sixth were responsible for the lesson later. This boy had to give a practical demonstration of his ability to lecture extempore, and the others were obliged to demonstrate their ability to follow him. Any of them might also be called on to deliver from memory in proper oratorical form some part of the lessons he had been supposed to master the preceding afternoon. Thus the practice from six to eight was on rules and extempore composition and delivery in accordance with those rules.

From nine to eleven, the boys first made the exercises alternatively in prose and verse which had been assigned the afternoon before, and were punished or praised for their efforts. Then came extempore work again. This time a boy of the fifth form was called on to translate a sentence from an unexpected author into Latin, which one of the sixth or seventh turned into Greek. This exercise is thus in extempore translation from English to Latin to Greek, being the reverse of the translation of the afternoon, which was from Latin or Greek to English. The master then began his routine of further assignments, as we have seen. It will be noticed that these are essentially the Eton processes, with only slight adaptations of routines.

We notice next the authors for construction or lectures at Eton, where Vives is prescribed for the regular work of the first form, with Cato on Friday and Saturday. While the particular work of Vives is not specified here, some of the other schools on the Eton model do name the *Ad Sapientiam Introductio* as the work. This is true at Ruthin, which derives from Westminster, which derives from Eton; also at Norwich, which is a cross between Eton and Paul's; and evidently at Shrewsbury, which was on the Eton model, where Ashton appears to have extracted this and *De Officiis* together. I have found this work of Vives specified only in schools connected with the Eton system, but this situation may be merely an accident of statement.

For the second form, Terence (perhaps Udall's *Flowers*) served on Monday and Tuesday, Lucian's *Dialogues* in Latin on Wednesday and Thursday, and Aesop for Friday and Saturday. For the third, Terence was continued on Monday and Tuesday, Sturm's *Epistles* of Cicero on Wednesday and Thursday, with Aesop on Friday and Saturday. These earlier forms are thus still emphasizing colloquial Latinity, with Terence as the ultimate model, but now assisted by

Cicero. For the Fourth, Terence continues on Monday, Tuesday, with Ovid *De Tristibus* on Wednesday and Thursday, and Apothegms or the Epigrams of Martial, Catullus, or Thomas More on Friday and Saturday. Thus poetry, as well as poetical rules and illustrative verse-making, has been shifted down to the fourth form from the fifth, and as at Bury St. Edmund's and Harrow Ovid's *Tristia* is the model. In the fifth, Justin, Cicero's *De Amicitia*, or others came Monday, Tuesday; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on Wednesday, Thursday; Horace on Friday and Saturday. This form also did in connection with its rules, it will be remembered, work from Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus, or Cicero's *Epistles*, and Susenbrotus. The sixth and seventh forms have prescribed for them Caesar, Cicero's *De Officiis* for Monday, Tuesday; Virgil for Wednesday, Thursday; Lucan or some other for Friday and Saturday. The Greek grammar is also mentioned as a possibility in these forms. In all forms the boys were to gather from their lectures, "flowers, phrases, or locutions of speaking; likewise antithets, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similitudes, comparisons, histories, descriptions of time, place, persons, fables, merry jests, schemes, and apothegms." That is, they were to perform the conventional poetical and rhetorical operations upon all their classical readings, as Erasmus had demanded.

As we now glance back to see our picture whole, we need to notice the "rules," since they are the backbone of the curriculum. The sequence of these rules is clear. The Latin grammar proper was completed by the end of the third form; then came the grammatical figures and the versification for the fourth, to complete the authorized grammar. Susenbrotus, or *elocutio*, or rhetoric proper exercised the fifth form, together with illustrative authors. Then came the Greek grammar for the sixth and seventh.

So along with versification, the fourth form began the study of poetry, beginning upon Ovid, *De Tristibus*, for Terence was not prescribed as poetry. In the week-end routine they might also get the epigrams of Martial, Catullus, or Thomas More, to illustrate forms of versification. The fifth form continued with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, taking Horace, significantly enough, for the week-end routine. No new rules on verse are prescribed for the fifth as they continue to study poetry. In certain festivities on Shrove Monday, however, it is provided, "Carmina condita a pueris 7<sup>m</sup> et 6<sup>ti</sup> et aliquot 5<sup>ti</sup> ordinis, affinguntur valvis interioribus collegii."<sup>48</sup> So some members of the

---

<sup>48</sup> Creasy, *Etonians*, p. 77.

fifth form might by Shrovetide be able to participate in this verse exercise. At Westminster, also, it was provided that on Saints' Days the boys of the upper three forms should write in verse a summary of the morning sermon, showing that here too the boys of the fifth were supposed to be able to versify with some facility. In the sixth and seventh, the boys write themes in verse, alternating with prose. Their further authors are Virgil and Lucan. They would now have studied the different verse forms, as Sturm<sup>44</sup> had desired, and have come to the writing of verses. Thus the verse-sequence is clear and consistent.

Three collections of poems addressed to Queen Elizabeth, one about new-year 1560 (B. M.; Royal MS. 12. A. lxxv), another about August 1560 (MS at Hatfield House, which I have not seen), and a third dated "1563. tertio decimo Calendas Octobris" (B. M.; Royal MS. 12. A. xxx) give concrete illustration of the ability attained by the boys—and their masters—in the writing of verse under this training. In the first collection,

All the compositions abound in fulsome flattery, and in prayers that Elizabeth will gratify her loyal people, as well as her own inclination, by contracting an early marriage. Edward Scott, one of the first contributors, goes so far as to write:—

*"Di tibi dent natos, exoptatumque maritum,  
Di faxint nati ut sint, similesque tui."*

Thomas Gillingham likewise prays:—

*"Di stirpem tibi dent, Elizabetha, piam."*

Others follow in the same strain, the style of their Latinity exhibiting a vast improvement on that of William Paston. The Queen had at this time two suitors at least on hand.<sup>45</sup>

It will be remembered that about this time Parliament had wished to proffer similar advice to Elizabeth and had been most pointedly invited to attend to its own business. Norton and Sackville were aiming our old acquaintance *Gorboduc* as blind Cupid's blunt bird-bolt in the same direction. Eton boys were also being used in this campaign of marriage propaganda.

At the beginning of August in the same year, Provost Bill presented Elizabeth with another collection of Latin verses, epigrams, and acrostics, neatly written in one hand, and adorned with illuminations of the arms of England and Eton. Most of the compositions are of a purely complimentary

<sup>44</sup> See above, p. 340.

<sup>45</sup> Lyte, *Eton* (1911), pp. 163-164.

character, with reference to the Queen's visit to Windsor . . . Others again express a hope that the Queen will soon marry.<sup>46</sup>

When the pestilence drove Elizabeth from London to Windsor in September 1563, the Eton scholars again greeted her with a collection of Latin verses, now preserved in the British Museum. The little volume contains seventy-two compositions, but the number of contributors was smaller than on the previous occasion, some of the boys sending in as many as six sets of verses apiece. Among the more prolific poets may be noticed Giles Fletcher, afterwards Ambassador to Russia; Longe, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh; and Bound, afterwards Vice-Provost of Eton. Many of the verses can be read backwards as well as forwards, while others form acrostics on the name of Elizabeth, or on the letters of the alphabet . . . [William Malim's] pupils vied with one another in the extravagance of the compliments which they addressed to the Queen. With more loyalty than reverence, they compared her to Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Gideon, Samson, Samuel, and Judith; and the heathen mythology was also called into requisition:—

*Nempe Minerva, Venus, Juno, tibi munera clara  
Distribuunt, corpus Venus eximium, tibi Juno  
Divitias Arabum, gazas, gemmasque nitentes,  
Virtutem Pallas quae non peritura vigebit.*

A comparison to Lucretia must have been especially soothing to a princess whose fair reputation had already been attacked by calumny. In a preface in Latin prose, the light which centred in Elizabeth was reflected back on both her parents, at some sacrifice of consistency. The author—evidently Malim himself—could hardly have had the sad story of Anne Boleyn very clearly before him, when he described Henry the Eighth as "*quadam divina Providentia tanquam Semideus*." The volume concludes with a Latin prayer that the Queen may be preserved from the plague; but the real object of the offering is stated more clearly in the preface. The boys are there made to request the Queen, if she is pleased with their productions, to bestow some mark of her favour on "our dearest master, by whose kindness and extreme watchfulness, by day and by night, we have in a short time attained such proficiency in literature," and "not to suffer him to be oppressed by any grievous want, or to be ground down by ceaseless labours and studies," after twenty years of work at Eton and Cambridge.

Malim is elsewhere described as a good scholar, who, after taking his degree at King's, had travelled as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem. His pupils may really have been anxious that he should be promoted, or, at any rate, removed, for we read of several of them running away from Eton "for fear of beating." This event created some sensation at Windsor, and a conversation on the subject in Cecil's rooms at the Castle induced Roger Ascham to compose his celebrated treatise on education, entitled '*The Schoolmaster*.'<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Lyte, *Eton* (1911), p. 164.

<sup>47</sup> Lyte, *Eton* (1911), pp. 169-170.

While these various collections are creditable enough as technical exercises in versification, yet I hope Queen Elizabeth did not feel obliged to read them; I did—that is, the two collections easily accessible in the British Museum. And I must confess that young Giles Fletcher—afterwards ambassador to Russia, and uncle to one John Fletcher dramatist—even though he stood on Virgil's shoulder, did not get the flood gates of Parnassus closed any too soon for me.

*Claudite iam Musae, Parnassj fluminis ora,  
Iam videt & terrā, & littora nostra ratio.  
Claudite fonticulos, Heliconis claudite portus,  
Iam satis est nobis, est & abūdē satis.*

In its full context, I assure the reader that the last line is especially effective.

The precedent and paralleling prose sequence is also clear. By colloquies and vulgars the boys were taught in the first three forms as they memorized the grammar proper to speak and write "congrue" or grammatical Latin, which was to be polished rhetorically in the upper forms. By the third form, they reached their first classical authors and the supreme models of Latinity, Terence and Cicero. Cato, Aesop, and others unnamed had also contributed a fund of sententiality to improve the morals of the boys and to give them something worthwhile to talk and write about. By the third form, the boys could string enough *sententiae* together to call the result a theme. In the fourth form, the themes were still in prose. The *Apothegms* of Erasmus or the adaptation of that collection by Lycosthenes served the fourth for themes of an Erasmian type, which Erasmus had expected to lead to the types taught by Aphthonius. Terence was still setting an example of pure Latinity; and as we have seen, the boys now begin to learn versification as they take up the study of poetry, which is equally balanced with that of prose.

The themes of the fifth are still in prose, but the boys are now putting on rhetorical polish. For its rules, the fifth had *elocutio* or rhetoric proper, with Susenbrotus as guide. As the boys memorized the one hundred and thirty-two tropes and schemes of Susenbrotus, they studied Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus, or Cicero's *Epistles* for illustrations of these, and for theme materials. History now comes regularly at this stage, doubtless to aid in this same laudable purpose of supplying theme material after the fashion suggested by Erasmus. Here Justin is the prose author to balance the poetry. These figures

of speech were to aid the boys in varying, which is their especial and insistent exercise. In the first book of *Copia*, which the boys had used for this process in 1530, Erasmus shows how to vary by means of these figures, and the boys almost certainly are still using this guide. The second book uses the "topics" for the same purpose. It is thus likely that the boys read some text on the topics, usually Cicero's *Topica*, either in the fourth form or now in the fifth as the logical companion to the rhetorical Susenbrotus. It may have been regarded, however, as possible to understand the second book of *Copia* without having had the *Topica*. The compositional forms taken by the themes of the fifth are not stated, but they are pretty certain to have been epistles and the set themes of Aphthonius. The *Epistles* of Cicero in connection with rules make it certain enough that the boys were writing epistles for themes. While they may have been writing some form of epistle from the time they studied Sturm's collection in the third form, yet they could not take up the full rhetorical study of the epistle till the fifth form. For the textbooks on epistles assumed some precedent *summa* of rhetoric-logic as did *Copia*, and this *summa* the boys were getting only in the fifth form. Thus the boys of the fifth no doubt had some guide upon epistles, probably the text of Erasmus as in 1530. The Erasmian theme of the fourth should have become the Aphthonian of the fifth, though there is no specific clue further than that the Valerius Maximus, etc. are frequent companions of Aphthonius. Also, since the themes are all in prose, the boys are likely to be carrying two compositional forms, preparatory to the split in the sixth and seventh into prose and poetry.

By the sixth form, the boys have their Latin sufficiently in hand to take up Greek. Since the Greek grammar was in unsimplified Latin, the boys required a firm footing to withstand its onslaughts. If Shakspeare had any Greek, as Jonson is our warrant, he had come thus far in the curriculum. But what further work was done in Greek in the sixth and seventh forms is not indicated. Indeed the work of these forms in general is but slightly sketched. In composition, the boys divide their themes equally between verse and prose. Their verse authors are Virgil and Lucan or others at discretion. The prose authors are but slightly indicated. Caesar's *Commentaries* are history, as well as military instruction, in the sequence begun by Justin in the fifth. The *De Officiis* and *De Amicitia* of Cicero are moral philosophy. Usually the whole volume containing Cicero's moral philosophy was read, including also *De Senectute*, etc. But no further authors are

given, the statement being that these are left to the discretion of the master. We feel certain that this discretion was good, but we should have been glad to know what it decided upon. The discreet master would certainly have required the boys to read here Cicero's orations as models, and some guide or guides on oratorical instruction, usually *Ad Herennium* and Quintilian. It is unfortunate for us that the poetic and oratorical work of the final two forms is not indicated at Eton, for it is in these that we are most interested. Still, from other sources we shall learn about these final processes also.

Here is a clear outline of the grammar school curriculum and its objectives. It will be seen that the curriculum aimed to provide a literary training as Erasmus had demanded. The boys studied all the best Latin writers both in prose and verse and learned to model their own styles upon them. Here is the fundamental formal literary training of the Renaissance. As fundamental literary training, can its basic technique as such be improved upon, if administered in the spirit of Erasmus? Was the English Renaissance such an unpremeditated accident after all? And if Shakspeare had this training?

The philosophy of this order of literary progression is quite clearly stated in the statutes of July 20, 1607, at Wakefield. The usher was to drill upon the grammar and the master must have that foundation on which to build.

And we do straitly in the lord charge the Scholemaister and Usher of this Schole for ever, that they do not so much hasten their schollers in the to soone clyminge of their formes especially in the too haistye goinge frome prose unto verse, and from latin to greek, or from greek to hebrew or logicke. And therefore we will that the Schollers be not sett to verse till they be able to write in Latin an epistle and theame of good force and congruitie, neither shall they from verse be sett to greeke, before they both well knowe the rules of versifyinge, and are able of a theme in reasonable time to make halfe a score or a dozen of tollerable, if not of good verses, the like wishe we to be done in their goinge from Greek to higher learninge. And in all this learninge we will that the maister shall take diligent examination of the exercises of his schollers, for the Orthography, phrase, inversion [invention], elocution and disposition of the whole matter.<sup>48</sup>

There must be no form climbing. Drill upon the grammar must lead to prose composition in Latin as far as through the epistle and theme, before verse composition is undertaken. Then verse composition must be mastered to the extent of being able in a reasonable time to compose ten or twelve tolerable verses upon a theme. Only when this

<sup>48</sup> Peacock, M. H., *History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield*, p. 66.

is done should the boys climb to Greek, and thence to Hebrew or logic. The epistle and theme are the basic forms of composition—as a matter of fact the theme was—and all composition must be checked for grammar; *i.e.*, for orthography and phrase, and for rhetoric; *i.e.*, for invention, elocution, and disposition. It follows that the boy must have an elementary knowledge of rhetoric before he begins to write verse.

A mid-seventeenth century statement of routines in the six-form school at Hertford may also aid in understanding these sixteenth century routines.

#### TIMES AND EXERCISES

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday; morning: 1. Notes and exercises of the sermon examyned. 2. Every forme to say theire parts of the gramer (Latine or Greeke) by some fower of every forme uncertaynely chosen and some other called out to repeate on the sudden. 3. The last lecture to be repeated memoriter. 4. Correct the exercises gyven afore or overnight and gyve another, fytt for each forme. 5. Lecture to be gyven out of some of the proper authors of every forme, Prose one day, Verse another. And some tymes some of the higher formes shall by appoyntment of the Master give the Lecture to the Lower formes in the presence of the master; But the proper signification of the words the Synonimaes (*sic*) Phrases, differences of the Latine and English ideoms with the Figures and Order of composicion of the sentence or period shalbe added of the master, observed by the schollers and inserted by them into their paper books.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday afternoone;—1. From half an hour after one till three, construe and parse their Lectures gyven in the forenoon, and if any neglect, examyne them; and lett the master use diligence to tell what is to be observed. 2. Correct the exercise gyven in the forenoon and observe the differences of the Phrases of Orators from the poets. 3. Give some vulgares to be presently turned into Latine or Latine into Greeke, or lett some of the chieftest make fower verses or more of the matter of their lecture. 4. Give every forme a rule either in the Accidence, Gramer or Greeke, to be repeated next morneinge. 5. Lett there be some questions or disputacions gramatticall used amongst the schollers.

Thursday forenoon;—1. The partes as on the former dayes. 2. The last lecture to be repeated memoriter. 3. Correct the exercises gyven overnight. 4. The lectures to be given at eight of the cloke somewhat shorter than ordinary. 5. The same lecture to be construed from tenne to eleven that forenone. 6. Give them some short theame or Exercise.

Thursday afternoone;—If the schollers have been diligent in the forenoone, the Mr. shall not be difficult in the afternoone to give them leave to play, if any worthy person desire it, uppon condicion that they first shewe theire Theames, verses, translacions or epistles, according to their formes, and wrighte one howre before they goe to play.



Friday forenoone and afternoone;—1. Till 3 o'clock: generall repetitions of that week's worke. 2. All their partes and Lectures memoriter. 3. Construing and parsing, by some choyce of places and schollers, if there be manye. 4. Evocate someone to make a Latine, or some rules or some verse, then demand of some other where that rule ys, which will keep them all in awe and dilligence, because none of them knoweth whose turn it will be to be asked. 5. Give lectures for Saturday:

Saturday Forenoone;—1. After parts said repeat all rules learned that week. 2. Construe and parse the lecture gyven overnight. 3. Make vulgars or some other exercise.

Saturday Afternoone;—1. Repeate all sentences that weeke learned. 2. Showe their books for Phrases collected that weeke, and their writeinge bookes. 3. Disputacions betweene the fift and sixt formes. 4. A lecture construed and parsed out of the catechisme. 5. Declamacions and verses. 6. Exercise against Monday.<sup>49</sup>

This, I think, is the clearest statement of these typical school routines of which I know. We may now continue with Eton itself.

It is interesting to note that Henry and William Cavendish entered Eton in October, 1560.<sup>50</sup> "It appears by a paper printed in [Arthur] Collins's 'Noble Families,' that Henry, the elder of them, was born on December 17th, 4th Edward VI., 1550; and William, the younger, on December 27th, 5th Edward VI., 1551."<sup>51</sup> The books provided at the time of entry are for the second form, being a grammar, a Lucian at 4*d.*, an Aesop in Latin, and another Aesop at 4*d.*, perhaps in English. Another book, "Marcus Tullius' Offices" appears also to be an English translation, if so Whittinton's or Grimald's, suggesting that the boys at Eton used this translation in the second form for moral training. One is reminded that Bretchgirdle at Stratford also left a copy of the *Offices* in translation to a six year old boy in 1565.<sup>52</sup> Apparently, this is the reason so many editions of the English translations of the work were used. Shakspeare may well have come in contact with this work at nine or ten, or even earlier, in the Stratford grammar school. It may be well to notice also that there were other ways of bringing this material somewhat earlier than usual besides taking it in translation. Thomas Ashton at Shrewsbury before January 1556, had provided written abstracts which are referred to in 1578 as "two little books of Dialogues, drawen oute of

<sup>49</sup> V. C. H., *Hertfordshire*, Vol. II, pp. 90-91.

<sup>50</sup> V. C. H., *Buckingham*, Vol. II, p. 189.

<sup>51</sup> *Retrospective Review* (1828), second series, Vol. II, p. 149. D. N. B. and other modern authorities give in error 1552 instead of 1551 for William, but cite Collins also as authority for this date.

<sup>52</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, pp. 26-27.

Tulleys Offices and Lodovicus Viues," which would be in Latin.<sup>53</sup> Mancinus was also sometimes used in the second form to give the four Ciceronic virtues and so to prepare for *De Officiis* later.

William, the younger of the Cavendish brothers, next year was provided with "a Tullius *Attycum*" at 3 *d.*<sup>54</sup> This would be the *Epistolae Ad T. Pomponium Atticum*, for the study of epistles. Since at Eton c. 1560 Sturm's selections were prescribed for the third form, this collection is presumably supplementary. It would seem, therefore, that William Cavendish entered the second form at Eton when just under nine, and his elder brother entered probably the same form when just under ten. This is about normal or a year late for William, and a couple of years late for his elder brother Henry. Being the elder and heir, Henry did not continue to university, but William and his still younger brother Charles (just under fourteen at the time) matriculated as Fellow-Commoners from Clare Hall, Cambridge, Michaelmas, 1567.<sup>55</sup> Thus William entered the second form at Eton when he was just under nine, and Cambridge when he was just under sixteen. He may have been at Eton for the full intervening seven years. He had already done what constituted something more than a year's work in the Eton system when he was admitted to that school. If he entered Cambridge directly from Eton, his training had been slightly over eight years in length.

We have also a very interesting check upon the curriculum at Saffron Walden during the 'fifties, just before the reign of Elizabeth. It will be remembered that Saffron Walden was to follow the system of Winchester and Eton. Now we find how it was doing so. Our information comes through Francis Willoughby, whose progress we can follow from A. B. C. through Saffron Walden to Cambridge. He was born about 1546,<sup>56</sup> and after his father's death in 1548 passed under the direction of his uncle George Medeley. On July 12, 1550, Medeley records as an item of expense for his nephew Francis Willoughby "for a pounce of sugere plate and greate comfettes to make hym lerne his booke, xxd.; for twoe absez [ABC's] jd."<sup>57</sup> So four year old Francis was to be lured on with sugar candy and comfits to learn his horn book. Another supply of ABC's without candy, recorded November 11, 1550, may indicate that Francis had consumed his ABC's along

<sup>53</sup> See below, p. 390. <sup>54</sup> V. C. H., *Buckingham*, Vol. II, p. 190.

<sup>55</sup> Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

<sup>56</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton, Preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, p. 519.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.

with the other sweets; but this entry may instead refer to the ABC<sup>60</sup> with Catechism. A little later an entry runs, "for an Englysshe dya-logue for Fraunces, jd."<sup>61</sup> The editor suggests that this entry refers to a work by Christopher St. German, printed in Latin 1528 and in English translation about 1530, frequently reprinted and perhaps not yet dead. About harvest time 1552, Francis was ready to begin his Accidence, "for ij. accidences for Mr. Fraunces, viijd."<sup>62</sup> It will be noticed that Francis is still being doubly supplied. An entry late in 1552 or in 1553 is interesting but puzzling, "For a Greeke and a Hebrue gramer for my nepveu Frances . . . ijs. iiijd."<sup>63</sup> We have no further certain indication of either Greek or Hebrew till Francis gets to university. In 1553, there were two French books at 20d., and a satchel to carry the books in at 4d.<sup>64</sup> Then in a bill of December 15, 1554, occurs an item of 3d. for Evaldus Gallus, *Confabulationes*,<sup>65</sup> showing that Francis had progressed from his accidence to dialogues. This work was used in the first form at Westminster about 1560.

Francis was now ready to be sent to grammar school. Medeley had written to John Hall in 1554 that it was high time for Francis to begin this work. He was then about eight years old. It would seem that Francis first tried St. Anthony's at London, spending five weeks there in January and February, 1555,

For my nepveu Fraunces Wylloughbyez borde going to schoole with Mr. Lyse at St. Anthoniez in London, begonne the xvij<sup>th</sup> of January and ended the xxxj<sup>th</sup> of the same, being a fortnyght at ijs. viijd. the weeke . . . vs. iiijd.

For his commons there three weekez ended xxj<sup>o</sup> *Februarii* . . . viijs.<sup>66</sup>

But before April 20, 1555, Francis had transferred to Saffron Walden.<sup>67</sup> There he was staying with Mrs. Corbett,

To Mistris Corbett for my nepveu Fraunces' borde at Walden going to schole there, for one quarter of a yere, begonne the xvj<sup>th</sup> daye of June, *Mariae Secundo*, and ended the xv<sup>th</sup> of September in this same yere, *Mariae 3<sup>o</sup>* . . . xxvjs.<sup>68</sup>

This was from June 16 through September 15, 1555. For the same period we find,

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

The whining school-boy, with his satchel  
And shining morning face, creeping like snail  
Unwillingly to school. *As You Like It*, II 7, 145-7.

Here is the price of that badge of servitude. In 1573-1574, Robert Sidney's satchel cost 6d (*H. M. C.*, Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place, Vol. I, p. 268). Presumably his position demanded an unusually expensive satchel.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

For my nepveu Fraunces Wylloughbye at sondrye tyme syth his commyng to Walden to the schole Mr. there, in *anno supradicto*.

To the scholemayster of Walden for teaching my nepveu Fraunces one quarter of a yeare ended the xv<sup>th</sup> daye of September, *anno predicto* iij*s.* iiij*d.*

More to hym in rewarde xx*d.*

To one that dyd teache hym to wryte xij*d.*

To hym selfe to putt in his purse iij*d.*

For a Terence for hym iiij*d.*

For a Latten psaltere iij*d.*<sup>67</sup>

For the next quarter, we have,

To Mr. Corbett of Walden by the handes of Gryphyn for necessaryes layde oute for my nepveu Fraunces as foloweth:

For a wryting booke, i*d.*; . . . for a glasse and yncke, j*d.*; . . . for an incke horne, i*d.*; for halfe a quier of paper, j*d.* ob.; . . . for a Cato and dialoguez, vij*d.*;

To Mr. Corbett, 15<sup>o</sup> *Decembris*, *anno praedicto*, for Tullies epistelez iij*d.*

To the scholemaister of Walden for teaching of hym . . . i*s.* vj*d.*<sup>68</sup>

A further hint as to books seems to belong to the next quarter. In a bill which appears to be dated May 3, 1556, we find,

For Ciceroes epystelles for hym, with divers commentariez vii*s.*

For a dixonarie in Englysshe x*d.*

For *Colloquia Vivis* x*d.*

For *Colopine cum onomastico* xvi*s.*<sup>69</sup>

The editor thinks the English dictionary was that of Sir Thomas Elyot, but the price shows that this identification is incorrect. For under date of January 1560–1561, we happen to have the price of Elyot's dictionary and a few other school items.

To Mr. Coverdall for Eliotes dictionary, 12*s.*; for four Lillies grammers, 4*s.*; and for four dialoges, 2*s.* 8*d.*; for four Isopes fables, 2*s.*; 20*s.* 8*d.*

To Sandon's wife for byrche for rodde, 3*d.*<sup>70</sup>

Thus Francis Willoughby's dictionary was not Elyot's, but was no doubt the little dictionary of Withals. In 1571–72, the Withals was sold at 49*s.* 4*d.* per hundred, just under 6*d.* each.<sup>71</sup> So the retail profit was a trifle over 4*d.* each.

In his first year at Saffron Walden, it is evident that Francis Willoughby was centering attention upon Terence, and Tully's epistles.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 410–411.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>70</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster, Preserved at Grimsthorpe, p. 468. Perhaps this item gives some idea of the proper proportion of birch required along with these elementary texts. Two other grammars were purchased—without birch—in June, 1562, for 2*s.*, *Ibid.*, p. 462.

<sup>71</sup> Arber, E., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1544–1640*, Vol. I, pp. 520 ff.

To aid on Tully, he had a second collection of epistles with divers commentaries. A little later he will have similar aid on Terence. Along with Terence and Tully, he is studying the colloquies of Vives, as was regular. He was aided by a dictionary in English and by another, Calepine, in Latin. The Cato seems out of place, since it should have been mastered immediately after the accidence. Perhaps it was by way of making up a deficiency. Dialogues would be regular in all the early years. The Latin Psalter was, of course, for religious instruction. For the most part, this is regular work for the third form in the Eton system, for the fourth in that at Winchester.

In the course of the next school year, following July 15, 1556, we have other hints of progress.

Item payde for my selfe and others at soundry tyme for my nepveu Fraunces, 4<sup>o</sup> *Mariae* . . . for a Terence wyth dyvers comentariez, viijs. . . .

For a booke called '*Copia Erasmi*' xvd.

For *Epitome Adagiorum Erasmi* xijd.

For a penner and inckehorne vjd.

For the Actes of the Appostelles in meter to synge<sup>73</sup> xijd.

For Corderius '*De corrupti Sermonis emendacione*' ijs. viijd.

For *Compendium Elegantiarum Valle*, iiijd; and for Terence phrasez, iiijd. viijd.<sup>74</sup>

Francis is now beginning to be polished on elegant oral and written Latin. He is continuing his Terence for another year, as was regularly done in the Eton system in the fourth form. For guidance in composition, he studies *Copia*; for material, he has an epitome of adages. For correctness of usage, he has Corderius and the compendium of Valla made by Erasmus. Udall's *Floures* of Terence furnish correct phrases both for speaking and for writing. This is regular work for upper grammar school, being fourth form work in the Eton system with probable exception that *Copia* came in the fifth in 1560. It is thus interesting to see what were the supplementary texts, and how they were fitted in.

For the next year, 1557-58, we get some significant hints also.

For a booke to teache hym to wrytte the Italian hande by vjd.

For a brusshe for hym and a booke of Sherez fygueres in Englyshe viijd.

To Mr. Horseley for teaching hym arethmetick and to playe on the virginalles, from the xxvij<sup>th</sup> of Apryll untill the xv<sup>th</sup> of Maye, viz., xviijd. [sic] dayes at xvjd. the weeke iijs. iiijd.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Tye, Christopher, 1553.

<sup>74</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton, Preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, pp. 412-413. <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

Francis is now studying rhetoric, as is shown by Sherry's figures in English. This is a book on the figures of speech, *elocutio*, or rhetoric proper. The form of the title indicates that the reference is to the second edition, 1555, which was prepared specifically for grammar school, and presents the conventional materials of rhetoric both in English and in Latin. At Eton in 1560, Susenbrotus came here, without benefit of English. Francis was also improving his Italian hand, his music, and his arithmetic, all outside of grammar school, for he had regularly received instruction in these and other accomplishments which we have not included. Doubtless, too, numerous other aids to his schooling fail to appear in these abstracts, if indeed they are preserved in the accounts themselves. But these are sufficient to give us a fair idea of the process.

On October 17, 1558, Francis "went to Cambridge to schole wyth Docketer Carre," when he was probably a little above fourteen.<sup>75</sup> This appears to be Nicholas Carr, fellow of Trinity and Regius Professor of Greek. For the Cambridge period, we find recorded, "For Cepori[n]us' gramer for hym . . . xd,"<sup>76</sup> showing that he is only now beginning his Greek. It seems clear that Greek was not taught at Saffron Walden in the 'fifties. Here the record of the education of Francis Willoughby ceases, but we are told that he later gathered many learned books, which are still at Wollaton.<sup>77</sup> Apparently, the 20*d.* spent on sugar candy and comfits at the outset of his career had been effective in making him "larne his booke," though it seems not to have sweetened his life in other respects. From the initial impetus of comfits and candy Francis had in eight years progressed from the hornbook to Cambridge. This is the theoretical time assigned for such progress. Apparently, too, Saffron Walden was on the Eton system, but probably was divided into five forms under a single master, who taught only Latin, without Greek or Hebrew. It should be remembered here that this is Gabriel Harvey's school just before he enters it.

The most important adaptation of the Eton curriculum was that at Westminster. But since Westminster was in turn much adapted, we discuss it in a separate chapter.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414. I have Dr. Carr's *Suidas*, Basle, 1544.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 544.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE WESTMINSTER ADAPTATION OF THE ETON SYSTEM UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE CURRICULUM of Eton Westminster adopted with only slight changes in routine and in subjects for construction. In 1560, Dr. William Bill, Dean of Westminster, provided a new set of statutes for Westminster. Then Dr. Gabriel Goodman succeeded Dr. Bill in 1561, and continued these special statutes, noting that they were, "Very like the Orders used in *Eton* and *Winchester* Schools."<sup>1</sup> Since Dr. Bill had become fellow and provost of Eton in 1559, it is not surprising that he should have used the curriculum of this school as a model for that at Westminster. It has been supposed that a very full curriculum for Westminster is the one established by Dr. Bill in 1560 and continued by Dr. Goodman in 1561; but it will appear from our examination that this is not the case.

The Library of the University of Illinois possesses a copy of a copy of the Statutes for Westminster which Sir William Cecil under date of July 4, 1568, directed to either Christ Church in Oxford or Trinity in Cambridge, his covering letter being directed to both. Cecil is calling their attention to certain provisions as to scholars which it is alleged they are failing to observe.<sup>2</sup> This copy is earlier than that which Leach reprints from the Cathedral Commission Report of 1854 as from Pat. 2 Eliz. pt xi,<sup>3</sup> and differs from it in numerous details. For instance, "qui sit presbyter et concionator" is not put in as a qualification of the Dean; but for the Prebendaries is added, "ad minimum Magistri artium." Nor is there provision for a "Lector theologiae unus." There are only twenty-seven for the daily service, instead of twenty-nine, since there are only five *presbyteri* instead of six, and the teacher of the choristers is one of the twelve *clerici*. There is, however, at the end of the copy another *Proportio*, which gives these details as in Leach, indicating that these changes had occurred before the copy was made in 1568. This change and enlargement after the original statutes c. 1560 is noticeable throughout, and is especially marked in the curriculum of the grammar school.

The Westminster statutes provide that the election should begin

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals* (1725), Vol. II, Appendix, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> 39r; cf. Sargeaunt, J., *Annals of Westminster School*, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 496 ff.

on the Monday following June 29. Those seeking election to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, were to be set certain exercises on Monday which they were to render Tuesday afternoon, the election being on Wednesday. Similarly, those desiring admission to Westminster were to be examined on the same days.

None shall be admitted a scholar before he is seven years old, nor remain in our school after he is 18 . . . such only are to be received into our school who have thoroughly learnt by heart at least the eight parts of speech and can know how to write at least moderately well.<sup>4</sup>

These age limitations are slightly different from the original ones at Eton, though in the meantime those may themselves have been changed to this form; but the qualifications as to preparation are exactly as at Eton.

The curriculum of Westminster as recorded in 1568 is an almost word for word copy of that which is supposed to have been established at Eton about 1560.<sup>5</sup> There was not yet any Hebrew; the instructors were to teach only "gramaticam Latinam et grecam literasq; humaniores, poetas atq; oratores." Nor were the grammarians to receive instruction in music from two to three on Wednesdays and Fridays. As we have seen, the teacher of the choristers was still only one of the twelve clerks, not a special official, though by 1568 he had become one. Nor was there consequently a special section of instructions for the choristers and their master. Both Hebrew and this emphasis upon music were introduced later than 1560. We shall also see that while Greek was to be taught it did not receive nearly so much emphasis as later. Nor was there any provision in the statutes as copied in 1568 for the Christmas plays. This copy of 1568 shows that the curriculum and routines of c. 1560 were taken over with but slight necessary adaptations from Eton. The copy printed by Leach represents a thorough revision at some time later than 1568.

The Westminster copy of 1568 adds Sallust to Terence for both the third and fourth forms on Monday and Tuesday. It adds Livy to Caesar in the sixth and seventh forms for Monday and Tuesday, but does not include Cicero's *Offices*, which were pretty certainly not in the Eton curriculum of c. 1560. It adds the *Colloquies* of Erasmus to Lucian's *Dialogues*, for the second form on Wednesday and Thursday. It omits mention of Thomas More for the fourth form, but adds

<sup>4</sup> Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 501.

<sup>5</sup> The variants are given in connection with the Eton curriculum at the beginning of the preceding chapter.



Silius Italicus to Lucan for the sixth and seventh forms in the schedule of work before five. The Eton routines have also been in various ways slightly adapted to Westminster ideas. All these changes are carried over into the later Westminster curriculum as given by Leach, which is made by revision directly upon this earlier form. It seems probable that all of these changes are in fact additions to the Eton curriculum of about 1560; but it is, of course, possible that the known Eton copies have for some reason merely omitted them. In either case, the Westminster curriculum of 1560 was closely modeled on that at Eton.

We get another fairly clear picture of the Westminster curriculum when about 1574 Dr. Goodman copied it for his school at Ruthin in Wales.<sup>6</sup> Various small but obvious touches which need not be summarized here show the Westminster curriculum instead of that at Eton, as, of course, we should expect from Dean Goodman of Westminster. The Ruthin schedule has been somewhat readjusted for six instead of seven forms. In prose, the Sallust (not in Eton) still remains in the fourth form, but Terence does not extend beyond the third in this new division. Justin remains in the fifth, but Cicero's *De Amicitia* is not mentioned, his *Orations*, unmentioned in previous lists of this group, being specified instead. The sixth still has Livy (not in Eton), but not Caesar. For the Greek, there is specification of Isocrates and Xenophon. In poetry, the fourth still reads Ovid, *De Tristibus*. Virgil has been shifted down to the fifth from the sixth and seventh, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* omitted. The sixth now adds Seneca's tragedies for Latin, and Homer for Greek. Similarly, in the afternoon sequence, the "Figures of Prosody" is a slight misstatement for figures of grammar and prosody, the regular work for the fourth form; Susenbrotus still serves for the fifth, but Valerius Maximus, Florus, and Cicero's *Epistles* are not mentioned. The Greek grammar still serves for the sixth. On Friday afternoons Apophthegms or Martial's Epigrams are still specified for the fourth, but not Catullus (nor More as at Eton). Horace still remains for the fifth and Lucan for the sixth, but not Silius Italicus (not at Eton either).

It will be seen that there have been some adjustments to fit the material into six forms instead of seven. In the Latin, there have been no additions except Seneca's tragedies, but there have been a few omissions, doubtless to lighten load. Since the omitted materials are

<sup>6</sup> Knight, *Grammar Schools*, pp. 24-25, 113 ff.

found in the later Westminster curriculum, the omissions are clearly due to Ruthin and not to Westminster. For the Greek, only the Greek grammar had been specified for the sixth and seventh at Westminster, the authors not being mentioned. The Greek grammar<sup>7</sup> is still specified for the final form at Ruthin; but in addition Isocrates and Xenophon are specified as authors in prose, Homer in poetry. Since we find Isocrates and Homer in the later Westminster curriculum they were already used at Westminster at least by 1574. Xenophon was also in use at Westminster in 1571-73.<sup>8</sup> It is thus clear that Ruthin in 1574 is simply taking over the Greek curriculum of Westminster. Presumably this is the curriculum which Westminster itself had taken over from Eton in 1560, but unfortunately the Greek authors are not specified in the earlier curricula.<sup>9</sup> Xenophon is not carried over, appearing elsewhere so far as I know only at Shrewsbury, a school on the Eton system.<sup>10</sup> Evidently, then, Westminster about 1574 still had in its upper school practically or entirely the same curriculum for Latin as in 1560. It began Greek at the same place in the curriculum, but we do not know directly what was the early curriculum in Greek. Its school routines were also still the same, with the afternoon work beginning at twelve instead of one, etc.

It follows that the lower school at Westminster would also have suffered few changes, as is made directly apparent by the adaptation for Ruthin. There the third class read only Terence, without Sallust. So Terence had been confined to the third and Sallust to the fourth. It read also Cicero's *Epistles* as selected by Sturm and Aesop's *Fables*. Terence and Lucian's *Dialogues* do not appear in the second form, but instead Aesop's *Fables* and Erasmus' *Colloquies*. The Erasmus and Aesop were in the original Westminster curriculum. The Lucian and Terence pretty certainly continued in this position at Westminster, since Terence continued here in the later curriculum and Lucian was raised to the Greek sequence. So the second form was doubtless still unchanged at Westminster about 1574. The first form at Ruthin had Vives, *Introduction to Wisdom*, Corderius's *Dialogues*, and Cato. Originally, at Westminster this form had only Vives and Cato, but the revised curriculum adds Corderius. Evidently that had already occurred by 1574. The preface to Corderius in my copy of

<sup>7</sup> This is said to have been Clenardus at this period (Sargeant, *Westminster School*, p. 40). Later it would have been Grant's, and then the revision by Camden.

<sup>8</sup> Tanner, *Westminster School*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> For the Greek curriculum in Nowell's day as master, see above, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>10</sup> The *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon was to be published at Eton in 1613.

the edition of 1587 is "Datum VIII. Id. Feb. anno Christianae redemptionis, M.D.LXIII," and the volume was in fact first published in 1564. Consequently, it was at some time between 1564 and 1574 that Corderius came into the curriculum at Westminster.

Thus Westminster took over the Eton curriculum in 1560 with but slight changes. It had changed but slightly when about 1574 Dr. Goodman adapted it for Ruthin. But it had changed considerably at some time after 1574 by emphasizing Greek and introducing Hebrew. As has been said, Corderius has been added to the first form, with Evaldus Gallus as a possible alternate. For the second form, the *Sacred Dialogues* of Castalio have taken the place of Lucian in Latin, who has now been raised to the Greek sequence. The third form remains intact. Thus the lower school remains much as it was, with some adaptations to newer textbooks and methods. But the upper school has been rather completely revamped. Greek grammar now begins in the fourth form instead of the sixth and seventh, and Lucian's *Dialogues* appear here in Greek instead of in the second in Latin. On the Latin side, Cicero, *De Officiis* is also added. The fifth continues its Greek with Isocrates and Plutarch. Its Latin remains unchanged. The sixth completes its Greek with Demosthenes and Homer, but does not change its Latin. If Xenophon is still used in the Greek sequence, as he was in 1571-73, he is not mentioned. The seventh now takes up Hebrew grammar with a lesson in the Psalms both in Greek and in Hebrew. There is also a provision for music in the upper school.

It will be seen that the Latin sequence remains the same, with only Cicero, *De Officiis*, added for moral philosophy. But the Greek grammar has been brought down to follow the Latin grammar, and Greek is now taught throughout the whole upper school instead of as a kind of detachable unit at the end. This detachable position has come to be occupied by Hebrew. Music has also been given an official place within the curriculum, as had Greek. The routines remain much the same. This change in bringing the Greek grammar down to follow the Latin grammar is a logical one—whether the psychological would not much have troubled a sixteenth-century mind. As a matter of fact, the sequence itself has been the same from the beginning. Only in the earlier system prosody was considered a part of the Latin grammar. First Latin grammar proper has been compressed into the lower school, causing a corresponding shift downward in the upper school. And now prosody has come to be regarded as a separate thing,

being the gateway to verse, which is equally balanced with prose in the upper school. Consequently, the Greek sequence is now dropped to the beginning of the upper school and also receives the recognition of full and official statement. It is to be suspected that this change after 1574 to emphasize Greek is due to Grant, who became master in 1572, and published his Greek grammar in 1575, or to Camden, who succeeded Grant in 1592, and published his revision of Grant's grammar in 1595 to take its place for centuries alongside Lily. Incidentally, Camden revised Grant's Greek grammar into parallel with Lily's Latin grammar so as further to facilitate this sequence from the Latin to the Greek. Since there is said to have been ratification of parts of the Westminster statutes in 1576,<sup>11</sup> the revised Westminster curriculum may be of that date. But this idea of immediate sequence from Lily to Greek grammar, facilitated by parallel form, seems to have been Camden's, as shown by his Greek grammar of 1595, rather than Grant's, so that the parallel in curriculum may even have been suggested by the parallel in texts rather than the other way round. The earliest dated instance I have noticed of this organization for the Greek is at Merchant Taylors' in 1607, where the change was just being made.<sup>12</sup> I should not be surprised even if this Westminster curriculum is at least after the death of Dean Goodman in 1601. It may be significant in this connection that a collection of poems by Westminster boys in 1597<sup>13</sup> is chiefly in Latin, with some Greek, but no Hebrew. The boys are pointing out, "Everybody is scared of Queen Elizabeth, and so we have peace." How modern!

The question of the exact evolution of the Westminster curriculum is of some importance to students of Elizabethan drama, for Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer, was at Westminster to lay the foundations for his self-acknowledged great Latin and only less Greek.<sup>14</sup> The question of Jonson's Hebrew might also be enlightened for us a bit.

The curriculum of Aldenham given in November, 1600,<sup>15</sup> while it provides for only five forms, yet is excerpted, directly or indirectly, from the Westminster adaptation of the Eton system of 1560. This is indicated in part by the inclusion of Sallust in the upper school,

<sup>11</sup> Sargeaunt, *Westminster School*, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. below, p. 401.

<sup>13</sup> B. M.; Royal MS. 12. A. XLI.

<sup>14</sup> The classical attainments of Jonson should receive a careful and impartial study, similar to that of Schoell on Chapman, so that we might form some just idea concerning them. Most people—including Jonson himself—have an exaggerated notion of them.

<sup>15</sup> Printed in *The Letters Patent Granted by Queen Elizabeth in the 38th Year of her Reign to Richard Platt, Esq.* (1823).

but especially by the provision for the *Colloquies* of Erasmus or the *Dialogues* of Corderius in the lower school. The Westminster copy of 1568 inserts the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, and we have seen that Corderius was inserted between 1564 and 1574. The Friday routine is also that of Westminster, not that of Eton, etc. Thus Aldenham is either adapting the Westminster curriculum directly at some time after 1564, or is further adapting the curriculum of some other school which had done so. If the copy was made in 1600, then the statement of the Westminster curriculum had not yet been revised, for there is still only the general specification of the Greek grammar without the naming of Greek authors.

This seven-form system is now to be adapted to a five-form school. Unfortunately, however, the adapted materials have not been worked down to a time table. Individual requirements have simply been lifted, sometimes with adaptation, from the Westminster-Eton system, but without any attempt to fit them together into a complete new system. In a few instances, the old time-indications have been more or less accidentally lifted along with the requirements. We thus have the materials out of which the curriculum and time table were to be formed, but we have neither the full curriculum, nor any trustworthy indication at all of what the time table would be. Not observing the true situation, Mr. Fearon has proceeded to construct both a curriculum and a time table out of these materials, which thus become solely his own inference of how he would have done it;<sup>16</sup> and one must regretfully record that Mr. Fearon hardly qualifies as an Elizabethan.

The regular drill in grammar was intended. "I will that the Schoolemaister and the Ussher teache the com'on Latten Grammer approved by the auctoritie of the Queenes Matie"; but drill in grammar is specifically mentioned only for the first form. This is because ordinarily a general statement is made as to the teaching of grammar to the first three or four forms. This has here been overlooked, so that when the writer constructs his schedule he puts grammar only into the first form. Such lapses are characteristic of this curriculum, which is evidently a compilation from the Westminster-Eton system, made by some one not conversant with the making of grammar school curricula and time tables.

<sup>16</sup> Reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. VII, pp. 262-263; cf. Vol. XII, pp. 65-66.

In the schedule proper, it is provided that the Master shall on Monday and Wednesday have the two upper classes write a prose theme, and on Tuesday and Thursday verses. On Monday and Wednesday the third class varies a *sententia*; on Tuesday and Thursday makes vulgars in prose. For its constructions, the fifth class reads Cicero, *De Officiis*, or Sallust, or Caesar's *Commentaries* on Monday and Tuesday; Virgil or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Lucan on Wednesday and Thursday. The fourth class reads Cicero, *De Amicitia*, or *De Senectute*, or Justin on Monday and Tuesday; Ovid's *De Tristibus* or *De Ponto*, or Seneca's Tragedies on Wednesday and Thursday. The third class reads Ascham's Letters, or Cicero's Letters by Sturm, or Terence on Monday and Tuesday; Palingenius, or the Psalms of Hesus on Wednesday and Thursday. These were the master's forms. The usher presided over the first and second forms. The second reads *Colloquia* of Erasmus or *Dialogues* of Corderius on Monday and Tuesday; Cato senior (Cicero's *De Senectute*) or Cato junior on Wednesday and Thursday. The first form reads the Testament and Psalms of David in English, besides the grammar, on all four days. Then follow certain general provisions. The Master shall teach at his discretion the Latin syntax, Greek Grammar, the figures of Susenbrotus. The usher shall give Latin *sententiae* to be translated, the preceptor vulgars. Then comes the regular requirement as to gathering flowers, etc. from their readings, which first appears explicitly in the Eton requirement of about 1560.

As usual, we have had first the requirement for the first four days of the week. As usual also, Friday was repetition day. Before dinner at eleven, and from one to two, the boys repeated the recitations of the whole week.<sup>17</sup> After three, they repeated whatever work they had done from three to five during the whole week.<sup>18</sup> Before five the Master read to the fifth Horace, Lucan, or Seneca's tragedies,<sup>19</sup> to the fourth Ovid's *Fasti*, to the third the *Apothegms* of Erasmus. Then the

<sup>17</sup> This is Westminster revised, not Eton. Westminster, 1568, is the same except that dinner is at eleven o'clock. So this change of the dinner hour at Westminster to eleven had probably occurred before 1600. Conversely, if we knew when the dinner hour was changed, we could use the fact in the dating of these statutes.

<sup>18</sup> This again is Westminster routine, not Eton.

<sup>19</sup> Since Seneca's tragedies are specified at Ruthin also, they were probably in fact in the Westminster curriculum too, though they are not mentioned there. Nowell had been interested in them in the 'forties (see above), so that they seem to be traditional at Westminster, though they were not in the Eton system which was taken over at Westminster.

master assigns a theme to be put in verse for seven the next day by the fifth and fourth, to be varied in prose by the third. The usher before five reads to both the second and first Aesop's *Fables*.

On Saturday morning at seven the boys recited the lessons which had been read to them on Friday afternoon before five. At two in the afternoon selected boys from the two or three upper classes declaimed in the school on a theme assigned the preceding Saturday. Then the master exercised his boys in interpreting the Catechism and New Testament, while the usher taught his to write the Catechism in English and to cast accounts (*supputare*).

Thus the founder at Aldenham in 1600 is only adapting the Westminster seven-form system to a five-form system, indicating that the Westminster system was probably still at this date as it was about 1560. The texts and fundamental processes are to remain practically the same. But the school was also to care for the petties below grammar grade. That is the reason the usher has only two forms of grammar school grade, while the master has three; and that is the reason it is provided that the usher be

hable att the leaste to teache the introduction to Grammer and inferior Lattyn bookes for the twoe firste ffoarmes as also to teache the Englishe bookes and faire wrightinge cipheringe and castinge of accompts the better to trayne uppe yonge begynners in the A. B. C. Prymmer Catechisme and suche other Englishe bookes whereby they may attayne to the perfecte readinge of the Englishe tongue.

It is fairly clear that another famous school, Shrewsbury, was also on the Eton system as it had been modified at Westminster. The Westminster modifications appear in the addition of Sallust and Livy to the requirements, which are not specified in the Eton curriculum of about 1560. Shrewsbury was an Edwardian foundation, though it did not flourish till the time of Elizabeth. It was founded under date of February 10, 1552.<sup>20</sup> There was originally to be one master and one undermaster. School was at once set up or continued; but was handicapped for means, and did not begin to thrive till 1561, when about May the authorities procured Thomas Ashton as headmaster, who was assisted by Thomas Wylton and Richard Atkys as undermasters.<sup>21</sup> Ashton's direct connections as headmaster ceased in 1568,

<sup>20</sup> Blakeway, J. B., *A History of Shrewsbury School*, p. 22; Baker, Thomas, *History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, p. 405.

<sup>21</sup> Blakeway, *Shrewsbury School*, p. 27.

when he became more profitably connected with Walter, Earl of Essex; but he continued to take part in the plans for the school. By February 20, 1573, Ashton was objecting that £40 for the headmaster, £20 for the second, and £10 for the third would give the largest salary scale in England. But the eventual scale finally provided by the ordinances which are recorded February 11, 1578, was to be £40 for the headmaster, £30 for the second, and £20 for the third. There was also to be "an accidens schoole" under or near the grammar school, with a teacher at £10.<sup>22</sup> The precedent "accidens schoole" is, of course, a suspicious sign of the Eton system in some form.

An accompanying set of ordinances records the curriculum, which, being by Ashton, probably goes back essentially to at least 1561, if not to the original foundation, thus in or shortly after 1552. The provision for curriculum is,

Item there shalbe redd in the said schoole for prose in latten Tullie, Caesar his Comentaries, Salust and Livie, also two litle books of Dialogues, drawen oute of Tulleys Offices and Lodovicus Viues by Mr Thomas Ashton some-tyme cheife schoolemaster of the said schoole; for verse, Virgill, Horace, Ovid and Terence; for greke the greke grammer of Cleonarde, the greke testament, Isocrates ad Demonicum or Xenophon his Cyrus; and these Authors or some of theme mentioned in the table for manner of teachinge to be redd in the schoole, accordinge the head-schoolemaster his discession and choise, as shal seeme best for the childrens capacityes.<sup>23</sup> . . . Everie thursdaie the Schollers of the first forme before they goo to plaie, shall for exercise declame and plaie one acte of a comedie, and everie Satterdaie versifie, and against mondaie morning ensuinge geue vpp their themes or epistles, and all other exercises of writinge or speakinge shalbe vsed in latten.<sup>24</sup> . . . Item that no scholler shalbe admitted into the free grammer schoole before he can write his own name with his own hande, and before he can reade Englishe perfectlie and haue his accidens without the booke, and can geve any case of any nombre of a nounce substantive or adiective and any parson of any nombre of a verbe active and passive, and can make a latten by any of the concordres, the latten wordes beinge first geven him.<sup>25</sup>

The scholars at Shrewsbury were thus expected to have been grounded in Latin before entrance to the grammar school, entering what would be the second form in the Eton system, so with only five forms of that system to complete. It was for this reason that Shrewsbury provided "an accidens schoole" to prepare these beginners.

<sup>22</sup> Baker, *St. John*, p. 407.      <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.      <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.



These regulations of 1578 state what had probably been the practice so far as curriculum is concerned from the beginning at least of Ashton's connection, as we happen to know from the case of Master Philip Sidney. Sidney was born November 30, 1554, and had been under tutors before he was enrolled in Shrewsbury school October 17, 1564,<sup>26</sup> a few weeks before he was ten. A surviving account book of a year later gives some significant facts. In December, 1565, two quires of paper were provided "for example bookes, frases, and sentences in latyne and frenche."<sup>27</sup> Here are the inevitable note books for examples, phrases, and *sententiae*, with the interesting information that Sidney was in some way being taught French, though that language is not provided for in the regulations of the school. Similarly, "three example bookes for the secretarie hande"<sup>28</sup> on December 21, 1565, show that Sidney and his companions were being taught to write the Secretary hand. Both the French and the writing were probably taught by special teachers, as was frequently the case for music, dancing, fencing, etc. Such teachers were not necessarily connected directly with the school.

But on January 16, 1566, we come into the presence of the master himself with "a written booke being an abstracte of M<sup>r</sup> Astons doinge of tullies offices and lodouicus dialogue wise."<sup>29</sup> Cicero's *De Officiis* regularly came in the upper half of grammar school, usually in the last year or so. Ashton had apparently tempered the wind to the shorn lambs by putting the work into dialogue form. The accompanying work of Vives could hardly have been other than his *Ad Sapientiam Introductio*. The two works were to care for the usual requirement in moral philosophy.

Succeeding books show that Sidney was now beginning the regular sequences of upper grammar school. On February 26, 1566, he was provided with a Virgil,<sup>30</sup> and in March with "Radolpho Gualtero Tigurino de sylabarum et carminum ratione."<sup>31</sup> Clearly, his training in the writing of poetry was beginning, with Virgil and not Ovid as the model. So Sidney was pretty certainly beginning upon the *Bucolics* or *Georgics* with a text on verse-writing to direct him. This is, of course, regular procedure. On June 21, 1566, there is an entry "for a Saluste."<sup>32</sup> Sallust is regularly bracketed with Virgil in the same form

<sup>26</sup> Wallace, M. W., *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 35.

<sup>27</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 408.

<sup>28</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 408.

<sup>29</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 410. Sidney probably was not yet directly under Ashton.

<sup>30</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 410.

<sup>31</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 411.

<sup>32</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 412.

at the beginning of the rhetoric and poetic of the upper grammar school. Sidney is beginning this sequence shortly after he was twelve, perhaps as much as a year later than was normally expected in grammar school regulations, whatever may have been the actual practice. Of course, Sidney had a catechism, this time Calvin because of Ashton's puritanic leanings;<sup>33</sup> but this belonged to his specifically religious training. It is sad to note that this model boy had lost his Cato and had to be supplied with a new one,<sup>34</sup> for of course he could not write themes properly on "moral matters" without recourse to the wise saws of that collection. He should have acquired a lordly knowledge of the collection before he came to Shrewsbury, but such a knowledge evidently still required prompting with the text. After Cato have been caned into plebeians they were not supposed to need a text.

Besides Cato, we may be certain that Sidney had also had Terence before he took up Virgil about February 1566 and Sallust in June. For Terence is with but one or two exceptions always required in the sixteenth century, as he is at Shrewsbury certainly by 1578 and probably from 1562, and he invariably precedes the poetic and rhetorical sequences of upper grammar school. Similarly, Tully's *Epistles* must have been fitted in here to teach Sidney letter-writing. Likewise, if Sidney read Caesar and Livy as the regulations require, we may be certain that he did so after having read Sallust, for they may accompany, but never precede that author. Also, in the poetic sequence Ovid and Horace must follow the Virgil, which is here basic. Such small Greek as Sidney may have acquired at Shrewsbury would have come later than the Virgil. The orations of Cicero would have been tied with those of Isocrates, and the current Isocrates had a parallel Latin translation. The Greek grammar, some reading of the New Testament (of which he was supposed to know the English version well and have it readily at hand), some Isocrates (with Latin translation) along with Cicero to illustrate oratory, or instead the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon taught for moral ends—; this, according to the ordinances of 1578, would be the extent of Sidney's Greek at Shrewsbury. And this was at this period the usual amount for grammar schools.

One does not dare permit Sidney to read the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus under Mr. Ashton's watchful eye at Shrewsbury, as he might

<sup>33</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 410.

<sup>34</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 422.

have done had he gone to Harrow, for Heliodorus and his romance formed the stock example for the pūritanic against an ill-spent youth corrupted by love stories.

The penning and reading of all amorous Bookes was so execrable in the Primitive times, how ever they are much admired now, that *Heliodorus Bishop of Trica was deprived of his Bishopricke by a Provinciaall Synod, for those wanton amorous Bookes he had written in his youth, his bookes being likewise awarded to the fire to be burnt* (though they are yet applauded and read by many amorous persons) *quia lectione eorum juvenes multi in periculū conijcerentur*: because divers yong men by reading of them might bee corrupted and entised unto lewdnesse.<sup>35</sup>

Calvinistic Ashton would have permitted to Master Philip Sidney no such corrupting trash. Sidney must have got Heliodorus at university or later.

For there are indications, of course, that even after university Sidney intended to pursue his Greek further, and that against a piece of very practical advice, which may be quoted as showing quite justly why Greek played no greater a part in the lives of men who were forced to be practical. After Sidney had been at both universities, Languet advised him concerning his ambitions for enough Greek to understand Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in the original,

It is a beautiful study but I fear you will have no time to carry it through, and all the time you give to it will be lost to your Latin, which though it is considered a less interesting language than the Greek is yet much more important for you to know.<sup>36</sup>

One is reminded of the advice of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, to his son about 1595, "The attaining to the Latin is most of use, the Greek but loss of time; other languages are good and profitable, yet to be laid aside, until their own and Latin be perfected."<sup>37</sup> A certain amount of Greek and Hebrew was of practical value to reforming churchmen and to some schoolmen. Few others could afford the time for the luxury of very much more than the "smalle Greeke" they had acquired in grammar school.

It should be noticed also that Abraham Fraunce was a product of

<sup>35</sup> Prynne, *Histriomastix* (1633), pp. 916-917.

<sup>36</sup> Wallace, *Sidney*, p. 43. It seems that Sidney did translate the first two books of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* into English (Hudson, Hoyt H., *Directions for Speech and Style by John Hoskins*, p. 41); but it does not follow, of course, that he translated from the Greek. Englishmen seldom did anything so radical.

<sup>37</sup> Harrison, G. B., *Advice to His Son by Henry Percy Ninth Earl of Northumberland*, p. 67.

Shrewsbury school, and one has but to study the late Professor G. C. Moore Smith's notes to Fraunce's *Victoria* to see how significantly Fraunce reflects the Shrewsbury curriculum, but we cannot pursue that subject here.

When Sir Nicholas Bacon drew up statutes for St. Alban's under date of May 17, 1570, he included "*Articles* to be recited to them that shall offer their Children to be taught in the School,"<sup>38</sup> which are almost exactly the same as those found at Bury St. Edmund's in 1550 and thence carried over into the statutes provided by Dean Nowell for Bangor in 1569.<sup>39</sup> The ultimate model for all three is to be found in Dean Colet's provisions at Paul's, which Wolsey took over at Ipswich. In other respects, however, the statutes for St. Alban's show only occasional coincidence with those at Bury St. Edmund's and Bangor. And the curriculum of St. Alban's, while not fully specified, seems clearly to have belonged to the Eton system. Significant here is the statement, "that none shall be received into the School, but such as have learned their Accidence without booke, and can write indifferently."<sup>40</sup> This is a translation of the Eton-Westminster proviso, not that of Winchester and Paul's.

A list of books given to the library of St. Alban's in 1587-89 furnishes considerable information upon the curriculum of the school.

Two verie faire bookes in folio well bound and claspt contayning the whole workes of Plato, set out by Sarranus, lately, of the best edition, given by Mr. Francis Bacon; price whereof £5.

Item, a fayre new Greke Dictionarie in quarto called Crispinus Lexicon, newly corrected by Mr. Grant, bound in velum, given by Mr. Roger Williams our minister [i. e. the vicar]; price whereof 10s.

By the same person "Nizolius, price 10s."

"Item, an ancient Greke Dictionarie in folio called Cornucopia or *Képas Αμαλ Θέλας*, bound in bord, given by Mr. Thomas, school-master, precium 13s 4d."

A folio Pliny *De Historia Naturali* was also given by Thomas.

A "faire newe Bible" of Tremellius with "Syriak Translation."

*Opus Aureum*, "twoo excellent bookes of many ancient learned men's sentences."

<sup>38</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, pp. 517-518.

<sup>39</sup> Knight, *Grammar Schools*, p. 103.

<sup>40</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, p. 517. Hence a petty school was provided (*Middlesex & Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, p. 39).

Cooper's Latin Dictionary, "given by Nathaniell Martin, scholer of the schole, price 20s."

Moreover there are brought into the Librarie two verie faire bookes, the one a 'Homer with enarrations of the best scolians,' the other 'Demosthenes of the best and fayrest edition with scutcheons of the arms of my Lord Keeper, reserved since the first disputations given by my the said Lord Keeper: price whereof £3.'

Another Cooper's Latin Dictionary and a Greek-Latin dictionary were given by, "Mr. Addams, Doctor of Physic, in his lyfe tyme."

"The librarie is now worth £15."<sup>41</sup>

In 1597-1598,

Additions to the School Library—

Erasmus, Adagies	}	Price xxvi s. given by the Schollers.
Licosthenes Apothegmes		
Textors Epithetons		
An historicall and poetickall Dictionary		

Tullie's Works in two volumes, price xxxviii s., given by Mr. Thomas Hayward and the Schollars.<sup>42</sup>

In 1624-26, the significant note, "vetus et laceratus" is attached to the Nizolius and to the one remaining Cooper.<sup>43</sup> The Latin dictionary, and the combined concordance and phrase-book to Cicero had been severely used. By 1630, the Tremellius had been exchanged for a Scapula, and Badius on Virgil, while one of the Cooper's had disappeared entirely, probably used up before 1624.<sup>44</sup>

These books show that Greek was taught at St. Alban's, including Homer and Demosthenes as usual. One suspects that the magnificent Plato<sup>45</sup> was presented to Mr. Francis Bacon's vanity rather than to the everyday use of the school. Three Greek dictionaries should have supplied the demand for that type of reference work. Two copies of Cooper should have been adequate for the Latin. Nizolius enabled the boys to gather golden sentiments from Cicero for their themes, in which enterprise they had the further aid of Michael Neander's two volumes of "sentences" from the Greek, the *Adages* of Erasmus,

<sup>41</sup> V. C. H., *Hertfordshire*, Vol. II, p. 61.

<sup>42</sup> *Middlesex & Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, p. 40.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>45</sup> This Serranus Plato of 1578 was considered to be the edition at that time. Jonson had a copy, the price paid for the three volumes (sometimes bound as two) being given as £4 (Hertford, C. H., and Simpson, P., *Ben Jonson*, Vol. I, pp. 266-267). There are (1938-39) numerous copies in bookdealers' hands in London (as low as eight shillings), showing that it was widely current.

and his *Apothegms* as presented by Lycosthenes. Pliny would also yield treasure trove. Textor would give correct epithets, being especially useful for versification. The historical and poetical dictionary would also furnish ornament for verse composition. The Bible was doubtless for those who might study Hebrew, but was eventually found useless. So St. Alban's was to teach Latin, Greek, and perhaps for a time Hebrew, as was now frequent. Since it at least envisioned Hebrew, and emphasized Greek, the curriculum was probably on a model modified in the eventual Westminster direction rather than upon the old model at Eton.

The surviving curriculum of another famous school is somewhat beyond the century mark, but may well be included here, since it represents an important adaptation to the system at Westminster. It seems clear that Merchant Taylors' was originally modelled upon St. Paul's,<sup>46</sup> but by 1607 its curriculum was being shaped to the Westminster organization. The reorganization of 1607 shows in concrete detail exactly what was expected in each type of work, and enables us to see that Merchant Taylors' School also conformed to type from its foundation.

It was decided in January 1607 that the school should have regular probation days; and regulations were drawn up as to the tests which were to be given to each of the six forms on these occasions. These give the most definite idea I have yet been able to find as to exactly what in the way of compositional excellence was at this period expected of a learned grammarian.

A description of such or the like exercises as every form shall do, forenoone and afternoone, on every probation-day.

#### THE FIRST FORME:—THE FORENOONE.

Howres.

1. They shall write the ends and terminacons of all the declensions of nounes, and one noune after every declension.
2. They shall write the ends and terminacons of the active voice in the fowre conjugations.
3. They shall write the ends and terminacons of the passive voice in the fowre conjugations.
4. They shall write a substantive masculine and an adjective masculine together, thorough every case, in both numbers; also a substantive and an adjective feminine [*sic*]; and a substantive and an adjective neuter.

<sup>46</sup> McDonnell, *St. Paul's School*, p. 144.

## THE AFTERNOONE.

1. They shall write the active and passive voice of some verb after *amo*, every tense in a severall line; without nameing either moode, tense, number, or person.
2. They shall write the active and passive voice of some verb after *doceo*, as in the former howre.
3. They shall write the active and passive voice of some verb after *lego*, as in the first howre.
4. They shall write the active and passive voice of some verb after *audio*, as in the first howre.

## THE SECOND FORME:—THE FORENOONE.

1. They shall write some anomalie, or harder nounce substantive, after every declension; and also the cognata tempora of the present tense, and of the preter-perfect tense severally; or els some person singular or plurall of the same tenses of *amo*, *doceo*, *lego*, *audio*.
2. They shall write every person singular and plural alone throughout both the active and passive voice of two irregular verbs: the one of the first conjugation, as *lavo*: the other of the second, as *sorbeo*.
3. They shall write, as in the howre before, two verbs; th'one of the third conjugation, as *dico*; th'other of the fowrth, as *sentio*.
4. They shall translate into Latine dictata, or Englishes made out of the rules of the concords, or of the construction of substantives and adjectives, being uses of the examples.

## THE AFTERNOONE.

1. They shall translate other dictata, or Englishes made out of the rules of verbs, wch have a nominative, genitive, or dative case after them, being uses of the examples.
2. They shall doe likewise out of the rest of the rules of the construction of verbs, and the other parts of speech that followe.
3. They shall translate a dialogue, being a dictatum, or English made out of Corderius his Dialogues.
4. They shall translate an epistle, being a dictatum, or English made out of Tully his Epistles.

## THE THIRD FORME:—THE FORENOONE.

1. They shall write the ends or termynacons of the fyve declensions, and fowre conjugations, with a note of the short or long tyme wch peculiarly belongs to everie declension and conjugation.
2. They shall write some person singular or plurall of the cognata tempora of some anomaly-verb in every conjugation, through both the active and passive voices.
3. They shall make of themselves, according to the rules, so many uses, as they can, of one, two, or more examples propounded out of the rules of the syntaxis.
4. They shall vary some easy Latine sentence so many waies as they can.

## THE AFTERNOON.

1. They shall write in construing-manner, some short dialogue of Corderius, exactly observing the natural right order of construing, and their points; and also make uses of the rarest and best phrases.
2. They shall of themselves make another dialogue like unto the former.
3. They shall write, in construing-wise, some short and easy epistle of Tully, and make use of the rarest and best phrases alone.
4. They shall of themselves make another epistle like unto the former.

## THE FOURTH FORME:—THE FORENOONE.

1. They shall write, in construing-wise, a dialogue of Corderius longer than the former forme did, and of themselves make another dialogue like unto it.
2. They shall write, in construing-wise, some easy epistle of Tully, and make another like unto it.
3. They shall vary some Latine sentence soe many waies as they can.
4. They shall make two, three, or more periods of some theme or sentence in Latine, and make two, or more verses upon the same.

## THE AFTERNOONE.

1. They shall write the Greeke ends and terminacons, or els the paradigmata of the 4 declensions of perfect nownes.
2. They shall write the Greeke ends and terminacons, or els the paradigmata of the 5 declensions of nouns contract.
3. They shall write some person singular, duall, or plurall, of the active paradigmata of the Greeke verbs, barytona, circumflexa, and in  $\mu$ .
4. They shall write some person singular, dual, or plural, of the passive or midle paradigmata of the Greeke verbs, barytona, circumflexa, and in  $\mu$ .

## THE FIFT FORME:—THE FORENOONE.

1. They shall vary some Latine sentence in prose.
2. They shall make a longer theme, or treatise, in prose than the former forme did.
3. They shall make verses upon the same theme or sentence.
4. They shall make a dialogue or an epistle in Latine.

## THE AFTERNOONE.

1. They shall compare a nowne adjective in Greeke.
2. They shall write some person singular, dual, or plural, of the cognata tempora in Greeke; first in the active voice, secondly in the passive, thirdly in the middle.
3. They shall make some parodiae, or imitacons of Latine verses.
4. They shall also make some parodiae, or imitations of Greeke verses.



## THE SIXT FORME:—THE FORENOONE.

1. The schoolemaister having opened, on the sodayne, some part of Tully, shall read one period, word by word, without nameing either with what letters any word is to bee written, or where any point is to bee sett; or telling them any thing that may help their understanding of the same period. And the scholars shall write, word by word, after the scholemaister and presently translate the same into proper and playne English, leaving empty spaces so often as they are not able to translate it themselves.

2. They shall turne the same period into other Latine, one or more waies, and also into Greeke.

3. They shall turn it into Latine hexameters and pentameters, or sapphicks.

4. They shall make two, three, or more, periods, in prose, upon some theme or sentence propounded, and also verses upon the same.

## THE AFTERNOONE.

1. The schoolemaister having opened, on the sodayne, the Greeke Testament, Esop's Fables, in Greeke, or some other very easie Greeke author, shall read some short sentence, without nameing letters, accent, spirit, or point, or telling them any thing that may help their understanding thereof; and the schollers shall write, word by word, after the schoolemaister, and presently translate the same into proper and plaine English, leaving empty spaces, so often as they are not able to translate it themselves.

2. They shall turne the same sentence into proper and plaine Latin, and also into other Greeke.

3. They shall also turne it into Greeke hexameters and pentameters, or sapphicks.

4. They shall make two, three, or moe, periods in Greeke prose, and also some Greeke verses upon some Greek sentence propounded.<sup>47</sup>

These regulations show that the first form at Merchant Taylors' was tested entirely upon the nouns, adjectives, and regular verbs. The statutes of 1561 had provided that on entrance each boy must know "the Catechisme in English or Latyn," and be able to "read perfectly, and write competently."<sup>48</sup> He was thus ready to begin upon his grammar in the first form. The second form was expected to master the anomalies of these same parts of speech, to know their rules through the first part of the authorized grammar, to be able to turn illustrative Englishes into Latins, and to turn from English to Latin the *Colloquies* of Corderius, and epistles of Cicero. So the boys studied their accidence in the first form; in the second, completed it and their rules, read some of the dialogues of Corderius, and some

<sup>47</sup> Wilson, H. B., *The History of Merchant-Taylors' School*, pp. 163-167.

<sup>48</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 54.

of the epistles of Cicero, evidently from Sturm's collection. Here is the Paul's or the Winchester system of division, not that at Eton.

The third form must write the more difficult types, and make Latins to illustrate them, must vary a Latin sentence, must write a construe of a short dialogue in Corderius, using the natural order of words, must write a similar dialogue, must write a construe of an epistle of Cicero, must write a similar epistle. The fourth form writes longer exercises on Corderius and Cicero, varies a Latin sentence, writes a theme of at least two or three sentences upon some *sententia*, and then turns the theme into at least two verses. Thus with the fourth form, the first of upper school, the boys begin writing themes both in prose and verse, as was universal. The fourth form also begins its Greek, starting with the regular nouns and verbs. The fifth form continues the same types of composition as the fourth, varying a Latin sentence in prose, making a longer theme in prose, turning it into verse, and making a longer dialogue or epistle in Latin. In Greek, they proceed with their grammar, they make a "parodiae, or imitacons" of Latin verses, and the same for Greek. The sixth and highest form must be able to take down from dictation a random passage from Cicero, then translate it into English without aid, next turn it into other Latin and into Greek, then into Latin hexameters, pentameters, or sapphics, finally to write a theme upon some *sententia* and turn it into verse. Similarly for Greek, they must be able to take down from dictation a random passage and translate it into English, turn it into Latin and other Greek, then into Greek hexameters, pentameters, or sapphics, finally write a Greek theme in prose upon some *sententia* and turn it into verse. Thus the boys were finally to be able to write extended forms of composition both in Latin and in Greek, in prose and in verse.

It is important to notice the compositional sequences here. By the end of lower grammar school, the boys have evidently completed the grammar proper, since in the first form of upper school they begin versification. They are expected at this stage to be able to write at least two verses at a stint. The verse requirements then increase in length and difficulty. We have found this same situation in the 'sixties in the Winchester, the Eton, and the cathedral systems. Similarly for the prose sequences. Even in the third form, the last of lower grammar school, the boys wrote colloquies in imitation of Corderius and epistles in imitation of Cicero. Then in the fourth form, the first of upper school, came varying and writing a theme, in addition to

longer exercises as for the third. This process of varying came one step later in the Eton system. It is continued at Merchant Taylors' in the fifth along with all the accompanying prose exercises in more difficult form. The sixth writes a theme, presumably, therefore, of extended length. Thus the epistle appears first, followed by variation and by the theme, which finally attains extended form. By imitation of Cicero the epistle has been begun in the third form, the end of lower school. As the boys get their rhetoric in the upper forms, they can then write epistles analytically as in early days. Eton was probably following this system by 1560. Since the boys begin to vary in the fourth form, their rhetorical elements must also now be taught there to enable them to do this. So rhetoric has been brought down to parallel versification, and the two are now "on all fours" throughout upper school. Here are essentially the sequences we found in the Winchester, Eton, and cathedral systems in the 'sixties.

These regulations are rendered even more concrete by William Hayne's list of his construes in 1611, "The names of some other bookes, verbally translated, which I haue this twenty yeares and vpwards used, and may, as occasion is offered, hereafter publish." From Latin to English, the whole of Lily (of which parts had been published twenty years before), the rhetoric of Talaëus, some of the shorter colloquies of Corderius, the first book of the colloquies of Corderius, the second and third books of Cicero's epistles by Sturm, Cato, Publius Syrus, the same from the Greek of Scaliger, Cicero's oration *Pro Marcello*, *Pro Ligario*, *Pro Lege Manilia*, *Pro Deiotaro*, *Ad Senatum post Reditum*, the four in *In Catilinam*, *De Senectute*, the same from the Greek of Gaza, *Tusculan Questions*, Book I, *De Oratore*, Book I, *De Officiis*, Aesop, Caesar's *Commentaries*, Book I, Epicurus of Erasmus, the same from the Greek of Bartholomew Caver-sinus, Terence's *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, Virgil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, Book I, *Aeneid*, first six books, Horace's *Odes*, Book I, *De Arte Poetica*, Nowell's *Catechism*, the same from the Greek of Whitaker. From the Greek into Latin, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Romans, two orations of Chrysostom on prayer, chapter five of Nonnus Panoplitanus paraphrase on John, Apollinaris on certain psalms, Rhodomannus, *De Ecclesia*, Hymns of Synesius, John Posselius, *Rules of Life*, *Sayings of the Wise* by Sosiades, Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*, *Nicocles*, *Ad Nicoclem*, the same orations in English, *Contra Sophistas*, *Contra Lochitem*, *Amartyros*, Demosthenes, three Olynthiacs, four Philip-pics, *Peace*, *Adversus Calliclem De Praedio*, *Adversus Boeotium De*

*Nomine, Pro Megalopolitis, De Foedere cum Alexandro Inito*, Lysias on the death of Eratosthenes, Plutarch, *The Education of Boys*, certain progymnasmata of ancient rhetoricians, Epistles of Brutus and others, Henry Stephens, certain dialogues of Lucian, the same in English, Homer's *Iliad*, first four books, selections from the seven books of Greek Epigrams.<sup>49</sup>

Here are the regular grammar school authors, with frequent indication as to the parts emphasized, and some hints as to supplementary aids. It will be noticed that Hayne produced no construe of Ovid, but evidently grounded the boys on Virgil. In a rather lengthy introduction, Hayne sums up his pedagogical philosophy. Prevailingly, Brinsley agrees with Hayne. From the instructions of 1607, from Hayne, and from Brinsley one can reconstruct quite accurately the curriculum at Merchant Taylors' 1607-11. And this curriculum is an offshoot of the Eton-Westminster system.

It seems clear that in 1607 Merchant Taylors' was adapting the Westminster curriculum, which had itself been evolved from Eton. We have seen that the sequences of Merchant Taylors' are those of the Eton system, and hence of Westminster. More significant is the organization by which the Greek grammar is brought down to follow the Latin, thus making way for the Hebrew at the end of the curriculum. As we have seen, this organization seems to have been evolved at Westminster. It is also clear that it was only being introduced at Merchant Taylors' in 1607. For it will be noticed that the first and second, the third and fourth forms tend to pair. The reason for this lies in the organization of the school, as it appears from events following the orders we have just examined. It turned out that William Carrell, the chief usher, was not competent to teach Greek, this leading to dissensions which affected Carrell's work, and shows us that he had been teaching the third and fourth forms.<sup>50</sup> It is clear that Greek was only in 1607 being brought down to the fourth form, having before been taught by the master in a form or forms above the fourth. So it appears that the second and third ushers taught the first two forms, the chief usher the third and fourth, the master the fifth and sixth. This arrangement may, of course, be only approximately correct. This organization of the Latin and Greek is not known elsewhere at the period in a six form system than at Westminster. It seems clear, therefore, that in 1607 the curriculum of Merchant

<sup>49</sup> *Certaine Epistles of Tolly* (1611), [G6v-G7v].

<sup>50</sup> Wilson, *Merchant-Taylors' School*, p. 170n, 183n.

Taylor's was reshaped on the model of that at Westminster, which had been evolved from the Eton model of 1560.

It will be well now to notice the compositional set-up for prose of the Winchester-Eton-Westminster system. For the parent curriculum at Winchester, the schools at Rivington and Sandwich give an excellent idea of the compositional sequence. The system of composition at Rivington in 1570-76 is an interesting illustration of how the new might be assimilated to the old. There the boys read along with Terence the *Selectae Epistolae Ciceronis*; that is, Sturm's collection. Each boy then wrote

short Epistles which he must do weekly, following Tully's examples. To all which aforesaid, Erasm. Copiae verborum et Rerum, et de conscribendis Epistolis, will give a great light, and make the way more easy, if they be not so much tarried in, as laid before them like a pattern to learn by, and to follow.<sup>51</sup>

Here the old and the new are fused. The boys had begun composition by the regular process of "making some wise sentences in Latin."<sup>52</sup> Then they progressed to Sturm's collection and wrote imitative epistles, but still using the old texts of Erasmus "like a pattern to learn by, and to follow," in the same way that Brinsley was to use Aphthonius for themes. In this way, the boy could write epistles before he had mastered rhetorical theory.

After the epistle had thus been taught imitatively, the boy progressed to rhetorical theory and to accompanying composition in accordance with its principles. His text on theory was *Ad Herennium* to direct him as to the kinds and parts of an oration, and to instruct him how by *elocutio*; that is, tropes and schemes, or rhetoric proper, to adorn his matter. Aphthonius and Tully's orations furnished him models and patterns for the fourteen minor forms and the oration, with supplementary aid from other authors who were being read, such as Sallust and Virgil. Aphthonius, Quintilian, and Seneca gave him further theoretical pointers on handling his materials. Along with prose, verse also was to be written. Here quite clearly is the full compositional scheme, with the imitative epistle fitted in. Sandwich in 1580 had the same system, probably in detail. The two, being on the Winchester system, supplement each other nicely to show what that system was in the 'seventies.

<sup>51</sup> Whitaker, *Rivington School*, pp. 211-212.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 209-210.

This same system, at least essentially, is found at Eton and its offshoots, including Westminster and its copyists. So early as 1560, Eton boys studied Sturm's collection of Cicero's epistles, though we are not told directly how the collection was to be used; but William Kempe, who had been an Eton boy, later advocates the use of it for imitative epistles as had been true in the parent Winchester system at least by the 'seventies. The inference is certain that it had been so used at Eton in the 'sixties. Since Cicero's epistles are still read in the usual place in the upper school, it is likely that the old system of writing epistles had been modified at Eton in exactly the same way as at Rivington, though no direct statement is made as to accompanying texts and processes. In 1530, *Copia* and *De Conscribendis* had been used at this stage, and the requirement of Cicero's epistles and of varying indicate that the old processes were still here. If so, we have exactly the same situation as to epistles at Eton in the 'sixties as we find at Rivington in the 'seventies. It is also clear that Eton boys wrote themes in prose and verse and had competitive declamations as their highest form of composition. But unfortunately neither texts nor routines are specified. I find nothing to show whether these were or were not in accord with those in the parent system. Since Westminster takes over the Eton curriculum even in phraseology, the same indefiniteness attaches to its practice in connection with these final exercises also.

It would seem clear, however, that before 1607 the formal oration had been abandoned in the Westminster system. Here we shall do well to remember the intermediate tradition of the theorists. Ascham in the latter 'sixties believed in basing elementary composition imitatively upon Sturm's collection, but does not express himself on the higher sequences. Kempe, who had been at Eton, advocates the same system, and extends it to the writing of themes imitatively both in prose and verse in the upper forms. This extension, however, had been implied in Ascham's desire for a collection of perfect examples to be followed imitatively. Merchant Taylors' in 1607 shows how this Winchester-Eton-Westminster system, advocated by Ascham and Kempe, was by that time put into operation; and Brinsley in 1612 presents the system in detail.

For Brinsley's system of composition in 1612 is that of Merchant Taylors' by 1607. There imitative epistles were based upon Cicero in the third form, followed by themes in prose and verse in the fourth form and above, but without formal orations as such. We are

not told directly that Sturm's selections from Cicero's epistles were used in the third form for these imitative exercises, but the derivation of the curriculum from that at Westminster, which was derived from that at Eton, which was derived from that at Winchester, settles that question, since Sturm's selections are regularly specified for schools on the Winchester-Eton-Westminster system. Indeed, the Eton system of 1560 is itself evidently much that demanded by Brinsley. There the boys studied Sturm's collection from Cicero in the third form, and by that form were writing exercises which were called themes. These became more complicated in the later forms and came to a pinnacle in competitive declamations on a set theme such as Brinsley recommends. There is no specific reference to the writing of epistles, but this exercise would certainly have been fitted in at some stage. Kempe, who had been an Eton boy, recommended that epistles be written imitatively in connection with Sturm's collection, and Merchant Taylors' in 1607 was following this system. It seems clear, therefore, that Brinsley's compositional sequence is essentially that established at Eton by 1560, which spread to Westminster, to Merchant Taylors', and to their numerous imitators. These schools may indeed in early days have gone further in the study of the formal oration than Brinsley advocates, as schools on the Winchester model certainly did; but there is little direct indication that they did. The probability is that in the 'sixties and 'seventies their practice was that of the Winchester system, but that by 1607 they had given up the formal oration as in 1612 Brinsley advocates.

These various instances thus show the same focal objectives in the Eton-Westminster system of Elizabeth's reign as in that we have observed at Bury St. Edmund's and at Harrow, only they are typically spread out over seven forms as in early days instead of compressed to five as in the two schools just mentioned. At Eton, the boys now complete their grammar proper by the end of the third form, instead of the fourth as they had done in 1530. They still use Cato, Aesop, and Terence for the first four forms, while they use in addition the *Ad Sapientiam* of Vives in the first form, Lucian's *Dialogues* in the second, and Sturm's Epistles of Cicero in the third. But in the fourth they now take up versification, the final section of the authorized grammar, with Ovid's *Tristia* as the author. In 1530, versification had come only in the fifth, along with the writing of epistles. It has thus been placed one form lower and the study of

verse continues along with that of prose through the remainder of the curriculum. Here the Eton system of 1560 is following exactly the same order as do Bury St. Edmund's and Harrow. By the end of the third out of five forms, the boys at these schools had completed grammar, and in the third they too studied versification, also with Ovid's *Tristia* as the author, just as Eton attains these objectives by the end of the fourth out of seven forms. The sequence of the lower school is thus so far the same. Eton in 1560 supplements in the fourth with Martial, Catullus, or Sir Thomas More. In the fifth, it continues with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Horace; in the sixth and seventh Virgil's *Aeneid*, Lucan and others. So Eton by 1560 has substituted Ovid's *Tristia* in the fourth form for Virgil's *Bucolics*, which was used in 1530, has continued Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the fifth, has brought Horace to the fifth form from the sixth, has placed Virgil's *Aeneid* in the sixth and seventh instead of the fifth and sixth, has added Lucan at the end, and has supplemented in the fourth with Martial, Catullus, or More. The poetic sequence has thus been begun in the fourth form with a rearrangement of authors, but the authors of the still higher forms remain almost exactly the same and come in practically the same order. The work in poetry has in this way been considerably enlarged—at least on paper.

As has been said, Bury St. Edmund's and Harrow begin their study of versification in the third form and also with *Tristia* as the model. But they then continue with Virgil's *Bucolics* in the old conventional place in the fourth, whereas Eton had apparently dropped this work, though Winchester still retained it, and actually Eton may. Horace had come also in the fourth, and Virgil's *Aeneid* in the fifth. Thus they use Virgil's *Bucolics* instead of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but continue with Horace and Virgil's *Aeneid* as at Eton. So their fundamental poetic practice is almost exactly that of the Eton system. Only Eton has more time and so can supplement with other authors.

While versification had been shifted to the fourth form at Eton in 1560 from the fifth, similarly, the figures of speech; that is, *elocutio*, or rhetoric proper, were shifted to the fifth; the whole rules sequence has been shifted down by a form. Only, the text is now Susenbrotus instead of Mosellanus as it was in 1530. Cicero's *Epistles* are still in the fifth as in 1530, and presumably for the same reason; that of serving as a model for epistles. At the corresponding stage, Bury St. Edmund's and Harrow had specified Erasmus, *Copia* and *De Con-*



*scribendis Epistolis*. Some such texts would be used at Eton to supplement Susenbrotus and Cicero's *Epistles*, as they were at Saffron Walden, which was on the Eton system. The inserted moral philosophy also makes its appearance here with *De Amicitia* in the fifth and *De Officiis* for the sixth and seventh. At Bury St. Edmund's only *De Officiis* is mentioned for the final form, but at Harrow both it and *De Amicitia*, together with others, come in next to the last form. So Eton by 1560 has also inserted the moral philosophy of Cicero in its upper forms.

It is not clear, however, in detail how Eton handled its oratory. After Susenbrotus in the fifth form, it gives no hint. Presumably it would have studied some text in letter-writing in the fifth form, as it had in 1530, but there is no statement. Nor is there any as to the *Copia* of Erasmus as in 1530, nor as to any other. But it would seem clear that *Copia* is still continued in the fifth in 1560, where it had been in 1530, since that form was to be given a *sententia* to be varied daily as also a theme to be varied in prose, while *Copia* was the official text on varying. Similarly, the boys in 1560 proceeded to declamations, since that is one of their exercises. Presumably again, they would use the conventional texts in sequence for the sixth and seventh forms. But the final oratorical work is simply not indicated.

For other prose, instead of Sallust for the fifth form as in 1530, one gets in 1560 Justin, with supplementary work on Valerius Maximus and Lucius Florus. In copying Eton, Westminster had thrust Sallust down to the fourth form, and this may represent actual practice at Eton also. Aldenham, too, has Sallust, but for the fifth and final form. Caesar is specified for the sixth and seventh at Eton. Bury St. Edmund's had retained Sallust at the conventional place, and both it and Harrow had used Caesar at the end. Harrow had also added Livy to Caesar. Thus all agree on Caesar for final work, but not on other historical writers, except just possibly Sallust.

The Greek is not fitted into this schedule at Eton, the only hint being that the Greek grammar may serve for the rules of the sixth and seventh forms. But Westminster is more thoroughgoing in its adaptation of Eton. There the Greek grammar and Lucian's *Dialogues* in Greek come in the fourth form, Isocrates and Plutarch in the fifth, Demosthenes and Homer in the sixth and seventh. Lucian for elementary dialogue in Greek, corresponding to Terence and the colloquies in Latin, Plutarch for morals, to follow Cicero's *De Officiis* in the fourth, Isocrates and Demosthenes for oratory

along with the oratorical work in Latin, and Homer with Virgil. The two languages have been integrated, as Elyot had advocated, as Cox and Cheke had done with Edward, and as is now at this period not unusual. At Bury St. Edmund's, apparently there was no specification for Greek, but in the cognate curriculum at Harrow, the Greek grammar came in the fourth form, while Isocrates, Demosthenes, Hesiod, Heliodorus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are given as the Greek authors for the fifth and final form. So the authors Isocrates and Demosthenes are in common, serving to further the oratorical training of the upper forms. We shall get further hints as to the common denominator in Greek as we examine the other curricula.

The Eton system itself has now by the reign of Elizabeth received the characteristic changes which had been evolved from it in and by the reign of Edward VI. At Bury St. Edmund's, Winchester, Eton, and their derivatives, we see the same thing; the changes have been uniform; and unrecorded curricula, such as that at Stratford, would certainly have conformed. These curricula were not individual, but had a certain common denominator of authorized and enforced uniformity. Nor do we need the legal power; custom is stronger.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

WE HAVE NOW EXAMINED the changed curricula under Edward, the adapted Winchester system under Queen Elizabeth, with its allies, and the Eton system, together with its Elizabethan adaptations. We may next examine the cathedral schools, which had earlier been adapted from the Eton system. First is the schedule at Peterborough in 1561, especially interesting because of its statement of the same general routine which had prevailed at least from our first knowledge at Eton by or before 1528. It is to be remembered also that Peterborough is one of the refounded cathedral schools, and that at least two others of these, Canterbury and Worcester, adapted the Eton curriculum at reformation, as was probably true of all.

From the first part of the statutes, which Leach thinks belonged to Queen Mary's time, it appears that the school was to begin at six.

Item that the Usher be there present to here the partes of the suche as shalbe of his formes, & that done he shall geve them Inglysces uppon sum of the roubles to make in to latten and to heare them to do the same, & that done to rede out then there seuerall lectors.

These directions are repeated in fuller form in another set of orders.

Item that the ussher be there present with them and all they to say some godly prayers; that done he to heare all such as shalbe upon his formes such partes as he shall thinke convenient for them. And that done he to give to euery of his formes an English to be made in to Latten, upon [one] of there rules; and to heare them to make there lattens hymself, and to cause euery one to wright the same in a fayer paper boke. And that done to rede to euery forme a severall lecture eyther of a poett or prose, and to cause them to labour the same agaynst one of the clock at after none, as well to expound as to parse every worde in the same, and he to heare them at that tyme to doe the same, and that done to give them some good vulgars, some to note phrases, and soe to contynew emong them unto iiij<sup>or</sup> of the klok; and from iiij<sup>or</sup> to v, the one scoller to pose an other, and then to commaunde them to commend to memory their lattens agaynst the next days morning, say prayer agayne and so departe. This order is to be observed Monday, Tuesday, Wodonsday and Thursdays, onlesse it be a day of recreacion, then to omitt some parte of the after none exercyses.

Item upon Fryday to some other partes convenient for euery forme, and that done, after a litell respect [respice] to render unto him all their lattens be hart made that wyk, and to parse them, and at after none to render all

their lecturs taken that wyk, unto iiij<sup>or</sup> of the clock and from iiij<sup>or</sup> to v as is above apoynted.

Upon Saturday morning to give to every forme his several lecture both to labour to expounde and say without the boke, after their parte, upon Monday morning, that done to give to every scollar at after none upon Saturday to wright all their excersises as well of lattens as other phrases, etc. in- especially so many as can wright; and to all such as cannot wright, to learne to wright so howers that after none, and in like maner every day one hower iff it may be spared, as bytwyxt xj and xij or bytwyxt xij and one.

The pupils were also responsible for certain "sentences" from the sermons they were obliged to attend.

A similar schedule was provided for the master.

Item that the scolemaister be in the scole every working daye eyther a litell before vij or els at vij at the furdest, and he in like maner to heare his scollars upon every forme of his some convenient parte, and that done to mynistrer unto them a theme to be made in prose agaynst iiij<sup>or</sup> clock at after none and then to rede to every forme a severall lecture eyther of prose or of a poett and they to render the same agayne at one of the clock as well in expounding as in parsing the same, with notes of such phrases adagis and figures as are contayned in the same, and then after a little respitt to exhibitt unto them their theme in writting in prose. And the next day at morning to say their lectures geven to them the day before without boke. And then after that the m<sup>r</sup> to rede to them two dayes, viz. Monday and Tuysday some latten autor in prose, and Wedonsday and Thursday some poett, and in like maner that as upon Monday and Wedonsday they shall make their theme in prose, soo upon Tuysday and Thursday they shall make their themes in verses. Upon Ffryday they shall render the Monday and Tuesday lectures in prose at the forenone and their lectures of the poetes at after none.

Upon Saturday morning he shall give them a lecture of some other good author, to labour agaynst Monday morning with a them, and in the after none every one of theme to wright their themes both in prose and verses, with all proper sentences, storys, adagis or figures, fayer in a paper boke, that yf any will see them they may.<sup>1</sup>

This is a rather clearer statement of routine than the one at Eton about 1560, which was adopted by Westminster; and supplements it in various ways. Details of organization are different, but the fundamentals remain the same.

Here we may insert with the cathedral schools other surviving indications of routine. Kepier School in Haughton, probably about 1574, provides for the master,

as he shall orderly read his lessons before noone, so shall he carefully look to the repetitions thereof after dinner, till five o'clock in winter and six in

<sup>1</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, Vol. II, pp. 208-209.

summer. On Fridays he shall take renderings of all the week's lessons; and as they said memoriter and construed nightly before, soe he shall now see them done perfectly, without stopping or stammering, and in every wise at all times marke that one scholler prompt not another. Againe, on this daye he must receive their exercises, be they short or long, and amend the faults in them.<sup>2</sup>

At Gloucester, we have not only some indication of routine but also an interesting picture of how an exact contemporary of Shakespeare fared in a far poorer school than the latter "enjoyed." R. Willis, who was born about 1564, in his *Mount Tabor* (1639) furnishes some interesting reminiscences of his grammar school days at "Christ schoole in the City of Gloucester." Willis prides himself that with only a grammar school education he came to be secretary

to the Lord Brooke, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and after that to my much honoured Lord, the Earle of Middlesex, Lord high Treasurer of England; and lastly to the most worthy, my most noble Lord, the Lord Coventry, Lord-keeper of the great Seale.

The training which enabled him to do this was given him, he says, by "Mastery Gregory Downhale of Pembroke Hal in Cambridge, after I had lost some time under his predecessor." Downhall was "after a Lord Chancellors Secretary."

Before Master Downhale came to be our Master in Christ-school, an ancient Citizen of no great learning was our schoolmaster; whose manner was to give us out severall lessons in the evening by construing it to every forme, and in the next morning to examine us thereupon, by making all the boyes in the first forme, to come from their seates and stand on the outsides of their desks, towards the middle of the schoole, and so the second forme and the rest in order, whiles himselfe walked up and down by them, and hearing them construe their lesson one after another; and then giving one of the words to one, and another to another (as he thought fit) for parsing of it. Now when the two highest formes were dispatched, some of them whom we called prompters would come and sit in our seates of the lower formes, and so being at our elbowes would put into our mouths answers to our masters questions, as he walked up and downe by us; and so, by our prompters help, we made shift to escape correction; but understood little to profit by it, having this circular motion, like the Mil-horse that travels all day, yet in the end finds himselfe not a yard further then when he began.

But one day Willis fell out with a member of the highest form, who in revenge had all the prompters refrain from giving Willis help, and so (as he thought) I must necessarily be beaten. When I found my selfe

---

<sup>2</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Durham*, Vol. I, p. 394.

at this strait, I gathered all my wits together (as we say) and listened the more carefully to my fellowes that construed before me; and having also some easie word to my lot for parsing, I made hard shift to escape for that time. And when I observed my adversaries displeasure to continue against me, so as I could have no helpe from my prompters, I doubled my diligence and attention to our masters construing our next lesson to us, and observing carefully how in construction one word followed and depended upon another; which, with heedfull observing two or three lessons more, opened the way to shew me how one word was governed of another in the parsing; so as I needed no prompter, but became able to bee a prompter my selfe: and so the evill intended to mee by my fellow scholler, turned to my great good.<sup>3</sup>

As does sometimes occur, we happen to be able to supplement the facts here given into a fairly definite picture. Under Queen Mary, the school had difficulty in procuring teachers. As Leach puts it,

For the next three years no master could be got to stay. . . . At last, at the end of the Marian persecution, came Hugh Walker, and was paid for 1557-8, as 'scholemaister or teacher of the Gramer Schole for the whole yere, £10.' He proved a permanence and stayed till 1575-6. His successor, Gregory Downes, as he is called in 1576-7, and Donwhall in 1577-8, appears in *Alumni Oxonienses* as both Downhall and Downall. He was of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and a B. A. there, but on coming to Gloucester took an *ad eundem* degree at Oxford in February, 1577. He was regarded as a catch, as he received double the salary of his predecessor, £20 a year. He is called in the accounts 'Schoolemaster of Crysts.' After a short two years he went off to the then more lucrative profession of the law, and became a master in Chancery.<sup>4</sup>

So the town had finally procured in 1557 Hugh Walker, "an ancient Citizen of no great learning," to become master at £10 a year—poor pay, poor teacher. Walker had taught till 1576, when Willis was about twelve. Then Downhall had polished Willis off in the next two years to such an extent that he rose to what he considered high preferment with only this grammar school training which he had attained by the usual age of probably fourteen. Shakspeare had much better educational advantages at Stratford. He was never exposed to the untender mercies of "an ancient Citizen of no great learning," and his masters were all men of as good training as Downhall. The methods of the ancient citizen, Hugh Walker, are interesting, since he followed the regular system of construing and parsing, only he appears to have lectured in the afternoon and to have examined the next morning, instead of the usual morning lecture and afternoon

<sup>3</sup> Furnivall, F. J., *Harrison's Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth*, Part IV, pp. 353-355. <sup>4</sup> V. C. H., *Gloucestershire*, Vol. II, p. 346.

examination. There were at least four forms in the school, for Willis speaks of the members of "the two highest formes" or prompters, who came and sat "in our seates of the lower formes." Willis evidently took these two highest forms under Downhall.

So much for general routines. The fullest picture of the compositional routine for the century is to be found in another cathedral school, that at Durham in 1593, though, according to the summary of Leach, apparently it has not been fitted directly to forms.

The master was to teach 'grammar, being the principles of the Lating tonge, as the schollers shall and may understand everie point thereof . . . by often and daelie appositions in the said schoole, teaching the schollers to varie diverse and sundrie grammar rules, by making of their owne mind some short dictamen of everie grammer rule.' They were to 'have perfectly by heart every rule contayned in the king's grammer.' As soon as any boy had 'any perceyving' in Latin he was to 'make one epistle weekly and everie weeke of his own mind both in matter and words . . . according to the principles of Erasmus or Ludovicus Vives in their books De scribendis, which shall be showed . . . upon Saterdag.' Next he was to learn to make 'a theame according to the precepts of Aphthonius.' Thirdly, . . . 'he shall have redd unto him the bookes of Cicero ad Heremium [*sic*], wherein the schoolemaister shall teach the schollers to frame and make an oration according to the precepts of Rhetorick . . . thus: the schoolemaister shall propound a theame or argument which shall have two parties, and two schollers shall be appointed, the one shall take the first part, the other the second . . . and upon Saturday . . . shall shew their orations . . . Against Saterdag in the weeke following the foresaid schollers shall pronounce . . . by heart their said orations . . . publiquely in the face of the whole schoole and this . . . to contynue weekly throughout the whole yeare among the best schollers.' 'Fourthlie, for the practise and exercise of versifying . . . the schoolemaister shall read to them the versifying rules sett downe in the latter end of our common grammer . . . with due teaching . . . the true . . . skaning of a verse, for practise whereof the schollers shall every second daie make certaine verses upon certaine argument which shalbe given them.'

. . . . .

Sixthly came Greek. The boys when they had read the grammar 'with a pearte of some author' were 'to frame a Greke epistle, and utter a Greke verse.' 'And further because Socrates saith the love and commendacion of praise is a great spurr unto a scholler to stirr him to vertue,' therefore once a quarter the master was to propound an 'argument or theam' wherein 'everie scholler which is able shall make epistles, theames, orations, verses Latin and Greke,' and 'the schoolemaister shall place that scholler which hath the best epistle, theame, oration, verse Latin or Greke in the cheifest or best state of that forme in the which he remaineth.'

. . . . .

An enormous list of authors to be read is given from 'Cato, Colloquia Erasmi and Mr. Nowell's Catechism' to Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Lucan; and in Greek, Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, and Isocrates. Among more recondite books mentioned may be noted 'For recreacion's sake the epistles of Mr. Acham (Roger Ascham) or Paulus Manutius . . . For the phigures of grammar Susenbrotus, for historiographers Austin . . . Mantuan and Palangonius . . . for Greke poetts . . . Theognis or Phocilides.'

Among the 'statutes for the schollers' is the usual requirement to 'use the Latin tongue in and about the schoole,' etc.<sup>5</sup>

Here are all the types of composition and nearly all the textbooks. The prose sequence begins with the epistle, using the early texts of Erasmus or Vives. Macropedius and Hegendorphinus were also used at this period, but are not mentioned in these instructions. Next comes the theme, under the guidance of Aphthonius. Finally comes *Ad Herennium* to "teach the schollers to frame and make an oration according to the precepts of Rhetorick." Susenbrotus had supplied a more detailed classification of the figures of speech, which were *elocutio*, or rhetoric proper, to supplement the section on figures in *Ad Herennium*. Prince Edward had used the Aphthonius and the *Ad Herennium*, and they and the letter-writers are the conventional texts of the time, doubtless used always, though, being merely texts and not subjects, specified only incidentally. These texts would be supplemented by still others which we shall eventually unearth from hiding. One must remember always the abbreviated nature of these various kinds of indications as to curricula. Some are very brief, and none gives anything like complete detail. But from here a hint and there another we can build up a fairly complete picture of the prose sequence.

The poetic routine is also evidently at Durham in 1593 and Peterborough in 1561 essentially that at Eton and Westminster in the 'sixties. In all cases, the grammar proper is to be completed in lower school, and versification as the last unit of the authorized grammar is to begin with the first form of upper school. Peterborough then expects the boys eventually to read prose authors on Monday and Tuesday, equally balanced by poets on Wednesday and Thursday. Their lectures in these authors are accompanied by composition in prose on Monday and Wednesday, and in poetry on Tuesday and Thursday. This is what Durham refers to in 1593 in saying that the boys should make verses upon a given argument (theme) every other

<sup>5</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Durham*, Vol. I, pp. 377-378.



day. Clearly, Peterborough and Durham have the same system, and just as clearly this is quite exactly the system which we saw at Eton and Westminster also in the 'sixties. It should be noticed, too, that preceding this prose-poetry alternation of themes, Peterborough had provided for a period in upper school when all themes proper would be in prose, as had been true at Eton and Westminster. Of course, even during this period the boys would be learning to write poetry according to the rules. So the organization of the poetic sequence in the Eton and Cathedral systems is in the 'sixties the same. The sequence itself was at this time practically the same at Winchester also, though we have no very good indication as to its organization.

It is thus apparent that the cathedral schools show the typical Elizabethan routines, as we should expect. It would be easy enough, therefore, to guess with a fair degree of accuracy the details of Marlowe's training at Canterbury.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE PAUL'S SYSTEM UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

ONE OF THE MOST satisfyingly concrete illustrations in the sixteenth century of what was to be taught is the list of books at Paul's in 1582-83, which regularly specified editions. But in order to interpret it most fully we should first notice the curricula of certain other schools on the Paul's system. The statutes at Norwich in 1566 are especially helpful. The ordinances show in various ways the influence of Paul's, though the curriculum was to be given in only six instead of eight forms. We shall see that other schools also share this type of organization, which appears to be a cross between the system of Paul's and that of Eton or the cathedral schools. The school was to have a high-master and a submaster or usher. These teachers were to teach only grammar, since it was provided that the boy was at entrance to be able "to saie his Chathechisme and to read pfectly bothe Englishshe and Latyn and to wright competently."<sup>1</sup> So the boy was to get his petty work elsewhere, and be ready at entrance to begin grammar. The submaster taught the lower three forms, and the high-master the upper three. The submaster was to be "well learned in the Latyn Tounge able to make A Verse exactly An Epistle in pure and cleane Latyn and to declayme of A symple Theame,"<sup>2</sup> since he was expected on occasion to substitute for the highmaster.

The curriculum for the lower school is not given directly, but is to be inferred from a schedule of exercises for the pupils. This runs,

#### THE DAILY EXERCISE OF THE SCHOLLERS

Imprimis the Schollers of the first fourme shall daily lerne withowt booke som pt of the Accidens or graīer sett furth by the Quenis Maiestie allso shall wright one copie or Example every daie for the better Exercise of their handes.

Itm the Schollers of the second fourme shall daile saie in the morning w<sup>h</sup>owt booke som one part of speeche in stedd of their part, to the Ussher or in his absence to the high Mr. And at after noone som part of the graīer Rules at the discredyion of the seid Mr or Ussher, Allso they shall lerne daile one lecture w<sup>h</sup>owt booke and constre and pares the same of Catoes (?Cuta's) verses or of the Introduccion to Wisdome Ludovicus Vives or souche like a Author at the appointment of the high Mr and som one of them shall weekly by cours instruct the first fourme bothe in their Acci-

<sup>1</sup> Saunders, H. W., *A History of the Norwich Grammar School*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Saunders, *Norwich School*, p. 139.

dence and allso in gyvyng them copies to wright as they are placed by the high Mr in their senioritye And every ffridaie they shall Render all their lessons for that week in the forenoone of the same daie And at after noone all their graīer Rules.

And on Saterdaie in the forenoone their part ended they shall tourne certayne Inglisshes into Latyn at the discredysson of the high Mr or Ussher w<sup>h</sup> they shall write in som fayer paper booke and (con?) them w<sup>h</sup>owt booke ageynst Mondaye then next following.

Itm the Schollers of the thred fourme shall dayly saie a parte in the morning as is aforesaid and allso their graīer Rules in the after noone as afore, And at the appointment of the high Mr they shall lerne one Lecture daily w<sup>h</sup>owt booke and constre and parce the same of Epitome Colloquiorum Erasmi or confabulaciones pueriles or som souche other Author according to their capacities And every one of the saide third fourme shall weekly read the Lecture to them of the Second fourme as they shalbe placed in their Senioritie by the high Mr and allso shall teache them to parce the same They shall daily read som of the Rules of Sintaxeis sett furth in the Englishe Accidence and daily tourne som Englishe into Latyn.

And because the fourth, fyfth and ye sixt fourmes are oft specially Reserved to the Instrucion and government of (the Head Mr?) we have thought good to pscribe unto him no certeyn exercyse but to leave it wholly to his good consideracon So that (in convenient?) tyme the Schollers of these fourmes may growe to the pfet understanding of all the partes of graīer So as they maye be able to varye one Sentens diversely to make a verse exactly to Endight an Epistle Eloquently and LERNedly to declayme of A Theame symple and last of all that they may atteyne to som competent knowledge in the greeke tounge.

Itm the high Mr shall yerely appoint betwixt hallowmas & Christmas som lerned dialog and comodie or twoo comodies at the least to be lerned w<sup>h</sup>owt booke by the seid Schollers so as they maye be able to playe the same at Christmas following at the appoyntment of Mr. Mayor And for the better accomplisshement herof the cittie shall beare the chardges of the Apparell in that behalff requisite.

Itm all and singular the Schollers of the seid Schoole shalbe psent and stond in coomly araye at the seid Schoole the daie that Mr. Mayor newelect Repayreth unto Christes Church and so to the hall to take his oth And som of the seid Schollers appointed by the Mr for that purpose shall make a pitthye and short oracon in Latyn comending Justice and Obedyence or souche like matter at the discredysson of the seid Mr and ev'y Scholler of the seid Schoole that can make verses shall ageynst the same daie have in readynes syxe verses at the least subscribed w<sup>h</sup> his name, w<sup>h</sup> shalbe affixed upon the West dore of the cathedrall church against the Retourne of the seid Mayor And if eny of the seid Schollers be negligent in that behalff or be not psent as is aforesaid Then he shalbe pounished at the discrecion of the Head Mr Except he have souche reasonable Excuse as the seid Mr shall allowe.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Saunders, *Norwich School*, pp. 150-151.

A list of authors is given for the upper forms, but not for the lower, except incidentally as above.

The high Mr. shall reade to the highest fourme these greke Authors.

Gramaticum Ceporini.	Dialogos Luciani.
Novum Testamentum.	Hesiodum.
Cebetis Tabulas.	Homerum.
Aesopi fabulas.	Euripidem.

And for the Latyn tounge eny of the Authors

	Virgilium.
	Ovidii metamorphosin.
Of Poetes.	Horatium.
	Iuvenalem.
	Pertium.
	Tullium ad Herenium.
Of Oratours.	Quintilianum.
	Apthonii Progymnasmata.
Of Historiographers.	Comentarios Caesaris
	Salustium.
	Valerium maximum.
Of other	Officia Ciceronis or eny pt of his philosophie.
books of	Eiusdem orationes.
Humanitie	Epistolas familiares eiusdem.
(promiscue).	Epistolas ad Atticum.
	Thomam linacrum de figuris.
Of Grammarians.	Gualterum de ratione carminum.
	Erasmus de copia verborum et rerum.

Nothw<sup>th</sup>standing this pticuler nominacyon of som Authors yet the high Mr shalbe at his libertie to appoint eny other Authors at his discession to be redd w<sup>h</sup>in the seid Schoole whose stile is pure & eloquent and matter chast and honest.<sup>4</sup>

Elsewhere, we learn that dictionaries, including Cooper and Rider, as also commentaries were supplied for the use of the scholars.<sup>5</sup> Evidently, Norwich was to have an excellent school, teaching Latin and Greek, but apparently not Hebrew. The lower school was to have the regular exercises, and so far as they are mentioned incidentally, regular authors, though the list is clearly incomplete. But here is the Paul's organization of more than a century later. We should notice

<sup>4</sup> Saunders, *Norwich School*, pp. 147-148.

<sup>5</sup> Saunders, *Norwich School*, pp. 25, 29.

especially the weekend routine, as stated in the second form, with the render on Friday morning, and grammar rules in the afternoon, followed by the part on Saturday morning and an exercise. Doubtless, catechetical work came on Saturday morning as was true a century later at Paul's. There were morning and afternoon lessons also, with grammar, authors, and daily exercises from English into Latin. But at Norwich the routine is given both imperfectly and confusedly. Someone not fully skilled in grammar school routine is attempting to state the eight-form routines of Paul's in such a way that they may be put into a six-form routine at Norwich. Else they have been inaccurately transcribed. Nevertheless, here is an important situation, since the Norwich directions show that by 1566 the routines at Paul's were already as they appear at the end of the seventeenth century. In the upper school, the boys pursued the regular compositional forms, learning to vary, to make a verse, to write epistles, themes, and orations. The Greek authors are also probably the same as at Paul's, ending with Euripides, who appears in Paul's list of 1582-83 and seems to be rather peculiar to that system.

The statutes of Merchant Taylors' in 1561 were evidently modelled upon those of St. Paul's. For the sake of Edmund Spenser, Thomas Kyd, Thomas Lodge, and possibly Thomas Jenkins, Shakspeare's schoolmaster, we ought to be interested in this school. As McDonnell points out "a very cursory investigation of the statutes of Merchant Taylors' shows that, *mutatis mutandis*, they were copied from those of St. Paul's."<sup>6</sup> Similarly, for the curriculum the boys were not required at entrance to know their accidence. Even when in 1607 the curriculum was being shaped to the Westminster system, which had been evolved from that at Eton, this provision of the statutes was still retained. Doubtless, therefore, the original curriculum had also been modelled on that at Paul's. Other indications point in the same direction. The visitation of November 13, 1564, included "the appositions of the chief iiij formes."<sup>7</sup> This might refer to the upper school and might indicate that Merchant Taylors' had eight forms as at Paul's; it almost certainly indicates at least as many as six forms, and we shall see that this was probably the number of forms from foundation, as it was certainly by 1607.

We have also some hints in this early period as to the authors in the upper forms. For at an examination of the highest form for schol-

<sup>6</sup> McDonnell, *St. Paul's School*, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson, *Merchant-Taylors' School*, p. 27.

ars to St. John's, Oxford, on June 10, 1572,

Nowell began the examination by directing the lowest of that form to declare the sense and construction of a particular ode of Horace; "which, from one to another, he prosecuted throughe the whole number, untill the cap-tayn, requireinge diversytie of phrases and varietie of wordes and fynally obmyttinge nothinge which might seme neadfull for the tryall of their lerninge in the Latyn tongue." After him Watts examined the same boys in Homer, as to their skill in Greek, which was his favourite language. And then Horne tried them in the Hebrew psalter.<sup>8</sup>

Since it was not yet twelve, "the interval was employed by Goodman, in examining the scholars of the next form, in Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*." In 1572, Hebrew was taught at Merchant Taylors' as well as Greek. In Greek, the boys studied at least Homer, which would imply the Greek grammar and probably Isocrates and Demosthenes preceding, and certainly the New Testament in Greek. So the boys must have begun their Greek grammar not later than the second form from the top. The pinnacle of poetry was Horace as usual, though nothing specific is said of the prose authors of the top form. It appears incidentally, however, that Cicero's *Tusculan Questions* were studied in the form next to the top. So *De Officiis* and the rest were evidently close by in their proper positions. It is clear, then, that Merchant Taylors' had the conventional curriculum from the beginning. Mulcaster's theories of English training were not permitted to interfere with the conventional curriculum. They belonged to petty school anyway, not to grammar school. Indeed, it was the onus of Mulcaster's complaint that he and his contemporaries knew "the Latin tung better then our own, bycause we pore vpon it, and neuer mark our own."<sup>9</sup> For,

There be two speciall considerations, which kepe the *Latin*, & other learned tungs, tho chefelie the *Latin*, in great countenance among vs, the one thereof is the knowledge, which is registred in them, the other is the conference, which the learned of *Europe*, do commonlie vse by them, both in speaking and writing.<sup>10</sup>

Mulcaster was only too well aware of the situation.

And Mulcaster, at least, was not convinced by Ascham's doctrine that the only way to learn English was through the Latin and the Greek. Ascham had argued that one must study the models of Cicero in Greek in order to understand Cicero.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson, *Merchant-Taylors' School*, p. 39. The original record in full would pretty certainly throw considerable further light on the work of the top form.

<sup>9</sup> Mulcaster, Richard, *Elementarie* (1925), p. 282.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

And this not onelie to serue in the *Latin* or *Greke* tong, but also in our own English language. But yet, bicause the prouidence of God hath left vnto vs in no other tong, saue onelie in the *Greke* and *Latin* tong, the trew preceptes, and perfite examples of eloquence, therefore must we seeke in the Authors onelie of those two tonges, the trew Paterne of Eloquence, if in any other mother tong we looke to attaine, either to perfit vtterance of it our selues, or skilfull iudgement of it in others.<sup>11</sup>

Mulcaster was not so much impressed with this alleged benefit of the learned tongues.

James Whitelocke also gives some clues as to curriculum in Merchant Taylors' not long after our record of 1572. The usual statement is that Whitelocke entered the school in 1575, and the authority cited is Robinson, who places Whitelocke and six others within rules between entries of March 1 and 6, 1575, and gives Wilson as his authority.<sup>12</sup> Now Wilson gives all of these names except the last and in the same order in his list of "Head Scholars,"<sup>13</sup> but without date of admission for any of them. It would appear, therefore, that in fact the dates of admission for this group are unknown, and that for some unstated reason Robinson has chosen to insert these names at this point. As for Whitelocke, it is clear that four years and three months is too early an age for him to enter Merchant Taylors'.

In the early period, a normal time between entrance to Merchant Taylors' and entrance to university was six years, indicating that the school was probably in six forms from the beginning as it was in 1607 when we first get definite information. But there was very heavy competition for election to the universities, so that such scholars might find it necessary to wait for some time in order to procure election. Eighteen, the approximate age of Whitelocke, is not an unusual one, and this is the maximum age permitted by many of the grammar school statutes. Boys of this age had usually been obliged for some cause to wait till they were forced out of grammar school into university by the time limits.

Whitelocke himself tells us that,

I was brought up at School under mr. Mulcaster,<sup>14</sup> in the famous school of the Merchanttaylors in London, whear I continued untill I was well instructed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tonges. His care was also to encreas

<sup>11</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 56v.

<sup>12</sup> Robinson, C. J., *A Register of the Scholars admitted into Merchant Taylors' School*, Vol. I, pp. 22-23. <sup>13</sup> Wilson, *Merchant-Taylors' School*, p. 1190.

<sup>14</sup> This would be not later than 1586. Fuller says of Mulcaster, "His method in teaching was this. In a morning he would exactly and plainly construe, and parce the lessons to his *Scholars*, which done he slept his hour (custome made him critical to proportion it) in his desk in the School, but wo be to the Scholar that slept the while. Awaking he heard them accurately, and *Atropos* might be perswaded to pity, as soon as he to pardon, where he found just fault"

my skill in musique, in whiche I was brought up by dayly exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments, and yeerly he presented sum playes to the court, in whiche his scholers wear only actors, and I on among them, and by that meanes taughte them good behaviour and audacitye. I was elected from the school to be probationer of St. John's Colledge in Oxon, 11 Junij, 1588.<sup>15</sup>

This statement should mean that Whitelocke had his Hebrew directly at Merchant Taylors'. But he also read Hebrew with one Hopkinson. He red unto me all Jobe, and twenty Psalmes, and a part of Genesis, and after I had taken my lecture from him, whiche was after five of the klok that I went from school, I wolde duly, after supper, make a praxis of that I had herd, and set it downe in writing; by reason whearof, the winter before my going to Oxon, I sate up duly everye nighte untill 12 of the klok or verye neer.<sup>16</sup>

If the early curriculum at Merchant Taylors' is from Paul's, it would indicate that Hebrew was already being taught at Paul's in the 'sixties, though no Hebrew book appears in the list bought for Paul's in 1582-83.

A list of books at Merchant Taylors' in 1599 is also interesting and significant.

Thesaurus linguae graecae Henr: Stephani bownd in three volumes in folio

Cowpers Dictionary folio all rent

Crispin and Grantes Lexicon. 4<sup>to</sup>

Dictionariũ poeticum. 4<sup>to</sup>

Nizolij thesaurus Ciceronianus folio

Epitheta grae: Dinneri. 8°

Epitheta Tectoris [*sic*]. 4<sup>to</sup> all rent

Natalis Comititis muthologia. 8°

Lycosthenis apothegmata. 8° all rent

Theatrum humanae vitae in fowre volumes in folio

Erasmi adagia the last in folio

Textoris officina in 4<sup>to</sup> all rent<sup>17</sup>

The reader should not overlook the eloquent annotation "all rent." Cooper's *Dictionary*, Textor's *Epitheta* and *Officina*, Lycosthenes, *Apophthegmata*; these are the reference works which the boys used constantly in their compositions. The *Mythologia* of Natalis Comes is a significant volume to find on the library shelves of Spenser's old

(Fuller, T., *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), Westmerland, p. 140). On what authority, and whether at Merchant Taylors' or at Paul's does not appear.

<sup>15</sup> Bruce, John, *Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke* (Camden Society, Vol. LXX), p. 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Sayle, R. T. D., "Annals of Merchant Taylors' School Library," *The Library*, Fourth Series, Vol. XV, p. 459.



school, though this copy seems probably to have been added later than 1590.

It appears, therefore, from the Norwich curriculum that by the 'sixties Paul's had already essentially the organization of its curriculum which we find at the end of the seventeenth century, probably though not certainly already including Hebrew, as we infer from Merchant Taylors'. Another indication that Paul's was following regular practices is a collection of encomiastic verses at a visit by Queen Elizabeth, dated as about 1573 (B. M., Royal MS 12. A. LXVII). These verses are in Latin and Greek, the Greek each time having an "interpretatio" in Latin. There are twelve contributors, indicating the number who had attained this proficiency. No other of these early collections parades its Greek anything like so much. Evidently Paul's was by the time of this collection already emphasizing Greek. But there is no Hebrew.

On this background, the list of text and reference books bought for Paul's in 1582-83 becomes particularly interesting.

For a *reste* (i.e. *balance*) of Books:—

Thesaurus Ling. Graec. Steph. in 5 vols.	£3 5s.
Thesaurus Ling. Lat. Steph. in 2 vols.	£2.
Thesaurus Cowperi.	£1 4s.
Thesaurus Ciceronianus Steph.	£1.
Thesaurus Elocutionis Graecae, Bentzii.	15s.
Lexicon Scapulae.	15s.
Nizolius.	10s.
Dictionarius Historicus and Poeticus.	5s.
(Verone?) Diction. enlarged.	4s.
Zuingeri Philosophia, in 2 vols.	7s.
Commentar. Ling. (?Graec.) Budaei.	4s.
Isocrates Graec. cum castigat. Wolphii.	8s.
Euripides graeco-lat. cum annotat. Stiblini et Brodae.	8s.
Commentar. Lambini in Horatium.	10s.
Commentar. Erasmi et al. in Senecam.	4s.
Commentar. Ascentii et al. in Persium.	2s.
Commentar. Donatii et al. in Terentium.	4s.
Commentar. Valle et al. in Salustium.	5s.
Commentar. Antesignani in Clenardi Gram. Graec.	5s.
Commentar. Rami et al. in Ciceronem.	6s.
Commentar. Valentis et Scaligeri in Virgil.	10s.
Conciones ex Gr. et Lat. Hist. et etiam Comm. Caesaris.	10s.
Rami Scholae in liberales artes.	7s.

The cost of these books is £14 8s.

"Whereof he (Mr. Harrison), received of the boys at their admission about £9 by his own confession."<sup>18</sup> . . .

These books following are given by Mr. Harrison:—

Commentar. Bezae in Nov. Test.	14s.
Silvius Italicus with a commentary.	4s.
(Faernus'?) Terentius with a commentary.	2s.
Oronologia ( <i>i.e.</i> Uranologion).	3s.
Plinii Epistolae with commentary.	1s.
Hotoman's Commentaries upon some of Tully's Orations.	3s.
Aulus Gellius, Tully's Epistles with commentaries and others, and a Map of the World.	15s.
Nizolius (given by Master Harrison, Stationer).	12s.
An old Lexicon in the Schole before.	7s. <sup>19</sup>

Here is an admirable school library. It was paid for partly from admission money of the boys, partly, a little over a third, from other school funds, and was in part given. At least, Stratford grammar school had once had the start of a Cooper's Dictionary as a gift a few years before William Shakspeare got there; and it can do no harm for us to hope that this dictionary and many other works of Paul's list were there in chains awaiting him.

By its works with comments this list shows clearly what the Paul's curriculum was in 1582-83. Here are Terence, Virgil, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, and Horace of Wolsey's list in 1528, only Ovid failing to appear. But in addition come Seneca (possibly the prose rather than the dramas), Persius, Silius Italicus, and Pliny's Epistles, which at this date are regular grammar school texts. For Greek, the grammar was Clenardus, as at St. Bees, with the commentaries of Antesignanus. Texts are Beza's New Testament; Isocrates with the parallel Latin translation, edited by Wolfius; Euripides, also in parallel Latin translation, with the annotations of Stiblinus and Brodaeus. The commentary of Budaeus assisted on the Greek, and there is an excellent collection of Latin and Greek dictionaries, together with other works of reference. Latin was clearly the chief preoccupation, and clearly the Greek was to be approached through the Latin—indeed, there was no other approach. Hebrew gives no certain sign of being present, though it was inserted from the beginning at Merchant Taylors', where the curriculum, as we have seen, was adapted from Paul's.

<sup>18</sup> Gardiner, *St. Paul's School*, p. 452.

<sup>19</sup> Gardiner, *St. Paul's School*, p. 452.

We may insert here a similar list of books used at another school about the same time. Manchester Grammar School Library has

a few volumes with the contemporary signature of Thomas Proudlove—a name well known in Manchester: Eustathius' 'Commentary on Homer,' 1560; Livy's 'History,' 1578; Pliny's 'Natural History,' 1582; Delrio's 'Syntagma Tragoedii Latini,' 1593.<sup>20</sup>

From such lists one can see quite definitely what books were compulsorily available to learned grammarians.

The statutes at St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1562, are said by Leach to be modelled closely upon those of Colet, with probable influence from Winchester. There was to be a highmaster and an usher. The child on admission was to be able to "read *English* and *Latin* perfectly, and write his name"; that is, "meet to be entered into the Grammar."<sup>21</sup> There is a list of authors, though not by forms. According to Leach, it ran:

Cicero, Terence, Ceaser (*sic*), Valerius Maximus, Justinus, Erasmi Apothegmata, in prose: 'Virgill, Horatius, Juvenall, Persius, Ovide Metamorphoses' in verse, and, in a tag evidently borrowed from Colet, 'especially and above all suche Christian poets as Juvenicus, Prudentius, Palengenius, with suche other.' For religious instruction *Erasmi ex Plutarcho*, 'Castalion upon the Scripture, Aesop and Calvin's (Calvin's) Cathesisme in Latyn and Greake, the New Testament in Greake.' . . . On holy days 'the best scholers shall versify upon a chapter of the Newe Testament.'<sup>22</sup>

At certain times of general holiday,

'The younger scholers shall exercyse their pen and learne to wright in the schole,' while 'The elder sorte shall at the same tyme make verses of the Nativitey of our Saviour Jesus Christe, of his passion and resurrection, and at Shroftye of the dyspraye of wine and drunkennes,'

Eton also had this custom in 1560, only the boys might either praise or dispraise.<sup>23</sup> Regularly at Shrovetide Christopher Johnson at Winchester had in the 'sixties dispraised in his dictates all the customary forms of excess. One wonders if Cassio's dispraise of wine and drunkenness had its origins in Stratford school. But if so, whence came Falstaff's opinions?

The cognate system of Ipswich continues to show its fundamental connection with Paul's. We learn in 1571 that Ipswich was to have

<sup>20</sup> Mumford, A. A., *The Manchester Grammar School 1515-1915*, p. 32.

<sup>21</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 584.

<sup>22</sup> V. C. H., *Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 177. Camberwell School in 1615 has almost exactly the same provisions (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 211).

<sup>23</sup> Creasy, *Etonians*, p. 77.

"for ever seven Forms," and it was provided "that the Scholars in every Form during their school times speak Latin the one to the other."<sup>24</sup> There were still two teachers, a master and an usher, though the forms were now seven instead of eight. There is no indication of the curriculum, but some hints are probably to be derived from Blackburn, where the forms are seven and the curriculum is closely connected with the Paul's group—notice especially the requirement of Juvenal and Persius. Presumably Ipswich had compressed the curriculum which it had originally derived from Paul's into seven forms, and Blackburn had then directly or indirectly adopted the Ipswich system.

In the statutes of Blackburn Grammar School, agreed upon December 21, 1597, and afterward consented to on September 17, 1600, it was provided:

The formes or sieges may bee seaven, if the capasities and proseedinge of the Schollars soe require.

The Authors in Lattin for any Introducktion may bee the gramar, Cato de Moribus, *Supistris*, *Verulanus*, de moribus in mensa [Sulpitius Verulanus, *De Moribus in Mensa*], Esopes Fables, etc. In poetrie Terence, Ovide, Vergill, Horrace, Juvenal and Persius. In histories Salust, Cecars Commentaries, and *Tullus Liuias* [Titus Livius] Decades: In Cicerowes workes, his familiar Epistells, offices tusculans questians, his Retoricke and Oracions, for Epistells Macropidius, for Themes Aphthonius, for the principles of religion, some Chathachisme allowed by the Ordinarie, the Splalter, and such like.

The Authors in Greeke may bee Cambdens or *Clemades* [Clenard's] Gramar, Basills, Epistells, Isocrates Orations, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Pindarus, *Olnithrace*, *Demostenes* Oracions [Demosthenes, Olynthiac Orations], and the Greeke Testament.

In Hebrue if any bee willinge and fitt there unto some Hebrue Gramar of Splalter.

. . . . .  
The exersises may bee Englishes, speakinge Lattin, varications, duble translacions, disputacions, verses, epistells, themes, and declamacions in Latin and Greeke.

Once yearly at some conveniente tyme espetially in September the schollars shall exercise themselues in verses or other exersises seuerally in prasinge God who of his fatherly providence haith moved the Gouvernors and benefactors of this Schole to prepare the same, for the bringinge upp of youth, and proffitt of his Church, prainge God that others by there example may bee sterred upp to beestowe there goods upon such licke Godly uses.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> V. C. H., *Suffolk*, Vol. II, p. 333.

<sup>25</sup> Stocks, G. A., *The Records of Blackburn Grammar School* (Chetham Society, N. S., Vol. LXVI), pp. 74-75.

The master and usher were to teach the grammarians in seven forms, while the grammarians were in turn to teach the petties, who were not to be younger than five at admission. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were to be taught to the grammarians by the usual texts, though writing and a few other extras might also be taught. The statement of compositional "exercises" is particularly full and clear. Here is evidently the now usual curriculum.

It is apparent also that "the Method of Teaching, which was used in *Rotherham* School by *Mr. Bonner*" before Hoole transformed it into his method was that of St. Paul's. Since it throws further light on the system, it will be well to repeat it here. Hoole reports:

The custome was,

1. To enter boyes to the Schoole one by one, as they were fit for the Accidents, and to let them proceed therein severally, till so many others came to them, as were fit to be ranked with them in a form.

These were first put to read the Accidents, and afterwards made to commit it to memory; which when they had done, they were exercised in construing and parsing the examples in the English Rules, and this was called the first form: of which it was required to say four Lessons a day; but of the other forms, a part and a Lesson in the forenoons, and a Lesson onely in the after.

2. The second form was,

1. To repeat the Accidents for Parts.

2. To say fore-noons Lessons in *Propria quae maribus*, *Quae genus*, and *As in praesenti*, which they repeated *memoriter*, construed and parsed.

3. To say an after-noons Lesson in *Sententiae Pueriles*, which they repeated by heart, and construed and parsed.

4. They repeated their tasks every Friday *memoriter*, and parsed their Sentences out of the English.

3. The third form was enjoined first to repeat two parts together every morning, one out of the Accidents, and the other out of that forementioned part of the Grammar, and together with their parts, each one was made to form one person of a verb Active in any of the four Conjugations.

2. Their fore-noons Lessons were in *Syntaxis*, which they used to say *memoriter*, then to construe it, and parse onely the words which contain the force of the Rule.

3. Their fore-noons [*sic*, should be after-noons] Lessons were two dayes in *Aesops Fables*, and other two dayes in *Cato*; both which they construed and parsed, and said *Cato memoriter*.

4. These Lessons they translated into English, and repeated all on Fridayes, construing out of their Translations into Latine.

4. The fourth forme having ended *Syntaxis*, first repeated it, and *Propria quae maribus*, &c. together for parts, and formed a person of a verb Passive, as they did the Active before.

2. For Lessons, they proceeded to the by-rules, and so to *Figura* and *Prosodia*.

3. For after-noon Lessons, they read *Terence* two dayes, and *Mantuan* two dayes, which they translated into English, and repeated on Fridayes, as before.

5. The fifth forme said one part in the Latine, and another in the Greek Grammar together.

2. Their fore-noones Lessons was [*sic*] in *Butler's Rhetorick*, which they said *memoriter*, and then construed, and applied the example to the definition.

3. Their after-noon Lessons were 2 days in *Ovids Metamorphosis*, & 2 days in *Tullies Offices*, both which they translated into English.

4. They learned to scan and prove verses in *Flores Poetarum*, and repeated their weeks works on Fridayes, as before.

6. The sixth forme continued their parts in the *Greek Grammar*, and formed a verb Active at every part.

2. They read the *Greek Testament* for fore-noones Lessons, beginning with Saint *Johns Gospel*.

3. Their after-noones Lessons were two dayes in *Virgil*, and two dayes in *Tullies Orations*. They construed the *Greek Testament* into Latine, and the rest into English.

7. The seventh forme went on with the *Greek Grammar*, forming at every part a verb Passive, or Medium.

2. They had their fore-noones Lessons in *Isocrates*, which they translated into Latin.

3. Their after-noon lessons were 2 dayes in *Horace*, and 2 days in *Seneca's Tragedies*; both which they translated into English.

8. The eighth forme still continued their parts in the *Greek Grammar*.

2. They said fore-noones Lessons in *Hesiod*; which they translated into Latine, and afternoones Lessons in *Juvenal*, and afterwards in *Persius*, which they translated into English.

9. The ninth and highest forme said morning parts in the *Hebrew Grammar*, fore-noons Lessons in *Homer*, and afternoons Lessons in some *Comical Authour*.<sup>26</sup>

The manner of giving Lectures before I came was,

1. For the two highest boyes in the eighth forme, to give Lectures to all the lower formes, each his week by turnes.

2. The highest Scholar in the Schoole, gave Lectures to the second form.

3. Those in the highest form were commonly left to shift for themselves.

The manner of the Masters hearing Lessons was this;

1. The highest boy in the form at their coming to say, construed his Lesson two or three times over, till he was perfect in it, that his fellowes might all learn by him, to construe as well as he; then every one construed according to the order in which he stood.

2. They parsed their Lessons in that order, that they had construed it in.

<sup>26</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 298-302.

3. They translated every day after the Lesson, and shewed it altogether fair written on Fridayes.

Their Exercises were these;

1. The four lowest formes translated at vacant times, out of some English book.

2. The higher formes, having a subject given them every Saturday, made Themes & Verses upon it, against that day seven night.

The manner of collecting phrases was that every Friday in the afternoon, the boyes in the highest form collected phrases for the lowest formes, out of thier severall Authours, which they writ, and committed to memory against Saturday morning.

The set times for Disputations, were Fridayes, and Saturdayes at noon, and the manner thus; one boy answered his day by course, and all his fellowes posed him out of any Authour, which he had read before.

A part of Thursday in the afternoon, was spent in getting the *Church Catechisme*, and the *six principles of Christianity* made by Mr. Perkins.<sup>27</sup>

Here is a clear presentation of the typical sixteenth century routines, which we have examined in numerous curricula. The peculiarities of organization point to the Paul's system. The indications are, then, that in this period before 1600 Paul's and its derivatives have the same sequences and subjects as do other schools. The curriculum in all these schools is essentially uniform. There can be no question as to the fundamental sequences and subjects in the curriculum at Stratford.

<sup>27</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 303-304.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE SMALL SCHOOLS UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

SO FAR, we have for the most part been examining the large and powerful schools, with at least a master and an usher, together with somewhat weaker ones which were yet in some way able to adapt the systems of these schools. We may now fix our attention upon a group of schools less fortunately circumstanced. Some grammar schools could afford but a single teacher. How did these proceed? They simply adapted the organization to their man power, but aimed to teach exactly the same curriculum by exactly the same methods as did the powerful schools.<sup>1</sup>

Two schools founded by Robert Pursglove are of special interest here, since they represent, as it were, the lowest possible common denominator. None the less the common denominator is there. These schools are important because they probably represent a frequent organization in the smaller schools, which have naturally left comparatively little record. Robert Pursglove founded two grammar schools, one at Tideswell in Derbyshire 1560; the other at Guisborough in York 1561. The provisions in both are practically the same. Pursglove was an ex-prior, and thoroughly old-fashioned in his views. It is thus not likely that a more conservative curriculum would anywhere be found than the one he desired. He had, however, himself spent his nine years at Paul's, and one naturally wonders how much the curriculum there influenced his own statutes. Leach's summary of the curriculum at Tideswell may be quoted in full.

The boys were to be instructed in 'grammar and other godly learning freely without taking any stipend, wages, or other exactions of any schollers thither resorting to learn.' No scholar was to continue in the school over one month, except he have books requisite for his form, or else daily write his lessons with his own hand. The first form was to contain 'the petties, coming to learn the figures and characters of letters until such time as they could read perfectly and sound and pronounce their words distinctly.' The master was not, however, bound to teach these children himself, but by a system of pupil teachers. 'But only to appoint such of his scholars placed in the 3rd and 4th forms of his school as should suffice to teach the said young beginners'; though he was to 'bestow every week 2 hours at least in teaching them to pronounce and sound their words.' He was bound in his

---

<sup>1</sup> For an interesting illustration in minute detail of exactly how five groups could be managed by one teacher, the reader is referred to *Nicolai Agricolae Liber De Liberali, Et Pia Institutione iuventutis. Pro Schola Ratisponensi . . . Ratisponae . . . 1561* (University of Illinois Library).



own person to teach the second, third, and fourth forms. To the second form 'he shall teach the introduccion of grammar called the eight parts of speech, the verses of maners made by William Lillie beginning *Qui mihi* and the precepts of Cato.' The third form were to read Terence, Aesop's Fables, Virgil and 'Tully's Epistles,' and the fourth form Sallust, Caesar, Horace, Tully's offices and Copia verborum Erasmi, 'alsoe the art of versiefyinge, if himself have knowledge therein' and 'sentences from English into Lattin and Lattin into English, and att certen times to write alsoe epistles one of them to another.' Every Friday after dinner the three upper forms were to exercise themselves 'onlye in writinge untill such time as they can write handsomely their own Lattins and lessons.'<sup>2</sup>

The practically identical statutes for Guisborough in York, June 25, 1561, may be quoted as giving numerous important details omitted from the preceding summary.

And to the intent the schollers of the said Schoole may be placed in a seemely order whereby they may more quietly apply their learning the said schoole shalbe devided in 4 seuerall formes.

And in the first shall be placed young beginners commonly called Petitts vntill they can read perfectly, pronounce also & sound their wordes plainly and distinctly. The M<sup>r</sup> himselfe shall not be bound to teach the said young beginners so long as they continue in their first forme; but onely assigne in order & course dayly or weekly by his discretion so many of his Schollars placed in 3 or 4 formes as may suffice to teach young beginners & he himselfe every weeke to bestow two houres in teaching them to pronounce & sound the Letters & words accordingly.

In the second forme shall be placed such Scollars as can read & pronounce there words as is before said & the M<sup>r</sup> shall teach as well in this second forme as in the third & 4 formes all Schollers placed herein taking to helpe him in the second forme so many of his Schollers in the 3 or 4 formes as he shall thinke needfull. And he shall teach the Schollars in this second forme the Introducion of Gra<sup>m</sup>ar commonly called the 8 partes of speech as they be set forth & generally used in this realme. And in teaching the same he must giue his Schollars diuers examples of every declension of Nownes and Coniugacon of verbes so exercising them therein not onely that they can orderly decline there Nowne & verbe but every way backward & forward, by cases & by persons, that neither case of nounce nor person of verbe can be required but that without stop or studie they can presently tell it. And when they haue thus learned every parte: not by rote but by reason & be more cunning in understanding the things then in rehearsing of the words, then he shall teach them y<sup>e</sup> concordcs of Gra<sup>m</sup>er & Latine speach to know the agreem<sup>t</sup> of partes amongst themselues, w<sup>th</sup> like way meane & diligence as is before described And when they knowe these concordcs well he shall teach them the verses of Manners made by Willm Lillie beginning thus *Qui mihi discipulus* and the precepts of Cato w<sup>th</sup> such other litle Bookes wherein is

<sup>2</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Derby*, Vol. II, p. 248.

contained not onely the Eloquence of the tounge, but also good plaine lessons of honesty & godlines whereby they may be induced also to perfect *pronunciācon*.

In the third forme shalbe placed all Schollars that haue profitablie passed through & learned y<sup>e</sup> premisses before prescribed And the M<sup>r</sup> shall teach to them the Lattine Gramar as it is set forth & used in this realme. *Terence* Esopes fables virgill Tullies epistles or so many of them as he shall thinke fit for the capacite & profit of his schollars in the same & as he shall perceiue them profit in Learning so shall he place them in the 4 forme——

And euery day he shall giue them an English to be made in Latine & teach unto them there placed Salust, Ovid, Tullies offices, the co<sup>m</sup>entaries of Caesar, *Copia verborū et Rerū Erasmi*; or so many of the said Bookes or other as he shall thinke expedient for their Capacities and also he shall teach the art & rules of versifeing (if he himselfe be exper<sup>t</sup>e therein) to such Schollars as he shall perceiue apt to learne the same & the art of numbring by Arithmeticke And the practise of the Schollars in this 4 forme must be daily to turne & translate sentences from English into Latine & so contrary from latine into English and at certaine times to write Epistles one of them to another & the M<sup>r</sup> to peruse the same over & amend the faults that he findeth therein——

The Schollars of the said second & third forme shall euery Mounday teusday wednesday & thursday being workedayes first in the morning say over one of the 8 partes of speach & upon Friday *Sum, es, fui*, w<sup>th</sup> his compounds as the M<sup>r</sup> shall appoint & upon Saterdag they shall repeate such things as they haue learned the weeke before & when Saterdag is holy day the said repetitions shalbe upon Friday & euery Friday after dinner the Schollars of the Second 3rd & 4 formes shall exercise themselves onely in writing themes instructing them therein vntill they can hansomely write there owne Letters & Lessons.

And no Schollars shalbe suffered to continue in the sd Schoole over one mounth except he haue bookes necessary for his forme or else dayly write his lessons with his owne hand.

The Schollars of the 3 & 4 formes shall speake nothing in the Schoole house but Latine saving in their teaching of y<sup>e</sup> lower formes.<sup>3</sup>

An attached list shows that books given by Pursglove in 1561 and mostly lost by 1630 were wholly Biblical and patristic. The curricula of the two schools are identical except that one omits Ovid and the other Horace. It is clear that the lists should have been identical, and so it is probable that both Ovid and Horace were intended at each school. Pursglove had expected that only a master would officiate in his schools. As a matter of fact, his schools have only three forms,

<sup>3</sup> From a copy made in 1630, preserved in the Library of the Inner Temple as Barrington MS. 22., f. 646, and catalogued in *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part VII, p. 303. I am indebted to the proper authorities for permitting the Library of the University of Illinois a photostat of it.

since the first consists of petties, who do not belong to grammar school proper. These petties were to be taught by the pupils of the third and fourth forms. Over the three upper forms, taught by the master almost alone, are distributed the conventional materials in conventional order which ordinarily occupy six or seven forms. Nearly all the other schools we have examined so far have contemplated apparently at least a master and an usher, but Pursglove's regulations probably represent the necessary adjustment in many of the smaller schools where there was only the master. Still, the curriculum was fundamentally the same, except that no provision is made for any other foreign language than Latin.

A further possible adjustment is represented by Blackburn school, examined above, and also by Manchester,<sup>4</sup> where the grammar school had both a master and an usher, but the upper pupils taught the petties as in Pursglove's schools. Incidentally, these petties at Blackburn were to be not younger than five when admitted.

Pursglove had intended that the pupils of the upper forms teach the petties, who really do not belong to grammar school at all. In other instances, a single pupil is to assist in such work. At St. Bees in Cumberland, this pupil usher was to teach the accidence as well as petty work, the pupil to begin with the master only when he had reached constructions. This left for the master exactly the same work as was done in form at Eton.

The Schoolmaster for the time being shall have authority to appoint some poor Scholar, that understandeth his Grammar, and can write a reasonable hand, to be his Usher under him; who shall teach the Children to read and write English, and to say by heart the Catechism in English set forth by public authority, with the additions, and the Accidence, and when they are able to learn construction they shall be admitted into the Master's School.<sup>5</sup>

This usher is thus only a teacher of petties, preparing the boys for what would be the first form in the Eton system.

Perhaps the fullest surviving supplementary list of the subjects and authors to be studied in this period is that for this school of St. Bees, 1583, though it gives no indication of divisions into forms or of methods pursued. It runs;

The A. B. C. in English.

The Catechism in English, set forth by public authority.

The Psalter and Book of Common Prayer, } in English.

The New Testament,

<sup>4</sup> Mumford, *Manchester Grammar School*, p. 479.

<sup>5</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, p. 157.

The Queen's Grammar, with the Accidence.

The small Catechism in Latin, publicly authorised.

Confabulationes Pueriles.

Aesopi Fabulae.

M. T.	{ Epistolae Minores Selecte. Officiorum. De Amicitia. De Senectute. Tusculanarum Questionum. Orationes, or any other of his works.       }	Lib.	} in Prose.
Ciceronis			

Salustius.

Justinus.

Comentarii Caesaris.

Q. Curtius.

Distica Catonis.

Terrentius.

Virgilius.

Horatius.

Ovidii Metamorphoses.

Ovid: de Tristibus.

B. Mantuanus.

Pallurgenius.

Buchanani Scripta. } in Verse.

Sedulius.

Prudentius.

The Greek Grammar of Cleonard, or some other generally allowed.

The little Greek Catechism set forth by public authority, and any other good Author in Greek.

The Schoolmaster may use his choice of these books, to take or leave as he thinketh meet, to be appointed for every Form, saving that the Accidence, the Queen's Grammar, and the Catechism aforesaid, shall not be omitted. And the Schoolmaster shall not suffer his Scholars to have any lewd or superstitious books or ballads amongst them.<sup>6</sup>

Strype<sup>7</sup> gives us the further information that the usher at St. Bees was to teach the A B C in English, the Psalter and the Book of Common-prayer, while the Master was to teach the Catechism in Latin (including Nowell's). The master was advised but not required to teach Palingenius, Sedulius, and Prudentius. The Queen's Grammar; that is, Lily, was, of course, required. Here is the hand of Dean Colet. It will be noticed that these requirements and suggestions appear duly in our list. It appears, therefore, that the usher was really a teacher of petties and that the master alone was to teach the grammar school proper.

Leach says that "An enormous list of authors to be read" is also to be found at Durham in 1593; but he gives only a few selected examples, which we have already noticed above.<sup>8</sup> One will find that these

<sup>6</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, p. 158.

<sup>7</sup> Strype, John, *The History of the Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal* (1710), p. 312.

<sup>8</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Durham*, Vol. I, pp. 377-378.

lists continue growing into the still more enormous ones of Hoole toward the second half of the seventeenth century. They aimed to include typical aids, or supplementary or alternate works; not to specify that the pupils must read all of the listed works.

The school at Kirkby Stephen in Westmoreland, 1566, also proposed to use a pupil-usher. It is directed that the master

shall read to them the ten commandments, in the Latin tongue as is used in the Realme of England, for the most part, and Cato, Aesop's Fables, Tully's Offices and *de Amicitia* and *de Senectute*, and likewise Sallust, Virgill, and Terence, and such others, but in this his doing, he must have discretion and regard according to the age and capacity of every one of his Schollers.<sup>9</sup>

It is interesting to notice that this is apparently also a one-teacher school, such as the two of Pursglove, and that at Witton. But just as Pursglove intended to use the pupils of the upper forms to instruct those of the lower, so the founder at Kirkby Stephen intended to designate one of the upper students as usher as was true at St. Bees.

Moreover to the intent the said Schoolmaster may more easily doe his deligence in teaching and attending the said Schollers, I will, ordain, and determine that he shall have one Scholler to place and displace whome I will that he be named the Usher, and that he be one of the poorest born in the Parish of Kirkby Stephen. So that he be adorned with vertue and learning, and that he can indeed both in the Schoolmaster's presence, and also in his absence, help the same Schoolmaster in all things to the uttermost of his power,—and the said Usher shall receive for his wages xxvj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. yearly at feasts of Pentecost, and St. Martin, by even portions.<sup>10</sup>

This pupil-usher may also substitute for the master, with increased pay.

And the same Usher shall continue no longer than the space of three years in his roome aforesaid, but some other shall be appointed thereto after the space of three yeares or before, if the Schoolmaster think it convenient.<sup>11</sup>

Pursglove had intended his master to teach only the grammar school, the pupils of the upper forms teaching the petties, who in fact do not belong to grammar school. At St. Bees, a pupil-usher was to teach the petties and those learning the accidence, the master beginning with construction, which corresponds to the first form of the Eton system. At Kirkby Stephen, the division is not given. At Shrewsbury, the dividing line is raised by another form of the Eton system, the grammar school proper beginning with what would be

<sup>9</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 717.

<sup>10</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 717.

<sup>11</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. II, p. 718.

the second form of that system. The next stage in our sequence, would be a school with the division between the second and third forms. Such a school was that at Aldenham, which we have already examined. As we have seen, its curriculum was that of Eton condensed into five forms, and the usher was to teach the petties and the first two forms, the master the last three.

Then we come to the usual system, where the petties were not connected with the grammar school at all, and where the usher taught lower school, the master the upper. In the largest schools, there might be several teachers variously assigned; but since Stratford was not one of these, we need not further trouble.

From this survey, certain things are now apparent. Foremost of these is the fact that the sixteenth century grammar school curriculum was highly organized and had by the middle of the century been standardized into essential uniformity. As Edmund Coote makes his *English Schoolmaster* to say in 1596,

If I be generally received, I shall cause one uniform manner of teaching; a thing which as it hath brought much profit unto the *Latin* tongue, so would it do to all other Languages, if the like were practised.<sup>12</sup>

The sixteenth century had aimed to attain uniformity in the teaching of Latin, and recognized the fact that it had done so. Grammar, vulgars and Latins, and parsing and construction are its uniform tools for attaining Latinity, and these are used according to a definite and systematic scheme. Whether there was to be one master or many, a few pupils or a large school, three forms or six or eight, the curriculum and its methods remained fundamentally the same. The boy was to cover a standard curriculum in standard sequence, according to standard methods, regardless of the time and the conditions of his doing so. Since these schools were that damnable thing, "preparation for university," this essential uniformity of aim and method was necessarily thrust upon them. If, therefore, the man shows knowledge of any part of the grammar school curriculum, it is possible safely to estimate rather accurately at what stage the boy should have acquired that knowledge.

---

<sup>12</sup> Coote, Edward (*sic*), *The English School-Master* (1673), A2v.

## CHAPTER XX

### WILLIAM KEMPE UPON THE ELIZABETHAN GRAMMAR SCHOOL

IT MUST NOW be evident that the people who shaped these curricula were thoroughly conscious of what objectives they desired to attain and had planned in deadly detail their methods accordingly. Since one of these schoolmasters, William Kempe, has presented the whole scheme in a coordinated and philosophized form, it will be well by way of concluding our study of the general organization of the sixteenth century grammar school curriculum to examine briefly his work.<sup>1</sup>

We may pause, however, first to notice a very full list of grammar school texts, published in London in 1581. G. H. in *De Discenda Graeca Lingua Oratio Secunda*<sup>2</sup> says

Legunt pueri Catonis Disticha: legunt Varronis de Etymologia, & Analogia libros: legunt Æsopi Apologos: legunt Eunuchum, Heautontimorumenon, Adelphos Terentij, id est Latini Menandri: legunt Plauti Amphytrionem; Epidicum: Menaechmos: Pseudolum: Stichum: in quibus, aliisq; propè cunctis comoedijs, nemo fere loquitur, non Graijs prognatus parentibus, maximaeq; Atticis: legunt Bucolica, Georgica, & Aeneida Virgilij: legunt Mantuani, Sanazarij, aliorumq; Eclogas: legunt Nasonis Heroidum Epistolas, Elegias, μεταμορφώσεις: legunt M. Tullij non solùm Epistolas, & Dialogos, sed Paradoxa, atque Topica: legunt Erasmi Apophthegmata, Parabolas, Chiliades, Moriae Encomium: legunt Textoris Epitheta; Tuscanellae Epitheta, & Antitheta: legunt Aphthonij sophistae Progymnasmata: legunt Horatij Odas, Epistolas, Satyras: legunt Epigrammata Martialis: Zodiacum Palyngenij: Alciati Emblemata: legunt Titi Liuij Decades: legunt Christi Euangelium: Praxes Apostolorum: Apocalypsin Ioannis: Parabolas, & Ecclesiasten Solomonis: Genesin, Exodum, Deuteronomium, Mosis: Paralipomena: Prophetas: Psalmos: habent istorum omnium Scholia: habent Glossas: habent Epitomas, Paraphrases, Analyses, Exegeses, Schematismos: habent verborum, atque rerum Elenchos: habent Lexica: sed quos libros quotidie legunt, eorum ne appellationes quidem ipsas, & Epigraphas intelligunt,

all because they do not know Greek.

The orations by "G. H.," from which this quotation comes, have Gabriel Harvey written all over them, though apparently they have hitherto been overlooked. A reference shows that the author is of

<sup>1</sup> I have not included the system preached in Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*, because it does not represent English practice, being an evident translation from the Dutch.

<sup>2</sup> Crispinus, Joannea, *Lexicon Graecolatium* (Londini, 1581), p. [Nanna]v.

Pembroke Hall. There is, besides, the characteristic list of heroes; "nec Stephano Smithus: nec Stellae Checus: nec Freigio Carrus vnquam succubuit," as also a reference to Neville. These lectures were thus delivered at Pembroke before Harvey was elected a fellow of Trinity Hall on December 18, 1578, and belong to the period of the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus*. They add important information as to his scholastic activities at the time, but we are not concerned to pursue that matter further here. We are more interested in noticing that Harvey gives a very full list of grammar school books while Shakespeare was still in grammar school.

For explanation of how this huge list of books was used, William Kempe in *The Education of children*,<sup>3</sup> 1588, gives the clearest presentation of the underlying philosophy of the current grammar school curriculum known to me. While others may not have presented their ideas so systematically as Kempe, yet they used the same processes and in general accepted the same points of view. Had they been called on to give systematic reason, they would doubtless have taken much the same general positions as did he. Kempe himself lays no claim to originality, except of clarity and systematic presentation.

Wherein I confesse, that many learned men haue alreadie bestowed verie exquisit and commendable labours: yet for that we haue endeououred not only to fill vp the emptie roome with such members as wanted, and to separate that which seemed superfluous; but also to new cast the whole in another mould, and to bring it to another forme, breefe, and easie: I suppose that it will seeme altogether a strange and a new Booke (A3r).

Kempe has here systematized his material into one of the clearest and best pieces of sustained exposition to be found in sixteenth century English. His principles, however, as he acknowledges, are only the accepted ones of the "many learned men" who have preceded him. The situation is justly summed up in the commendatory verses of "Io. Sw.," (John Swan)<sup>4</sup> who says:

Sturmius, & Ramus, Freigius, Manutius, Ascham,  
Quicquid ad hoc spectans explicuere genus:  
Kempe id omne tenet, bene collocat, edocet Anglos.

Kempe has collected, organized, and put into English the teachings of Sturm, Ramus, Freigius, Manutius, Ascham. In fact, Ramus is Kempe's chief guide, though Freigius schematizes Ramus, and

<sup>3</sup> I have used both the original in the British Museum and the photographic facsimile from it in the Library of the University of Illinois.

<sup>4</sup> Mayor, *Scholemaster*, p. 276.



Ramus adapts Sturm more closely than seems to be generally recognized. Ascham is influenced by Sturm. Manutius contributes such ideas as how Virgil has imitated Homer. Someone should edit Kempe, locating specifically the sources of each of his ideas; but that is not necessary for our present purpose.

Kempe precedes his detailed discussion and explanation of the curriculum with a clear-cut statement of principles.

Now followeth the duetie of the Schoolemaister, which is to vse the best way and order both in teaching and also in gouerning. Touching the former, all knowledge is taught generally both by precepts of arte, and also by practise of the same precepts. They are practised partly by obseruing examples of them in other mens workes, and partly by making somewhat of our owne, and that first by imitation, and at length without imitation. So that the perfection of the arte is not gotten at the first, but *Per numeros veniunt ista gradusque suos*. Wherefore first the scholler shall learne the precepts: secondly, he shall learne to note the examples of the precepts in vnfolding other mens workes: thirdly, to imitate the examples in some worke of his owne: fourthly and lastly, to make somewhat alone without an example. Now, all these kindes of teaching are seene in euery speciall sort of the things taught, be it Grammar, Logike, Rhetorike, Arithmetike, Geometriē, or any other Arte (F1v-F2r)—

to which, we would add the construction of plays.

Kempe thus takes as a basis the fundamental pedagogical doctrine of Ramus,<sup>5</sup> which is also accepted by Brinsley, who claimed that by his methods

schollers may haue daily much sure practice both of *Analysis* and *Genesis*; that is, resoluing and making Latine: which as was noted, all the learned doe acknowledge to be almost all in all, in getting all learning, for all this practice by them is nothing else but *Analysis* and *Genesis*, as we shewed before.<sup>6</sup>

Kempe's first two stages are analysis, his latter two genesis. All these principles Ramus had emphasized as fundamental, and by schematizing them Freigius had given them further emphasis.

Eventually, these are only a slight adaptation of the fundamental doctrine of *Ad Herennium*.

Haec omnia tribus rebus assequi poterimus, arte, imitatione, exercitatione. Ars, est praeceptio, quae dat certam viam, rationēque dicendi. Imitatio,

<sup>5</sup> Graves, F. P., *Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation*, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 108. Hayne also founds his system upon analysis and genesis, giving a full scheme (*Certaine Epistles of Tolly* (1611), Introduction).

est qua impellimur cum diligenti ratione, vt aliquorum similes in dicendo velimus esse. Exercitatio, est assiduus vsus, consuetudóque dicendi.<sup>7</sup>

*Ad Herennium* divides into three; art, imitation, exercise. To take Kempe's version, the purely pedagogical second step of finding examples of the rules taught by art has been inserted between art and imitation, and the whole has been somewhat reoriented in application.

Kempe next takes up the conventional curriculum systematically, explaining in detail how the four steps were applied from the horn-book through the highest form. Now it will be remembered that Ascham also had based his system on this same fundamental pedagogic principle of imitation.

*Imitation*, is a facultie to expresse liuelie and perfitelie that example: which ye go about to folow . . . all languages, both learned and mother tonges, be gotten, and gotten onelie by *Imitation*.<sup>8</sup>

Ascham then defines and explains in some detail the methods and aims of Imitation, replying in this fashion to critics.

They will say, it were a plaine slauerie, & iniurie to, to shakke and tye a good witte, and hinder the course of a mās good nature with such bondes of seruitude, in folowyng other.

Except soch men thinke them selues wiser then *Cicero* for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turne a new leafe.<sup>9</sup>

Ascham then explains how Tully had used and recommended Imitation. Quintilian coldly accepts "the matter," but writes "hotelie and spitefullie enough, agaynst the Imitation of *Tullie*."<sup>10</sup> Erasmus "writeth rightlie, rightlie vnderstanded," as also does Longolius fundamentally. Budaeus was "caryed somewhat out of the way in ouermuch misliking the Imitation of *Tullie*." Melanchthon writes "learnedlie and trewlie"; Camerarius confusedly; Sambucus "with a right iudgement." Cortesius writes "verie well"; Bembus "a great deale better"; but Sturm in works of 1538 and 1549 "farre best of all, in myne opinion, that euer tooke this matter in hand." For Sturm has declared "who is to be followed, what is to be followed, and the best point of all, by what way & order trew Imitatiō is rightlie to be exercised." But even Sturm has not given sufficient examples, a volume of which is now the sole remaining need. Riccius also writes

<sup>7</sup> *Ad Herennium* (Lambinus, D., *Ciceronis Opera Omnia* (1573), Vol. I, p. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), pp. 45v-46r.

<sup>9</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), pp. 48r-48v.

<sup>10</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 49v.

well "because his whole doctrine, iudgement, and order, semeth to be borrowed out of *Io. Stur. bookes*." Riccius has examples too, but they are poor.<sup>11</sup> Ascham then devotes several pages to a description of the principles on which the needed volume of examples should be constructed.<sup>12</sup> This volume he himself proposed to write, but death intervened. His conclusion is,

Therefore thou, that shotest at perfection in the Latin tong, thinke not thy selfe wiser than *Tullie* was, in choice of the way, that leadeth rightlie to the same: thinke not thy witte better than *Tullies* was, as though that may serue thee that was not sufficient for him.<sup>13</sup>

The experts were thus agreed on the fundamental principle of imitation; they were disagreed only on details of method in applying the principle. Even here, however, they were sufficiently agreed, at least upon the content and general objectives of the ideal grammar school curriculum. The business of grammar school was to teach one how to speak and write the finest of Latin. Because of the principle of imitation, it was necessary to keep before budding youth the best of examples always. So Ascham does not want the boys to begin speaking and writing, thus forming habits, until they can form those habits on the best models. He therefore proposes to bring them to ability to imitate these models in the shortest time possible, by methods that we have already examined.<sup>14</sup>

Whatever the exact method, these schoolmasters aimed to get their pupils to Cicero and Terence as soon as possible, for these two were the great models of imitation for true speaking and writing. In theory and in practice, Cicero and Terence were the first objectives, and prime models of imitation, because they were the finest illustra-

<sup>11</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), pp. 49v-50r.

<sup>12</sup> See above, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 51r. For a history of Ciceronianism to about the death of Erasmus, the reader may turn to Sabbadini, R., *Storia del Ciceronianismo E Di Altre Questioni Letterarie Nell' Età Della Rinascenza*. For our period, a collection of some chance expressions in English on the subject of imitation will be found in White, Harold O., *Plagiarism and Imitation During the English Renaissance*. But for Englishmen, as for all educated people, the fundamental body of criticism was in Latin (notice Ascham and Kempe). It is upon the Latin background that the allusions in the vernacular, whether English, French, German, Italian, or what not, must be interpreted. And this background is as yet practically unexplored. Hermann Gmelin has made a large compilation on "Imitatio," part of which is published as "Das Prinzip der Imitatio in den romanischen Literaturen der Renaissance," *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 83-360. From the materials gathered on this single point, the reader may judge the magnitude of the total problem of surveying the Latin Renaissance, and of orienting the various vernacular Renaissances to it and to each other. For these problems of literary criticism were not in their origins national problems, and no trustworthy perspective can be had when they are treated as such. National statements must be interpreted in the international framework of the scholarly world.

<sup>14</sup> See more at large above, pp. 261 ff.

tions of good Latin speech, by imitating whom the boys must learn to speak and write elegant Latin. Other writers might aid, but Tully and Terence alone could be recommended for this purpose without reserve.

Kempe is but consciously carrying on the tradition thus briefly summed up by Ascham in making imitation the fundamental principle underlying his grammar school curriculum. The four stages of the imitative process Kempe adapts from Ramus, perhaps through the schematic eyes of Freigius. On imitation as the fundamental principle, with its four stages as outlined, Kempe founds his ideal curriculum. This ideal curriculum departs in certain respects from the usual six or seven form model found in the statutes. The chief departure is that Kempe provides a nine year curriculum divided into eight forms, and so occupying the boy from seven to sixteen, instead of from seven to thirteen or fourteen as is the normal statement.

The traditional age of entrance to grammar school proper was seven for ordinary schools, though for special reasons attaching to their organization it was some years later in the cathedral schools, as it might be for certain other types of schools. Besides the occasional provisions in the statutes, there are numerous references to and specific illustrations of the age requirements. Early in the century one of Stanbridge's vulgars is, "I was set to scole whan I was seuen yere olde."<sup>15</sup> Ascham had expected that the boy would ordinarily require seven years in grammar school and another seven in university.<sup>16</sup> Mulcaster claimed in 1582 that by his magic methods a boy would get more Latin from twelve to sixteen than he then did from seven to seventeen.<sup>17</sup> John Lyster has the catechizing father say to the catechized son, "I haue cōmitted thee to the gouernement of a learned and Godlie Maister, these seauen yeeres past."<sup>18</sup> We have seen that Francis Willoughby had required about the time expected by Ascham to get to university through Saffron Walden, but without Greek.<sup>19</sup> William Cavendish had entered the second form at Eton at nine, and after seven years entered Cambridge, though we do not know whether all the intervening time was spent at Eton.<sup>20</sup> Thomas

<sup>15</sup> White, *Stanbridge*, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), pp. B4v, 32v.

<sup>17</sup> Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), p. 68.

<sup>18</sup> Lyster, John, *A rule how to Bring Up Children*, p. 1r (copy belonging to the Library of the University of Illinois). As Father questions, son sums up with texts from the Bible the whole body of Christian doctrine. There is no further connection with school.

<sup>19</sup> See above, pp. 375 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 375.

Kyd was baptized November 6, 1558,<sup>21</sup> and entered Merchant Taylors' on October 26, 1565,<sup>22</sup> very close to his seventh birthday. George Peele was in Christ's Hospital 1565-1571.<sup>23</sup> Since Peele was born 1557 or 1558,<sup>24</sup> he was seven or eight at entrance, and thirteen or fourteen at completion. In the *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, Ingenioso warns Philomusus,

take heede I take youe not . . . twentie years henc . . . interpretinge *pueriles confabulationes* to a companie of seaven-yeare-olde apes.<sup>25</sup>

Shakspeare's famous schoolboy, being the second act of the seven ages, is also of this approximate age.

And then the whining school-boy, with his satchel  
And shining morning face, creeping like snail  
Unwillingly to school.

Early in the seventeenth century Brinsley still planned his grammar school work,

That so all schollers of any towardlinesse and diligence may be made absolute Grammarians, and euery way fit for the Vniuersitie, by fifteene yeeres of age; or by that time that they shall bee meete by discretion and gouernment.<sup>26</sup>

One reason for continuing to begin at seven was the practice in classical times. But the Renaissance inherited its general age provisions from the Middle Ages.

A fact interesting to note in this connexion is mentioned by Abbot Gasquet, viz. that the degree courses in the University were parallel to the ecclesiastical advance of the student. The course of education of the cleric was: at seven years of age a boy might receive the tonsure;<sup>27</sup> between seven and fourteen whilst at school, he would help the priest 'to serve mass' and receive the minor orders of 'door-keeper,' 'lector,' 'exorcist' and 'acolyte.' From fourteen to eighteen at the University he could qualify for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and at eighteen he could become sub-deacon in the Church. When Bachelor of Arts, he must take seven years to qualify as Bachelor of Divinity. Simultaneously at twenty-five years of age he could

<sup>21</sup> Brooke, J. M. S., and Hallen, A. W. C., *The Transcript of the Registers of the United Parishes of S. Mary Woolnoth and S. Mary Woolchurch Haw*, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Robinson, *Merchant Taylors' School*, Vol. I, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Lockhart, A. W., *List of Exhibitioners* (1885), pp. 8-10.

<sup>24</sup> Dyce, A., *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene & George Peele* (1861), p. 324.

<sup>25</sup> Macray, *Parnassus*, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. B1v; cf., pp. 8, 308.

<sup>27</sup> At Eton, the boy was supposed originally to have received the tonsure before entrance at eight or to receive it within a year after entering (Lyte, *Eton* (1911), p. 582).

take that degree and become a priest. The University degrees, therefore, fitted into the ecclesiastical course of the clerical student.<sup>28</sup>

In the sixteenth century, apparently the universities in England would have preferred longer training in the grammar school, but business, as well as tradition, was opposed. Those who were to become apprentices would need to complete the curriculum by fourteen if they were to complete apprenticeship by twenty-one. Even if one were not to be apprenticed formally, he would still need at that time to begin preparing to earn his bread and butter. In other words, the whole social machinery had long been built on this progression, and it was difficult to change it.

The extension of time to be spent in the grammar school curriculum proposed by Kempe is probably due to the influence of Sturm; I find no justification for it in English practice. In any case, the conventional subjects come in the conventional order, though Kempe proposes some additions for the last year. These extensions of subject matter are doubtless due to Ramus. Kempe himself had been trained at Eton,<sup>29</sup> so that his theory probably at least to some extent also reflects the Eton system.

Kempe would divide his curriculum into three stages, the first of which is fully described according to his principle of imitation, but is preparatory to grammar school, and so should be completed by seven.

At which time, he shall proceede to the second degree of Schooling, which consisteth in learning the Grammar, and knowledge of other languages, and in this degree are certaine fourmes, euery one whereof may occupie a yeere (F3v).

This second stage occupies the first five forms, and takes the boy through his eleventh year, to his twelfth birthday.

The first fourme therefore, shall begin to learne the Grammar in the Latin toong. As for reading, though the Schollar haue it alreadie, yet for that there is some difference betweene the reading of English and Latin, first let him reade ouer the rudiments of the Latin toong, and then learne by hart the parts of speach with their properties, as the deriuation and composition of words: the forming of Nombers, Cases, and Genders, in euery declension of Nounes: the forming of diminutives in Substantiues, of comparisons in Adiectiues: so the forming of Nombers, Persons, Tenses and Moodes, in

<sup>28</sup> Watson, *Grammar Schools*, p. 15.

<sup>29</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, Vol. II, p. 504.

euery Coniugation of all sorts of Verbes: whereof he shall rehearse afterwards some part ordinarily euery day, illustrating the same with examples of diuers Nounes and Verbes. And so hauing learned the concordances of speach, made plaine vnto him by the examples there added, and being about eight yeeres old, let him moue foorth into the second fourme, to practise the precepts of Grammar, in expounding and vnfoldinge the works of Latin Authors: whereof the easiest shall be chosen first, the middle sort next, and the hardest last. Now, because Children learne first to talke familiarly with their fellowes or others, Dialogs are most easie for their capacitie, as are the Dialogs of *Corderius* and *Castalion*. The Maister shall first reade sensibly a competent Lecture, then declare the argument and scope of the Author, afterward english it either word for word, or phrase for phrase, as the propertie of both languages will permit. Last of all teach, or cause another to teach the diuers sorts of the words, their properties and syntaxes of speach. And about three or foure houres after, the Schollar shall be diligently in euery point examined, and tryed how he can referre the examples of his Lecture to the rules of Art. This exercise of the artificiall expounding of other mens works, I neede not to set foorth by examples, for that it is common and manifest, as is also the last exercise of making somewhat without imitation: only imitation therefore remaineth to be declared by examples. For the which in this place the Maister shall propound a like sentence in English, which the Schollar shall expresse by like phrase in Latin. As if the Schollar haue learned and rendered this short Lecture, *Pater bonus diligit filium probum*, *A good father loueth an honest sonne*, the Maister may propound the like sentence with diuersitie, first of Nombres, then of Genders, thirdly of Persons, fourthly of Tenses, fifthly of the forme of the Verbe, and lastly of the words. For the variation of nombres, he may vse this English, *Good fathers loue honest sonnes*, which peraduenture may be hard for a beginner to make in Latin all at once: but *leue fit quod bene fertur onus* (F3v-[F4]v).

Then Kempe explains in detail the process of varying the parts.

Now after that the Schollar hath bin a fewe dayes enured to this imitation, he shall three or foure times euery weeke, meditate alone to make the like in writing also. This kind of exercise will both leade him to vnderstand the congruitie and syntaxes of speach, and also make him expert in forming of Nounes and Verbes. And so hauing ended his yeare, let him march forward into the third fourme, the which besides the harder Dialogs, shall reade also *Tullyes Epistles* collected by *Sturmius*, learning them in such manner as is shewed afore, and noting moreouer the principall phrases in a note booke. And heere the exercise of writing Latin by imitation, shall be a translating of the same speach into another like sentence, but altered with many varieties at once, and chiefly with the last varietie of the words ([F4]v-G1r),

whereupon Kempe describes how to vary and imitate a letter of Cicero.

Now the Schollar by these meanes hauing gotten some footing in the Latin toong, shall begin to practise without an example of imitation, both in speaking, and also in writing. His exercise of speaking Latin shall be first in common and easie matters, as of his lesson, of orders in the Schoole, of dinner and supper &c. Afterwards in all matters, heed being taken that he be reformed when he vseth barbarous words, or trippeth in his speach, his exercise of writing without imitation shall be a translating of the same sentence into another speach, of latin into english, and of english into latin. For the turning of english into latin, some<sup>80</sup> would haue the Maister to translate into english the sentence out of some place of *Tully* vnknowne to the Schollar, and then giue him the english to translate againe into latin, which being done, to shewe him *Tullyes* latin, wherewith he shall conferre his owne, and correct it: this counsell is good, and may be vsed when oportunitie and leisure will serue.

And this is the method and exercise of teaching and learning fit for the third fourme, which must be continued also in the other fourmes following, but with some augmentation of length, and hardnes of the same, according to the abilitie of the learner. Yea, the same bookes of Dialogs and Epistles may serue for the fourth fourme also, so that the hardest of both sorts be chosen.

Then to the fifth fourme shall be read *Terences* Comedies, *Tullyes* treatises of friendship and of old age, which are a more artificiall and harder kind of Dialogs, wherevnto, let *Ouid de Tristibus*, or some such within a while be added for Poetrie (G1v).

Kempe then explains at length how to imitate Cicero, *De Amicitia*, at this stage.

Herewithall shall be vsed now and then the other translating, without imitating an example, as before. But if the scholler shall be a *Graecian*, let him learne the Greeke Grammar while he is yet in this fourme, and proceede therein after the same order that he did in the Latine, bestowing that way the fourth part of his time, and likewise another fourth part in the Hebrewew, if he will be an *Hebrician*. And so I conclude the second degree of schooling with the ende both of this fifth fourme, and the twelfth yeere of the schollers age (G2v).

Kempe has made five forms of what is regularly in the surviving curricula assigned to three or four. The extra year comes chiefly in extending the work of the third form over two years. Besides, he has reserved Terence and *De Tristibus* for the fifth, thus retarding his curriculum upward of two years, somewhat as was done at Winchester. The content, order, and general theory of his curriculum, however, is that which prevailed in the schools. Grammar is its chief

<sup>80</sup> Ascham.



guide, and its first objective the ability to begin speaking and writing Latin. The easy dialogues were to pave the way to Cicero and Terence. This was the regular method of the *curricula*. Kempe does not include here Cato and Aesop because they are for moral and religious instruction chiefly, not for Latinity.

Kempe now takes up the third stage of his curriculum, which was to cover four years further, taking the boy to sixteen.

Then shall followe the third degree for Logike and Rhetorike, and the more perfect vnderstanding of the Grammar and knowledge of the tongues. First the scholler shal learne the precepts concerning the diuers sorts of arguments in the first part of Logike, (for that without them Rhetorike cannot be well vnderstood) then shall followe the tropes and figures in the first part of Rhetorike, wherein he shall employ the sixth part of his studie, and all the rest in learning and handling good authors: as are *Tullies Offices*, his *Orationes*, *Caesars Commentaries*, *Virgils Aeneis*, *Ouids Metamorphosis*, and *Horace*. In whom for his first exercise of vnfoldinge the Arte, he shall obserue the examples of the hardest poynts in Grammar, of the arguments in Logike, of the tropes and figures in Rhetorike, referring euery example to his proper rule, as before. Then he shall learne the two latter parts also both of Logike and Rhetorike. And as of his Grammar rules he rehearsed some part euery day; so let him now do the like in Logike, afterwards in Rhetorike, and then in Grammar agayne, that he forget not the precepts of arte, before continual vse haue ripened his vnderstanding in them. And by this time he must obserue in authors all the vse of the Artes, as not only the words and phrases, not only the examples of the arguments; but also the axiome, wherein euery argument is disposed; the syllogisme, whereby it is concluded; the method of the whole treatise, and the passages, wherby the parts are ioyned together. Agayne, he shall obserue not only euery trope, euery figure, aswell of words as of sentences; but also the Rhetoricall pronounciation and gesture fit for euery word, sentence, and affection.

And so let him take in hand the exercise of all these three Artes at once in making somewhat of his owne, first by imitation; as when he hath considered the propertie of speach in the Grammaticall etymologie and syntaxis: the finenesse of speach in the Rhetoricall ornaments, as comely tropes, pleasant figures, fit pronounciation and gesture: the reason and pith of the matter in the Logicall weight of arguments, in the certeyntie of the axiomes, in the due fourme of syllogismes, and in the easie and playne method: then let him haue a like theame to prosecute with the same artificiall instruments, that he findeth in his author (G2v-G3r).

Kempe then shows how to imitate Cicero

phrase for phrase, trope for trope, figure for figure, argument for argument, and so of the rest (G3v).

Moreouer, touching matter and method, this imitation may bee exercised in verse likewise: but the forme of argumentation or syllogismes, the words

and phrases, the verse will not suffer to be imitated, saue only in some places. As we see *Virgil* to haue imitated *Homer* in method: to wit, in beginning with the middest of the matter, in reciting of things past by occasion, and in concluding with a notable issue, euen as *Homer* had disposed his *Ilias*: then in generall matter, namely, in setting forth *Aeneas* like to *Vlysses*, and sometime like *Achilles*: in particular matter & arguments, as the comming of *Aeneas* to *Carthage* and *Dido*, like to the comming of *Vlysses* to *Alcinous* and *Calypso*, *Aeneas* going to hell, like to *Vlysses* going to hell, *Aeneas* games of rowing, running, whorlebatting, shooting, and skirmishing on horsebacke at the graue of *Anchises* his father, like to *Achilles* games of riding, whorlebatting, running, sword playing, hurling the stone, shooting and casting the darte at the Tombe of *Patroclus* his deare friend: the harnessse of *Aeneas*, made by *Vulcan*, like to the harnessse of *Achilles* made by him also. And in diuers places, but not euey where, he doth imitate *Homers* descriptions, similitudes, phrases and words, as *Manutius*, and other learned men haue both noted and quoted.

Now, when the Scholler hath been a while exercised in this kinde of imitation, sometime in prose, sometime in verse, let him assay otherwhiles, without an example of imitation, what he can do alone by his owne skill alreadie gotten by the precepts and the two former sorts of practise.

After a three yeeres exercise in this degree of studie, he may ascend to the fourth degree, of Arithmetike and Geometrie. And according to the same manner, easely passe through these Artes in halfe a yeere, and so before the full age of sixteene yeeres be made fit to wade without a schoolemaister, through deeper mysteries of learning, to set forth the glorie of God, and to benefite his Countrie. And thus the maisters duetie of orderly teaching by precepts and by practise of them, not only in vnfoldng other mens workes, but also in making somewhat of a mans owne, and that either by imitation of examples, or without imitation wee haue breefly declared ([G4]v-H1r).

Thus, as Kempe points out, the first five forms of his grammar school are centered upon grammar, but the latter three upon rhetoric, with enough logic to ground the rhetoric, and with oratorical and "versifical" application. This requires three years, the fourth year being mathematical, and really as he himself calls it, a fourth stage. For such mathematical training, I have found no clear provision in the curricula, so that this work is really additional. But Sturm had made similar provision. Kempe thus proposes to cover this final section of the work in three years. In the curricula, it occurs partly in the fourth, or even the third but usually in the fifth and sixth years, with frequent provisions for a seventh. Kempe has thus extended this rhetorical section of grammar school training by a year just as he did the precedent grammatical section.

But so far as content is concerned, Kempe is merely philosophizing current practice. As we have seen, in the Eton system the Latin

grammar was supposed to be memorized by the end of the third form, with some review in the fourth. This was the usher's work in the lower school. Then came the master's work in the upper school with the final three or four forms, though the usher did the necessary grammatical drill with the fourth form. With the fourth form, the boys took up the study of the Latin authors as literature, and attempted to imitate them. The instructions for study at Eton about 1560 are typical. The boys in the fourth form and above were to gather from their readings

flowers, phrases, or locutions of speaking; likewise antithets, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similitudes, comparisons, histories, descriptions of time, place, persons, fables, merry jests, schemes, and apothegms.

Susenbrotus gave them the names and descriptions of these various rhetorical figures, etc., which they were to gather. They also learned the rules for verse, and wrote both poetry and prose. The Eton boys—of whom Kempe had been one—were thus approaching their authors from the point of view of rhetoric, and performing the operations which Kempe demands. So are all the other schools which give any inkling of what they are about, as the reader will see by referring to the statutes from which we have quoted. Considerably before the Eton curriculum of about 1560 the English grammar schools knew very definitely what they wanted to do, and had come to the fundamental organization of the curriculum and the general methods of teaching which they were for some centuries to retain. Refinements there were, but refinements merely on the old curriculum and methods of teaching.

In this system for the sixteenth century, we have seen that Terence and Cicero were the foundation stones. There is no mystery about the source of Englishmen's knowledge of Terence and the critical lore upon drama which surrounded him.

The English grammar school, of course, had its relations to the continental grammar schools; but with those we are not here concerned. It is English practice in which we are interested, and not general educational history. But it should perhaps be noticed here that before the final third of the sixteenth century, practically all the textbooks used in the English grammar schools, except the Latin grammar, came from the continent. Even in the final third of the century the texts printed in England are nearly always mere reprints of continental editions. Especially the texts specifically intended for grammar school are likely to be reprints of or adapted

from French texts. It is not merely in general literary translations that an Englishman is likely to translate from the French. Here is a fundamental and powerful French influence which needs detailed examination. The reasons for the use of these French texts are partly commercial, partly political, partly social, and even partly moral or religious. But for similar reasons, some texts came from Holland and from Germany, especially in the second and third quarters of the century. In the sixteenth century, Latin was international. So to some extent were the Latin grammar schools and their texts, in and by which Latin was to be taught. It was only toward the end of the century that certain developing points of insularity began to make themselves prominent in English-Latin.

## CHAPTER XXI

### BRINSLEY, HOOLE, AND CLARKE

IT MAY NOT BE AMISS at this point to orient Brinsley and Hoole with regard to the sixteenth century, since they also give valuable evidence as to the continuity and cohesion of the tradition. Both accept without cavil the authors and the sequences of compositional forms they had inherited from the sixteenth century. Their interest is in the best methods of organization and the most effective teaching routines within this framework. Clarke may then be permitted to present the eighteenth century reaction against the poetic impracticalities of the sixteenth century.

Brinsley rides the particular hobby of grammatical translations as the cure for all ills the grammar school is heir to. For all the compositional processes and many of the conventional authors, he shows how he himself uses these grammatical translations. He begins with how to make children perfect in the accidence, and then in the grammar, whence he proceeds to the next process, that of construing, and advertizes his wares. He has completed, has in hand, or intends to take in hand *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae*, *Sententiae Pueriles*, *Cato*, *Corderius' Dialogues*, *Aesop's Fables*, *Tullies Epistles* by Sturmius, *Tullies Offices*, with *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, *Paradoxes*, *Ovid De Tristibus*, *Metamorphoses*, *Virgil*, *Tullies Sentences*, *Aphthonius*, *Drax's Phrases*, *Flores Poetarum*, *Tully De Natura Deorum*, and *Terentius Christianus*. With exception of Drax and *Terentius Christianus*, these had been current texts for at least the last third of the sixteenth century. The regular lower school authors except Terence are here. At best, Brinsley could only tolerate a limited use of Terence; he did not encourage it.

For *Terence*, if you thinke good, and especially to furnish with English phrase to answer the Latine, and by reading out of the English into Latin, to helpe more speedily to obtaine the Latin phrase and style, Maister *Barnards* translation.

Provided alwayes, that this be with great caution, for auoyding all danger of corrupting their manners by lasciuiousnesse or otherwise; considering the pronenesse of our nature, like to tinder or gunpowder, if neuer so little a sparke fall into the same. The like caution is to be had for other, as *Horace*, *Iuvenal*, *Persius*, *Martial*, &c.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brinsley, *Consolation* (1622), p. 64.

Brinsley thought *Terentius Christianus* much safer. After the boys have mastered these authors with the help of grammatical translations, they will then be able to master advanced authors by the aid of properly annotated editions. So Brinsley gives advice "for the higher Schoole-Authors; as *Horace*, *Persius*, and the like," including Juvenal. From constructions, Brinsley proceeds naturally to parsing these authors, thence to making Latin without barbarity.

Brinsley is now ready for extended compositional forms, the first of which is the epistle, to be written, of course, imitatively from Cicero, using the collection of Sturmius. The second compositional form in prose is the theme, using Aphthonius eventually as the basic text. The third compositional form in prose is the oration, but since Brinsley does not believe in dignifying the grammar school exercise with that name, he treats it merely as a form of theme. Having treated the prose forms, Brinsley next turns to the making of verse upon the model of Ovid or Virgil. These compositional forms are those provided for by Erasmus, and follow the conventional order. Only Brinsley, as throughout, is striving to simplify the work for the boys.

Brinsley then discusses various technical processes, such as examining and correcting exercises, answering questions in grammar, rhetoric, and Tully's *Offices*, taking part in grammatical disputations, pronouncing properly, and speaking Latin fluently and correctly. Next comes a chapter upon teaching Greek, followed by another on how to understand and remember any moral matter, and the discussion upon authors and processes.

It will be seen that Brinsley uses for the most part the regular sixteenth century authors and texts as they had evolved from the time of Erasmus, and that he uses the conventional processes and compositional sequences, treating them much in the order of Erasmus. He is, however, a "methodist," interested fundamentally in techniques of teaching. So he accepts the conventional curriculum, and spends his time meticulously and systematically considering the best modes of presentation. His presentation of the customary wrong way, and his advocacy of the only possible right way, namely his own, give us the means usually of interpreting the suggestions and allusions found in the sixteenth century curricula. For these methods are seldom novel; usually Brinsley selects what he regards as the best of the current methods and polishes it to his own taste. We shall, therefore, find Brinsley quite useful in certain later stages of our work.

Brinsley, however, is not interested in the organization of the curriculum at all. But Hoole is very much interested in this phase of school work. At Rotherham school, he found nine straggling forms, containing the conventional authors in conventional sequence. He shows how he managed to compress this material into six forms, and gives advice as to methods to be pursued in teaching it. He speaks of Erasmus as presenting in general the proper principles, and insists upon the necessity of following the model of the larger schools so that children may transfer from school to school without loss. His resultant system is thus only a further slight clarification of the system in vogue in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Hoole's first form is still essentially that which is found at Eton by 1530.

In short then, I would have this lowest Form employed one quarter or half a year in getting the *Introduction* for Parts and Lessons, and as long in repeating the *Introduction* at Morning Parts, and reading the *Vocabulary*, for After-noons Parts; saying the *English Rules* for Fore-noon Lessons. The *little Vocabulary* for After-noon Parts; and *Sententiae Pueriles* for Afternoon Lessons, and the *Principles of Christianity* for Saturday Lessons. So that in one years time this work may be fully compleat, of preparing them for the Latine tongue, by teaching them the perfect use of the *Accidents*, and helping them to words, and how to vary them.<sup>2</sup>

The boys still complete the English part of the grammar by the end of the first form; they still get a vocabulary as in 1530 they had mastered Stanbridge. They now master *Sententiae Pueriles* for Latins instead of Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* as in 1530. Their Saturday lessons are upon the *Principles of Christianity*, as in 1530 they had been upon similar material. Some of the texts were different and some of the methods were doubtless colored by Hoole's own personal ideas; but in general the Eton boy of 1530 would easily have adapted himself to Hoole's first form.

The boys of the second form translate into Latin the one hundred and nineteenth psalm.

On Saturdayes, after they can say the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandements in English and Latine, they may proceed to the *Assemblies Catechisme*, first in English, and then in Latine, or the like. This second form then is to be exercised,

1. In repeating the *Accidents* for morning parts.
2. In saying *Propria quae maribus, Quae genus, As in praesenti*, for Fore-noon Lessons.

<sup>2</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), p. 42.

3. In reading *the larger Vocabulary* for Noon parts.
4. In learning *Qui mihi*, and afterwards *Cato*, for Afternoons Lessons on Mondayes and Wednesdayes, and *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae*, and afterwards *Corderii Colloquia* on Tuesdayes, and Thursdayes. And
5. Translating a verse out of English into Latine every evening at home, which they may bring to be corrected on Fridayes, after all the weeks Repetitions ended, and return written as fair as possibly they can write, on Saturday mornings, after examinations ended. And thus *they may be made to know the Genders of Nouns, and Preter-perfect tenses, and Supines of Verbs, and initiated to speak and write true Latine in the compasse of a second year.* So that to children of betwixt seven and nine years of age, in regard of their remedillesse inanimadvertency, I allow two whole years to practise them well in the Rudiments or Grounds of Grammar.<sup>3</sup>

Thus Hoole's second-form pupils for their grammar still repeat their parts in the morning and master *De Generibus* and *Heteroclitēs*, but add also *Preterites*, which was reserved for the third form at Eton about 1530. They still read Lily's *Carmen De Moribus* and Cato as their authors, but reserve Aesop for the next form. This enables them formally to emphasize colloquial Latin more, using both *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae* and the *Colloquies* of Corderius, though the Eton boys also had in their own way emphasized colloquial Latinity at this stage. So would the Eton boys also have been doing vocabulary work, though that fact is not emphasized, as well as making the various forms of Latins, etc. Repetition is still at the week end, and religious work on Saturdays. Thus Hoole's second form is still essentially that of Eton about 1530. In fact, both his first and second forms are nearer to the Eton of 1530 than to that of 1560.

His third form Hoole sums up thus:

This Form in short, is to be employed about three quarters of a year.

1. In reading four or six verses out of *the Latine Testament* every morning, immediately after Prayers.
2. In repeating *Syntaxis* on Mondayes, Tuesdayes, and Wednesdayes, and the *Accidents* and *Propria quae maribus*, &c. on Thursdayes for morning parts.
3. In *Aesops Fables* for fore-noone Lessons.
4. In *Ianua Linguarum* for After-noon Parts.
5. In *Mantuan* for Afternoons Lessons on Mondayes and Wednesdayes; and in *Helvicus's Colloquies* on Tuesdayes, and Thursdayes.
6. In *the Assemblies Latine Catechisme*, on Saturdayes for Lessons.
7. In translating every night two verses out of *the Proverbs* into Latine, and two out of the *Latine Testament* into English, which (with other dictated

<sup>3</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 53-54.



Exercises) are to be corrected on Fridayes, after repetitions ended, and shewed fair written on Saturday mornings; but, because their wits are now ripened for the better understanding of Grammar, and it is necessary for them to be made wholly acquainted with it, before they proceed to the exact reading of Authors, and making Schoole-exercises, I would have them spend one quarter of a yeare, chiefly in getting *Figura, and Prosodia* and making daily repetition of the whole *Accidents and Common-Grammar*. So that this third year will be well bestowed in teaching children of betwixt nine and ten yeares of age the whole *Grammar*, and the right use of it in a method answerable to their capacities, and not much differing from the common rode of teaching.<sup>4</sup>

The grammar is now completed under the usher by the end of the third form, even including the prosody. This had been the steady tendency of the sixteenth century. By 1560 at Eton the usher taught all grammar, except perhaps the prosody, though this necessitated his doing some work with the fourth form. But with Hoole the trivial division is complete, formal grammar being confined wholly to lower school. This involves concentration on formal grammar and consequent deferring of authors. Erasmus and Colet had insisted on and planned for the exact opposite. For them, authors should lead and grammar follow. Not so for Hoole and his contemporaries, "it is necessary for them to be made wholly acquainted with it [grammar], before they proceed to the exact reading of Authors, and making Schoole-exercises." Grammar was again supreme. Teaching was now a dead "methodical" formalism. The literary spirit of Erasmus had departed. The Renaissance was no more. The Eighteenth Century stood on the threshold.

This reversion of the eighteenth century to mediaeval ideas of teaching grammar Woodward has already noted. "For the standing principle is always: from reading to perception of usage, from usage to authoritative rule. The mediaevalist had completely inverted the order; and the 18th century revived the same inversion."<sup>5</sup> As a matter of fact, a teacher must to a certain degree use the inverted method as Erasmus himself knew. The boy has neither time nor necessity to repeat in detail the whole inductive or empirical process in his thinking any more than he needs to repeat in detail the whole evolutionary process of the race in the development of his physical body from germ to maturity. He needs only to master the use of the process so that he can always check the validity of past knowledge as he uses the proc-

<sup>4</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 79-80.

<sup>5</sup> Woodward, *Erasmus*, p. 107.

ess to arrive at new knowledge. The task of the teacher is to know exactly how far to proceed by rule so that the student may be able to work independently by observation. He must preserve a nice balance between the two.

As has been said, the sequence of authors in the lower school has been retarded, though it remains the same. Aesop is retarded to the third form, where he occurs only occasionally in the sixteenth century, and that usually following upon some use in the second form. Similarly, Terence as the first classical author for reading is forced out of the usher's domain into that of the master, to be taken up in the fourth form. This was true only of the Winchester system in the sixteenth century, though Terence was sometimes, as at Eton, used from the second through the fourth form. Hoole's sequence of authors in forms for the lower school is thus most nearly that of Winchester. To fill the gap, godly Mantuan steps into the third form, which was his regular position along with Terence in the cathedral schools, as presumably elsewhere, in the sixteenth century. The *Colloquies* of Helvicus carry on the colloquial Latinity from which Terence had been banished. For written Latin, the boys translate *Proverbs* into Latin, and New Testament Latin (Hoole's own) into English. As we have seen, this was a regular sixteenth century practice. Specific religious work still continues for Saturday. Thus Hoole's system for lower school differs from that of the sixteenth century chiefly by concentrating all grammar in lower school and deferring regular authors, that is Terence, to the upper school. In the sixteenth century, Winchester practice is in this respect nearest to the system of Hoole.

With the fourth form, the boys enter the upper school to be polished off by the master.

1. In reading out of the *Latine Testament* every morning, till they be able to go on with the *Greek* which may then take place.
2. In repeating a Grammar part every Thursday morning.
3. In Learning the *Rhetorick* when they have done that.
4. *Camdens Greek Grammer* on Mondaies, Tuesdaies, and Wednesdaies for morning parts.
5. In using *Terence* on Mondaies, Tuesdaies, Wednesdaies and Thursdaies for fore-noon lessons.
6. In *Ianua Latinae Linguae* for after-noon parts on Mondaies and Wednesdaies.
7. In some of *Sturmius*, or *Textor's Epistles*, on Tuesdaies and Thursdaies after-noon, and *Shirley's Introductorium* after taxes ended.
8. In *Ovid de Tristibus* on Mondaies and Wednesdaies in the after-noon for the first, and in *Ovids Metamorphosis* for the second half Year; They may translate four Verses every night out of *Wiis Common-wealth*, and say lessons on Saturdaies in

the *Assemblies Catechisme*; and by the diligent improvement of these books to their several uses, they may first become perfectly readie in the Latine and Greek Grammar, and the Elements of Rhetorick. 2. They may get Coppy of words and learn to know their derivations and differences, as also how to varie phrases. 3. They may gain the right way of double translating and writing a pure Latine stile. 4. They may be helped in their invention, and easily taught to make all sorts of English and Latine Verses, and to write familiar and elegant Epistles upon all occasions.<sup>6</sup>

For the Latin, the boys still continue to review their grammar, and begin upon their rhetoric. Terence furnishes elegant phrases for oral and written composition. For written composition in prose the boys study Sturm's collection of Cicero's epistles, as well as the *Epistles* of Textor. For poetry, they begin their grounding with Ovid's *De Tristibus* and continue with the *Metamorphoses*. They continue vocabulary work and double translating, paying especial attention to acquiring copy of words through varying. Hoole is following the advice of Erasmus and the practice of the sixteenth century in making epistles the first compositional form in prose. As usual, this follows the first mastery of the Latin grammar, and hence is in the fourth form of Hoole's system, the first of upper school under the master. This position is necessitated by the fact that the boys must first get the elements of rhetoric for "rules," and this they cannot do till grammar is safely out of the way. Hoole parallels the making of prose with the making of verse throughout upper school, as also had come to be the regular practice of the second half of the sixteenth century. His models for grounding the boys in verse are Ovid's *De Tristibus*, followed by the *Metamorphoses*, as was the Eton practice by 1560.

The work of the fifth form Hoole sums up as follows:

1. Let them read constantly twelve verses at least in *the Greek Testament* before parts.
2. Let them repeat the *Latine and Greek Grammars, and Elementa Rhetorices*, on Thursday Mornings.
3. Let them pronounce *Orations* on Mondayes, Tuesdayes, and Wednesdayes, in stead of parts, *out of Livie*, &c.
4. Let their fore-noons Lessons on Mondayes and Wednesdayes be in *Isocrates*, for three quarters of a years space, and for the fourth quarter in *Theognis*.
5. Let their fore-noon Lessons on Tuesdayes and Thursdayes be in *Iustin's History*, and afterwards in *Caesars Commentaries*, *Lucius Florus*, or *Erasmus Colloquies*.

<sup>6</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 164-165.

6. Let their after-noon parts on Mondayes and Tuesdayes be in *Ianuâ linguarum Graecâ*, and
7. Their after-noon Lessons in *Virgil*.
8. Let them on Tuesdayes in the afternoons translate out of *Greek Aesops Fables*, *Aelian's Histories*, *Epictetus*, or *Farnabies Epigrammata*.
9. Let them be employed weekly in making a Theme, and
10. In a Copy of verses.
11. Let them say *Nowels Catechisme*, or the *Palatinate Catechisme* on Saturdayes. By this meanes they will become familiarly acquainted with the Latine and Greek Tongues, and be able to peruse any Orator or Poet in either Language; and to imitate their expressions, and apply what matter they finde in them to their own occasions.<sup>7</sup>

Thus for Latin the fifth form continues its poetry, and in prose studies the oration. In both prose and poetry, the boys imitate both Latin and Greek models. They memorize further rules, and keep repeating all those of the past. For orations, they declaim out of Livy, etc., and study Isocrates in Greek. Elsewhere it is made clear that Aphthonius in Latin and Greek is their guide, and a collection of orations from Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, and Quintus Curtius their subjects for translation, declamation, and imitation. They also study history in this form, using Justin, Caesar, Florus, and curiously enough Erasmus, *Colloquies*. Their poetic model in Latin is Virgil, *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*. Weekly they write themes and verses, and attend to their religion on Saturday mornings.

According to Hoole, the sixth and final form is,

1. To read twelve verses out of the *Greek Testament* every morning before Parts.
2. To repeat *Latine* and *Greek Grammar Parts*, and *Elementa Rhetorices* every Thursday morning.
3. To learn the *Hebrew* Tongue on Mondayes, Tuesdayes, and Wednesdayes, for morning Parts.
4. To read *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Pindar*, and *Lycophron*, for forenoon lessons on Mondayes, and Wednesdayes.
5. *Zenophon*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Aristophanes*, on Tuesdayes, & Thursdayes.
6. *Laubegeois's Breviarium Graecae linguae*, for afternoons Parts on Mondayes, and Wednesdayes.
7. *Horace*, *Iuvenal*, *Persius*, *Lucan*, *Seneca's Tragedies*, *Martial* and *Plautus*, for afternoons lessons on Mondayes, and Wednesdayes.
8. *Lucian's select Dialogues*, and *Pontani Progymnasmata Latinitatis*, on Tuesday afternoons, and

<sup>7</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 188-190.

9. *Tullies Orations*, *Plinies Panegyrics*, *Quintilians Declamations* on Thursday afternoons, and *Goodwins Antiquities* at leisure times.

10. Their exercises for *Oratory*, should be to make *Themes Orations*, and *Declamations*, Latine, Greek, and Hebrew; and for *Poetry*, to make *Verses* upon such *Themes*, as are appointed them every week.

11. And to exercise themselves in *Anagrams*, *Epigrams*, *Epitaphs*, *Epithalamia's*, *Eclogues*, and *Acrosticks*, English, Latine, Greek, and Hebrew.

12. Their *Catechismes* are *Nowell*, and *Birket*, in Greek, and the Church *Catechisme* in Hebrew. So that in six (or at the most seven) yeares time (which children commonly squander away, if they be not continued at the Schoole, after they can read English, and write well) they may easily attain to such knowledge in the Latine, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues as is requisite to furnish them for future studies in the Universities, or to enable them for any ingenuous profession or employment, which their friends shall think fit to put them upon, in other places.<sup>8</sup>

In Latin, the boys continue to write verses of various types, their poetic models being Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Seneca, Martial, and Plautus. For prose, they study orations, with Tully, Pliny, and Quintilian as models. They write themes, orations, and declamations not only in Latin, but also in Greek, and in Hebrew.

Thus Hoole's upper school follows for Latin the regular sequences which had been provided in the sixteenth century. Hoole has emphasized the transition from lower school to upper school, and has differentiated meticulously the upper forms. But all this is, so far as external form is concerned, a mere tidying up of the sixteenth century system. The externals remain much the same, but the spirit is different. Hoole is a formalist, relying upon system and method. Like Brinsley, Hoole is a methodical drill sergeant. The literary spirit of Erasmus or even of Ascham has no meaning to them. They are interested in technical proficiencies, not in literature.

With Hoole the literary spirit is dead. John Clarke insists that it really ought to be buried. In *An Essay Upon The Education Of Youth In Grammar-Schools* (1720), Clarke gives an excellent illustration of an extreme eighteenth century point of view, and in so doing by his condemnation shows us what had been the earlier view and to what extent it had been attained. Clarke wants the practical, and because of his particular idea of the practical all poetic and specifically literary exercises he condemns. The whole poetic half and more of grammar school must be eliminated.

<sup>8</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 202-204.

I had rather be a kitten and cry mew  
 Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers;  
 I had rather hear a brazen canstick turn'd,  
 Or a dry wheel grate on the axle-tree;  
 And that would set my teeth nothing on edge,  
 Nothing so much as mincing poetry (*1 Henry IV*, III, 1, 129-134).

Clarke has accepted certain principles from Locke, whom he frequently quotes—the shade of Sir Francis Bacon hovers in the background—and in accord with those principles is attempting to reform the grammar school. He desires to put out of grammar school about all that Shakspeare had found useful in it.

At the outset, Clarke makes a saving proviso of which we must be well aware, when he asks,

How else were it possible for Boys of good Parts, to spend five or six Years in a *Grammar School*, without attaining so much of the *Latin* Tongue, as to make Sense of half-a-dozen Lines in the easiest of the *Classic Authors*, unless they lye in some of their old Lessons? This, which upon Enquiry will be found to be a very common Case, is, I imagine, sufficient to justify the ill Opinion several People have conceived of that Way of Teaching which is usually follow'd in our Schools.<sup>9</sup>

Even Clarke admits that the boys can read the authors they have been taught.

Then he sets up contemporary objectives, and his criticism of them.

The great, and I think I may say the only End, propounded both by Parents and Masters in the common Method, is the Instruction of Youth in the Languages of *Latin* and *Greek*: This their whole Time is spent in at School; and if a Boy can but shew a moderate Skill in the *Latin*, by a Copy of Verses, and a Theme, and make a Shift to construe an easy *Greek* Author indifferently, the Master thinks he has play'd his Part sufficiently, and the Father is very well satisfied with his Son's Proficiency. But how far short this is of what Boys might be brought to by the Age of Sixteen or Seventeen, will appear, I hope, by the Sequel of this Discourse. For my Part, I cannot but wonder, that when it is evident a great deal of useful Knowledge might be taught them at the same Time they learn the Languages, it should be so little regarded; and the learning of Words made their only Business during the best Part of their Lives.

I shall need no Allowance, I think, for saying that Boys learn nothing but Words, in the usual Method of the Schools; for a few Scraps of the *Greek* and *Roman* History, with as many of the *Heathen Mythology*, no Man of Sense,

<sup>9</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 9-10.

I believe, will look upon as any great Accomplishment. This, without a more perfect Acquaintance with those, as well as other Things, is worse than none at all; and serves only to fill their Heads with a vain Conceit of themselves, and renders them oftentimes Pedantick and impertinent, all the Days of their Lives after.<sup>10</sup>

Being a good eighteenth century "Man of Sense," Clarke wanted the boys to have something more practical than words, language, and scraps of Greek and Roman History and Heathen Mythology. The poetry, we shall find, is not merely a dead loss, but even a vicious evil. The very things Clarke deplores are exactly the things which were "practical" for the poet Shakspeare. Clarke's condemnation is the highest tribute. His brethren the literary critics were as inept as he.

Similarly, Clarke's ideas of the "practical" are good eighteenth century ideas,

It is not therefore bare *Latin* and *Greek* a Boy should spend his whole Time in at School. These must of Necessity go to the making of a Scholar; but then there are other things as necessary, which School-Boys are not only capable of, but may easily be taught, without any Hindrance to their Proficiency in the Tongues: I mean *History* and *Geography*, both Ancient and Modern, with *Chronology*, and the most necessary and useful Things in *Divinity*, &c. These, if a right Method was used with them,<sup>11</sup> might be taught them, to a greater Degree of Perfection than most Men of a Scholastic Education, that apply themselves to Reading, ever attain to. And what a Byass, what an Inclination for Books and Learning, it would give Boys if they were to leave the School so furnished, I need not say.<sup>12</sup>

All the boys need is to be taught these "practical" things by Clarke's method. They would then be so fired that they would go forth breathing out divine platitudes from history, geography, and chronology. I feel quite certain that Shakspeare was lucky in going to grammar school in the sixteenth century when it still had an impractical literary objective. I can quite well understand why some critics in the eighteenth century thought grammar school for Shakspeare was a total loss of time. Men of Clarke's mind had already robbed grammar school of most that had been valuable to Shakspeare.

One of the eight fundamental defects of the contemporary system, says Clarke, was, "V. The making Boys get their Lessons in the

<sup>10</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Of course, Clarke constructed texts on the right method. My copy of his *Introduction* is of the twenty-sixth edition, 1790. This prophet was not without honor in his own century.

<sup>12</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 11-12.

Poets without Book."<sup>13</sup> This must have been one of the most valuable exercises for Shakspeare. Clarke keeps up his assaults upon poetry.

For when Boys are thought fit to be enter'd in the *Classicks*, they commonly begin with the *Poets*; some with *Ovid de Tristibus*, some with his *Metamorphoses*, and some with both; a very great Absurdity certainly: For none sure that knows what *Poetry* means, can make a Doubt of it, whether the Style of *Prose* be not ordinarily more easy than that of the *Poets*.<sup>14</sup>

Emphasizing the poets was the mode in Shakspeare's time, and the reader will find here the explanation of Shakspeare's particular knowledge of these works of Ovid, as demonstrated most concretely by Professor Root.

Clarke's remedy is to study the plain unfigurative style of the historians first.

By so doing, they will learn the genuine and proper Signification of Words, and use them accordingly: They will not be misled by the figurative Use of Words, Phraseology, and Forms of Construction proper only for *Poetry*; nor need they fear to imitate the Language of their Authors: Whereas, in the Reading of the *Poets*, the Case would be quite otherwise; there they could borrow nothing, without rendering their Style very bombastick and ridiculous.<sup>15</sup>

Of course, the old system had used Cicero for prose model, but to Clarke, Cicero would have been about as bad as poetry. Clarke is wholly out of sympathy with the Renaissance ideal of style, and so would completely reshape the curriculum to get more matter and less art. Shakspeare's grammar school had a great deal more art than critics trained under Clarke and his kind could realize. The fault of the old system was exactly its strongest point for the poet Shakspeare and for those who held his concept of style both in poetry and prose—that is, for the Renaissance. But for Clarke and the eighteenth century a different style was desired, and a different scale of values prevailed.

Clarke now makes his direct attack upon mincing poetry.

Another Oversight in the common Method of Teaching, is *Making Boys get their Lessons in the Poets without Book*. If this be proper, why is it not equally so, to take the same Method with them in Prose, and make them commit to Memory every Lesson they read there too?<sup>16</sup>

The answer is that in the sixteenth century the boys did in effect memorize the prose too, but times had changed. Even Brinsley was

<sup>13</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 44-45.

<sup>15</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 47-48.

<sup>16</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), p. 48.



still planning to save the boys from memorizing at least the prose.<sup>17</sup> By Clarke's day they had been saved. Clarke objects that all the boys get in memorizing poetry is the order of words, and that this order is a vicious order, not being that of prose, nor can it, therefore, help the boys to speak and write. He then quotes Locke at length. Now both Locke and Clarke are overlooking the very thing this exercise was calculated to attain, because neither was in sympathy with it. Sixteenth century school-masters had planned by this means to fix the rhythms of poetry in the heads of the boys so that they also might write poetry by those rhythms. But the eighteenth century had no rhythm, only metre; no ears, only fingers. For people like Clarke and Locke, who had no desire for poetry as conceived by the Renaissance in any form, the teaching of poetry by any method was a waste of time, and to memorize the poets in addition was therefore to add insult to injury. From their view of proper objectives, their criticism was wholly right, and it reflects the eighteenth century. But the sixteenth century had aimed to attain other objectives; it planned a Renaissance and attained it. The eighteenth century planned what it considered to be Classicism and attained it.

Clarke can see the point to some composition—shades of Erasmus, to whom composition was supreme!

I will grant, if you please, it may not be amiss to employ Boys now and then, in making little Discourses upon the Passions, Virtues, Vices or any Moral Subject, when their Minds are by the Reading of *Latin* and *Greek* Authors, and the Master's Discourses upon them, when any Points of Morality come in his Way, furnish'd with a pretty competent Knowledge of those Things, and they can express themselves pretty properly and handsomely in the *Latin* Tongue.<sup>18</sup>

But

Of what Use *Versifying* is, I must own, I do not understand: Nay, I cannot but look upon it as dangerous, to give so much Exercise to the Wit and Fancy of Boys, before they have been instructed in, and inured to a close and regular Way of Thinking. But supposing it had no ill Influence upon the Mind; the best you can make of it is but a Diversion, a Degree above Fiddling. For to what useful Purpose can *Verses* serve, where Prose will not do as well, or better? And if it will, Where is the Necessity that Boys should all be made *Poets*, suppose it could be effected? Which yet I doubt will prove an impossible Task: For after all, it is Nature must make them so; Use and Exercise will do but very little in the Case . . . If I might advise therefore,

<sup>17</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 106.

<sup>18</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 63-64.

I would have Boys kept wholly from this Sort of Exercise, etc.<sup>19</sup> . . . The Scribbling of paulty, wretched *Verse*, is no Way for them to improve their Parts in.<sup>20</sup>

I am, I must own, one of those that are very much affected with a good *Copy of Verses*, or a *fine Poem*; and think my self obliged to such as spend a few vacant Hours now and then, for the Diversion of the World that Way. Yet I am for having Things called by their right Names; and therefore cannot bear with it, that what is only an ingenious Diversion, should by Custom, and the great Stress laid upon it, be recommended under the Notion of a very useful, and a very laudable Employment. And I presume the sober and thinking Part of Mankind will not condemn me as guilty of any great Mistake, if I think such a Book as Mr. *Locke's Essay*, or Mr. *Chillingworth's* most rational Defence of the *Protestant Cause*, against the *Church of Rome*, preferable to twenty *Iliads* and *Aeneids* put together.<sup>21</sup>

Clarke then says he would be willing to swap these useless poets for the lost books of Livy, etc. He proceeds with his idea of a curriculum, ending with the advice that the boys should read the *Evening Post* or some other newspaper regularly<sup>22</sup>—how ultra-modern! And how different from the benighted days of Erasmus and of Shakspeare!

The wheel has now come full circle. Perhaps its revolution will have shown the reader how excellently the eighteenth century had been prepared to misunderstand and even to condemn Shakspeare's education in poetry. Of course, we must remember that Clarke was an extremist. Nevertheless, the view which he presents in extreme form is a typical view. The Renaissance type of poetry was "but a Diversion, a Degree above Fidling." Pope *et al* were already experimenting in an attempt to put such subjects as Clarke professed to delight in into metre. I hope he liked them.

<sup>19</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 65–66.

<sup>20</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), p. 68.

<sup>22</sup> Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 122–123.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE KING'S FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT STRATFORD

WE HAVE SEEN in a general way what was the grammar school curriculum in the sixteenth century and beyond, its objectives, and modes of instruction. Our problem now is to find where the grammar school at Stratford would fit into this scheme of things, so that we may form some opinion as to how far William Shakspeare had been subjected to the regular system, and with what effects.

While there is no direct record surviving of Shakspeare's having attended any grammar school, yet the familiarity with school texts and especially with school ways displayed in his undoubted works furnishes unimpeachable evidence that he had done so. As Baynes says of *Love's Labor's Lost*,

One main object of the comedy being to satirise pedantry, to expose the tasteless display of learning, the mere parade of scholastic technicalities, the writer must obviously have had some personal knowledge of the thing paraded in order that the satire may be relevant and effective. So far the evidence here is more vital and direct than that afforded by incidental allusions to the mythology and legendary history of Greece and Rome.<sup>1</sup>

It might be added that this exposé passed muster before a courtly audience at least twice; it must be a competent one. Shakspeare's personal knowledge of such school ways is an evident commonplace, but will incidentally be in part further demonstrated and illustrated in our discussions.

Nor need we pause to argue the question of what grammar school Shakspeare attended. There is no evidence whatever and hardly a possibility that it was any other than that at Stratford, though for our present purpose it would make little difference what school he attended.

The charter of June 28, 1553, shows what type of school "the Kynges Newe Scole of Stratford vpon Avon" was intended to be. The authorities intended to found a "Liberam Scolam Grammaticalem . . . de vno Magistro siue Pedagogo."<sup>2</sup> It was to be a free grammar school with one teacher, who should receive £20 a year<sup>3</sup> and a home. On the face of the document, it was thus intended to provide

<sup>1</sup> Baynes, *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Savage, R. and Fripp, E. I., *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records, 1553-1620*, Vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 19-20.

a school of the lowest possible class. The salary, however, should have attracted a good man who would make the school one of the best of its class; and as a matter of fact this salary was eventually so used as to provide a school of the regular type, with a competent master and usher. For, this salary of twenty pounds was divided from the beginning, because it was necessary out of this sum to "pension" off the old schoolmaster, Sir William Dalam, who had previously received £10 a year, as well as to pay the new master.

Fortunately, we have the full agreement under which William Smart was engaged on December 20, 1554, to become master. The Corporation bound itself on the following January 1 to pay Smart the £20 a year, which was the statutory salary of the master. But then Smart agreed out of this sum in turn to pay his predecessor Sir William Dalam, who was now sixty-seven,<sup>4</sup> £6 13s 4d "for his wages," besides certain sums toward the reparations of the buildings. After Dalam's death, Smart was to pay £4 a year

to be bestowed tawardes y<sup>e</sup> fyndynge of an vsshear in the same gramer scooll or elles vppon the repparacyones of y<sup>e</sup> said tenementes at the dyscresyones of y<sup>e</sup> hy bely aldermen & capytall burgesez of Stratford.<sup>5</sup>

While Smart was to be paid £20 a year, he was to supply an usher and reparations. The provision certainly dipped deep into Smart's wages. Apparently, Dalam was to continue to assist with the teaching, and was eventually to be replaced by an usher. This is hardly the arrangement contemplated in the Charter. But in effect the school is to have in the beginning a master and an usher.

After Dalam was eventually disposed of, the Corporation in its discretion decided for an usher. William Gilbert, *alias* Higges had received this £4 for the year from Michaelmas 1561 to Michaelmas 1562, and had doubtless occupied the position for some time previously.<sup>6</sup> He was succeeded, however, at this time by William Allen, who received £4 "for techyng y<sup>e</sup> chylder" from Michaelmas 1562 to Michaelmas 1563,<sup>7</sup> but only £3 the next year, showing that he had taught only three-fourths of the year. The city fathers then paid Gilbert or Higges x<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> "for viij Wykes wages" on the final quarter, and so saved 9s 4d on the usher that year.

Then by an agreement of April 1, 1565,<sup>8</sup> John Brownsword became

<sup>4</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Warwick*, Vol. II, p. 334.

<sup>5</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. I, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 121, and n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 140.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143. Brownsword came eventually from, and returned to, Macclesfield. Thomas Newton, whom we shall meet in connection with Seneca and school texts, was a pupil

wich. In the bond of his induction at Droitwich 1 May, 1570, he is styled 'of Stratford-upon-Avon, clerk.' Apparently he enjoyed the living of Droitwich while schoolmaster at Stratford.<sup>18</sup>

So when he gave up the school, Roche had not left Stratford. He was on the rent roll of March 10, 1574, had a daughter baptized at Stratford on September 11, 1575, and still had possession of his tenement in 1582. He had also become rector of Clifford Chambers nearby on November 4, 1574, but resigned January 20, 1578.<sup>19</sup> It looks as if Acton had a two-year contract from Michaelmas, 1569, to Michaelmas, 1571, but for some reason dropped out at Christmas, 1569. Then Roche, the rector of Droitwich, already resident in Stratford perhaps, supplied the remainder of the term. So of these first four schoolmasters, two, Smart and Roche, give up the school for preferment in or near Stratford, Brownsword returns to Macclesfield for the remainder of his life, and Acton has not been traced. This record of tenure is decidedly not unfavorable to the abilities of the Stratford masters, nor to the desirability of the master's place at Stratford. The masters rapidly won promotion—too rapidly for the good of the school, no doubt—, two of them remaining in Stratford.

William Shakspeare should have learned from someone, at present unguessable, to read English, and about the age of seven in the course of 1571 have entered the grammar school. He may thus have entered before Roche gave up the school, but he would not likely have been directly under Roche's instruction. For his first three years, 1571–74, and perhaps part or all of the fourth, if not more, he would have been under the usher, learning his grammar. Only around 1574 or a year or so later should he have come under the master to be polished off.

The case of Hunt, who succeeded Roche as master, has been much confused. Since the Stratford records failed to specify his given name, it was at first guessed as George and Thomas. But Mr. J. W. Gray in *Shakespeare's Marriage* (1905) published the license issued by the Bishop of Worcester on October 29, 1571, to Simon Hunt, Bachelor of Arts, to teach in Stratford Grammar School. This license settles the fact that the schoolmaster's name was Simon. Hunt was succeeded eventually, if not directly, by Thomas Jenkins. To make this fact clear, we must notice here some of the customs of Stratford. The statutes had provided that the schoolmaster should have a house rent

<sup>18</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. xxiii.

<sup>19</sup> Stopes, C. C., *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, pp. 243–244.

free, but the usher had no such provision. Details of the arrangement and information as to the chambers occupied by the master and usher come out at Aspinall's death in 1624. His usher, John Trappe, was to succeed to the mastership and to Aspinall's house rent free, but was to pay 6s 8d for the chamber he occupied "by the Schoole."<sup>20</sup> So Trappe was to receive one house rent free as provided by the statutes, but no more. Aspinall was in 1624 living in the old school-house, which he had remodeled about 1590,<sup>21</sup> and Trappe was occupying a chamber "by the Schoole."

For the situation in earlier days we begin with a record of February 7, 1612,

Item, it is graunted and agreed that Richarde Williams shall have the Chambers over our Council Chamber wheare Mr. Aspinall dwelled to holde at will from this daie at the rente of 10s. to be paid quarterly to the Chamberlaines bie even portions.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time,

Item, it is granted and agreed that Mr. Watts shall holde the chamber wheare the armor is after the rente of 10s. to be paid quarterly to the Chamberlaines bie even portions.<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Watts was the newly-procured Assistant Schoolmaster, a position which the council decided to fill on the preceding December 6,<sup>24</sup> and he is referred to as schoolmaster when he became Assistant Minister September 8, 1614.<sup>25</sup> Being over the Council Chamber, both of these chambers of 1612 were "by the Schoole" and can be traced in the period of our interest. For, since Aspinall dwelt in the old school after 1590, the reference in the entry of 1612 is to the period preceding 1590.

To get the significant history of Aspinall's chamber, we begin with the rent roll made up for Lady Day, 1574, and notice that this is one of a group of four chambers associated together in the accounts. There under "Rentes encreased" William Rawbone is listed for a five shilling chamber.<sup>26</sup> He had already been occupying this chamber "in the chapell," paying his five shillings in 1571-72,<sup>27</sup> and 1572-73.<sup>28</sup> Since he is now in the official rent roll, he will not be men-

<sup>20</sup> Halliwell, J. O., *The Stratford Records*, p. 98.

<sup>21</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 80, and illustrations facing pp. 43, 78.

<sup>22</sup> Halliwell, *Stratford Records*, p. 85.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70. Leach considers that Williams was the usher (V. C. H., *Warwick*, Vol. II, p. 337), I suppose because he occupied Aspinall's chamber.

<sup>26</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. 86.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

tioned again separately for this item, unless he fails to pay, or is exonerated from paying. After this rent roll was made up, three other chambers were added to it in a group.

M <sup>r</sup> Jenkins for one Chamber	x <sup>a</sup>
of him for an other Chamber	v <sup>a</sup>
Rob <sup>t</sup> Joyner wyff for a Chamber	v <sup>a29</sup>

Since these entries are attached to the rent roll, they get noticed separately at first. The two chambers to Jenkins appear in the accounts of 1574-75 as

of m <sup>r</sup> Jenkins for the rent of his chamber	ij <sup>a</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
of m <sup>r</sup> hunt repayed for the rent of his chamber	x <sup>a20</sup>

These additions for Jenkins had thus been attached to the rent roll for the year 1574-75. I do not find the item for Robert Coxe's wife this year, nor the next year. In that next year, 1575-76, we have only a ten shilling charge for the schoolmaster's chamber.<sup>31</sup> But for the next year, 1576-77, all three of the chambers were evidently paid for, since the pertinent entry is "Receuid of rentes encreased for [blank] xxx<sup>a</sup>."<sup>32</sup> This is the amount of the first five additional items, including the three chambers, before someone corrected and made a new sum for the total rent roll. The sum of the rent roll proper had appeared as £57 8<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> ob in 1574-75 and 1575-76,<sup>33</sup> and as 3<sup>a</sup> less in 1576-77.<sup>34</sup> The reason for the three shilling deduction is explained in a note to the rent roll as 2<sup>a</sup> to the almspeople and 1<sup>a</sup> to William Smythe. Then in 1577-78 these items of the addenda were corrected and included in the rent roll proper, which was figured as £58 3<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> ob,<sup>35</sup> or £1 more than it had been, and the collecting officers accounted for £58 5<sup>a</sup> 10<sup>d</sup>.<sup>36</sup> Of the additional five items totaling 30<sup>a</sup>, they dropped one of 6<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> with a cross reference to where it would be found. A second item of 3<sup>a</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> to Thomas Patricke was also evidently dropped, thus leaving only a pound to add to the rent roll for the schoolmaster's chamber, his wood room, and Mrs. Coxe's chamber. So the schoolmaster and Mrs. Coxe had evidently paid their rent for these in 1577-78. There is then the entry on the rent roll that the total yearly sum is £58 16<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> ob, which is the approximate sum collected in 1578-79, £58 17<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> ob,<sup>37</sup> but no entries to tell how the

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, pp. 103, 113.

<sup>36</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. 86.

<sup>38</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, pp. 25, 26.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

new sum was arrived at. This remained the amount of the rent roll for 1579-80,<sup>38</sup> 1580-81,<sup>39</sup> 1581-82.<sup>40</sup> Then in 1582-83 the sum becomes £58 16<sup>s</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> ob,<sup>41</sup> which is the exact sum entered on the rent roll itself and may indicate the date of that entry. This continues to be the sum in 1583-84.<sup>42</sup> The total then changes again in 1584-85,<sup>43</sup> but reverts to the immediately preceding sum in 1585-86,<sup>44</sup> as it doubtless should have been the preceding year. Here the form changes for the accounts, and we pursue no further.

Thus the schoolmaster or schoolmasters continued to be charged both for a ten shilling and a five shilling chamber at least through 1577-78, though the five shilling chamber is not entered along with the ten shilling chamber in 1575-76. But now Fortune's wheel took a turn which eventually brought all four of these chambers back into the accounts. The schoolmaster's chamber soon became free and hence appears as an exoneration. In the year after Jenkins departed, Michaelmas, 1579, to Michaelmas, 1580, it appears as, "The seid Chamberlaines praye to bee exonerated for M<sup>r</sup> Jenkins howse x<sup>s</sup>."<sup>45</sup> The successor of Jenkins as master, Cottom, was himself now occupying the chamber, and was rent free. So for the next year the item becomes in the accounts from Michaelmas 1580 to Michaelmas 1581, "The seid Chamberlaine prayeth to be exonerated for M<sup>r</sup> Cottams Chamber x<sup>s</sup>."<sup>46</sup> A similar exoneration is asked for the next year "ffor M<sup>r</sup> Aspinall the Schoolemasters Chamber,"<sup>47</sup> and for the following year "for M<sup>r</sup> scolemasters Chamber."<sup>48</sup> Then by a curious reversion of memory we are again told directly what chamber. In the accounts for Michaelmas 1583 to Michaelmas 1584, the entry becomes "for m<sup>r</sup> ginkins Chamber," but for 1584-85 it becomes again "m<sup>r</sup> aspyynolls chamber w<sup>ch</sup> he now dwelleth in."<sup>49</sup> Still Jenkins is triumphant in our last entry, for 1585-1586, "for m<sup>r</sup> Jenkins Chamber x<sup>s</sup>."<sup>50</sup> By 1575, it had become "m<sup>r</sup> ginkins Chamber," and so late as 1587 his memory still clung; his association with it had been long and strong. Clearly, this is the chamber over the Council Chamber in which Aspinall dwelt before 1590. But with 1586-87 the form of the accounts shifts again, dropping all these details.

The chamber of Mrs. Coxe also reappears in 1579-80, the same year as does the schoolmaster's. It will appear from the records that

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>44</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. IV, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 164.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>50</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. IV, p. 18.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>45</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 84.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.



it was the harness chamber. So in 1579-80 the entry is of five shillings exoneration for "the chamber where the Armourer hangeth";<sup>51</sup> in 1580-81 "the Chamber where the harnesse is";<sup>52</sup> 1581-82 "the Chamber where the armour of the towne lyeth";<sup>53</sup> 1582-83 "the Chamber where the harnesse doth lye";<sup>54</sup> 1583-84 "Robert Joyners wyf Chamber";<sup>55</sup> 1584-85 "one other Chamber, w<sup>h</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Coxe hathe, where the hornes dyd lye";<sup>56</sup> and 1585-86 "Roberte Joyners Chamber."<sup>57</sup> Then on September 30, 1586, "At thys hall ys graunted vnto Roberte Coxe one chamber where yn the harneys nowe hangethe he gyvinge for hys Income a Corselett furnyshed & must pay the yerely Rent of v<sup>s</sup>."<sup>58</sup> Up to this time the chamber had belonged officially to Coxe's wife; now Coxe becomes officially the tenant. Here it appears that Mrs. Robert Coxe had occupied the harness chamber from the time of our rent roll entry, probably of 1576-77, so for ten years, most of that time free, and that for 1586-87 Coxe himself takes over but is told he must pay. Clearly, this is the chamber let to Mr. Watts, the Assistant Schoolmaster in 1612, being there referred to as "the chamber wheare the armor is." But Watts was charged double the rent which had been demanded of Coxe and his wife.

William Rawbone's chamber also reappears in the accounts in 1579-80, when a quarter's rent is to be exonerated.<sup>59</sup> It appears in subsequent entries that Rawbone had the coal house. So in 1580-81, the entry becomes an exoneration of five shillings "ffor the Chamber where the Coales lye,"<sup>60</sup> the same title and amount in 1581-82,<sup>61</sup> 1582-83,<sup>62</sup> but in 1583-84 "william Raven" is exonerated five shillings,<sup>63</sup> in 1584-85 "Rovbans chamber beinge the cole hovse" is exonerated the five shillings,<sup>64</sup> and in 1585-86 "Rabandes Chamber."<sup>65</sup> From these entries alone it might perhaps be argued that Rawbone's chamber became the coal house in 1579-80, and hence its exemption. But the history of Mrs. Coxe's chamber probably indicates that throughout the period Rawbone occupied the coal house and for some reason also became rent free in 1579-80. The location of the coal house appears to be given by a record of March 31, 1698, "The Cole House in the School-yard to be taken into the hands of the

<sup>51</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 84.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>54</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. IV, p. 18.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>59</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. IV, p. 18.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>63</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 171.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Chamber."<sup>66</sup> This was not their first resolution to take the coal house into their hands. Mr. Thomas Wills of Bratforton, schoolmaster, was to be ordered January 8, 1692

To leave the old cole-house that he hath taken in to make a bruehouse between this and May day next, for that this Company doth resolve to make use of it themselves.<sup>67</sup>

But apparently the Company was still awaiting its turn at the brew in 1698.

The Treasure Chest chamber had also a double debt to pay. It is the other five shilling chamber which was charged in the addenda to the rent roll of 1574 to Thomas Jenkins, and which he apparently continued to pay for at least through 1576-77. It reappears as a five shilling exoneration in 1582-83 as "the Chamber where m<sup>r</sup> scole-master leythe his wood,"<sup>68</sup> 1583-84 as "one other chamber,"<sup>69</sup> 1584-85 "one other chamber next to the scole where now the chest dothe stand,"<sup>70</sup> 1585-86 "the Chamber next where the Coles lye."<sup>71</sup> This chamber was next to the coal house, "next to the scole," so in the school yard also. I suppose the reference here is to the old school. It looks rather a queer place though for the treasure chest. But so did the coal house look a queer place for the queerly named Rawbone to dwell.

Thus the schoolmaster had a ten shilling chamber for himself and a five shilling chamber for his wood, whereas Rawbone and Coxe had only a five shilling chamber each. Since the total rent sum shifted for 1578-79 and then remained practically constant throughout our period, it was apparently in 1578-79 that this group of chambers became free, checking with our previous items indicating that they had been paid for through 1577-78. We have direct statement of exoneration for the schoolmaster in 1579-80 following, for Rawbone a quarter of 1579-80 and following, for Mrs. Coxe 1579-80 following. The year 1578-79 is thus left in the penumbra, probably through failure of the accounting officers to claim this exoneration specifically. Since it was a plague year, routines were much disturbed.<sup>72</sup>

Now we turn to see what these rent items show us of our school-

<sup>66</sup> Halliwell, *Stratford Records*, p. 84.

<sup>67</sup> Halliwell, *Stratford Records*, p. 100.

<sup>68</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 138.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>71</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. IV, p. 18.

<sup>72</sup> It might be possible by auditing the accounts to settle the matter, but one should have the originals, as they ought also to be checked on the details of our other inferences.

masters. As we have seen, we have for the year ending Michaelmas 1575, the entry under receipts

of m<sup>r</sup> Jenkins for the rent of his chamber  
of m<sup>r</sup> hunt repayed for the rent of his chamber

ij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>  
x<sup>s</sup> 7<sup>s</sup>

Jenkins is here charged only half a year's rent on the wood chamber, hence from Lady Day 1575.<sup>74</sup> Also, Hunt "repayed" from his salary of £20 the ten shilling rent on the schoolmaster's chamber. But the rent roll shows that actually Jenkins occupied the schoolmaster's chamber, at least part of the year, as does the record for the wood chamber from Lady Day 1575. So Jenkins evidently began work about Lady Day 1575 as usher to, or successor as master, of Hunt. Now in the accounts for this same year from Michaelmas 1574 to Michaelmas 1575 is the entry "pd to the seriauntes for a schole master that came from warwicke iij<sup>s</sup>." <sup>75</sup> Savage and Fripp would appear to be certainly correct in their note to the passage, "Probably Thomas Jenkins."

The schoolmaster should have had a dwelling rent free, and there is no record that Hunt and his predecessors had been charged. Our rent records ought to mean that Jenkins was the usher under Hunt and continued so as long as he paid rent, apparently through 1577-78 certainly, after which he became rent free. Now in the accounts for the second half of 1577-78, "M<sup>r</sup> Jenkis scole Master" appears, though in those for the first half the master had not been named.<sup>76</sup> That Jenkins had been resident in the first half of this year also is shown by the fact that he had a son baptized on January 19, 1578.<sup>77</sup> So Jenkins had become schoolmaster by Lady Day 1578 and should thenceforth have been rent free. Yet we have seen that his rent was still accounted for in 1577-78. Also, this whole group of school chambers became free about the same time, not that of the schoolmaster alone. It would seem, therefore, that even during at least part of his tenancy as master Jenkins had been obliged to pay rent, though the

<sup>73</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. 103.

<sup>74</sup> The rent was payable semiannually, at Lady Day and Michaelmas. See for instance Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 26. Since Tanner accounted for Lady Day rents on July 2, the rents of the other half-year for which Tanner and Taylor account the following January are those for the Michaelmas after that July 2.

<sup>75</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. 104. During this period, "the Earle [of Warwick] had the nominating and apboyntinge of them bothe" [vicar and schoolmaster] (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 110; cf. p. 115). So Brownsword had also come from Warwick. It will be noticed that Jenkins is known to have had connection with Woodstock.

<sup>76</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. 115; Vol. III, pp. 13, 27, 28.

<sup>77</sup> Stopes, *Contemporaries*, p. 245; Savage, R., *The Registers of Stratford-on-Avon*, p. 26.

master was according to the foundation rent free. He may, therefore, have succeeded Hunt as master at Lady Day, 1575, under some condition which obliged him to pay rent. These records do not seem to determine, then, whether Jenkins was usher or master from Lady Day 1575 to Lady Day 1578, after which he seems certainly to have been master.

We turn, therefore, to an examination of the records for his predecessor, Hunt, to see if they shed further light. Our rent items could be interpreted to mean that Hunt continued as master and Jenkins as usher at least through 1575-76, and probably through 1576-77. Other items also connect Hunt through Michaelmas 1574. The salary for Hunt's first year, Michaelmas, 1571, to Michaelmas, 1572, is simply entered to the schoolmaster, without name.<sup>78</sup> The next year, however, Michaelmas, 1572, to Michaelmas, 1573, Hunt is named as receiving the pay.<sup>79</sup> But in the same year is the intriguing entry, "Item Rec. of m<sup>r</sup> hunt towards the repayringe of the schole wyndowes vij<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>."<sup>80</sup> Leach suggests that Hunt had been "barred out forcibly." We at once get visions of our hoodlum-hero, little Willy Shakspeare (some eight years old), in a bombardment of shattered glass, leading his "red-blooded" comrades to victory over a cringing pedant. But a glance at the background tends to remove all romantic glamor from this entry. For the city fathers were putting the whole group of buildings into repair. At the same time Hunt paid 7<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> for the school windows they paid 10<sup>s</sup> for the chapel windows. Who broke those? Besides, they themselves paid 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> for nails for the school house, 2<sup>s</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> "for nayles about the scoole floure," and 20<sup>d</sup> for "three theeles for the schole howse,"<sup>81</sup> as well as a great deal more about the Hall and Chapel. Evidently the city fathers were in 1572-73 merely giving their buildings the periodical repairs. We remember that Smart, the first master, had been responsible for all repairs to the old school. These repairs of 1572-73 were probably on a fifty-fifty basis, Hunt caring for the windows and the city fathers for the remainder of the expense for the school building. I see nothing at all about this incident to indicate that Hunt was out of favor, but quite the opposite.

Hunt is still recorded as receiving the pay the next year, Michaelmas 1573 to Michaelmas, 1574.<sup>82</sup> The name of the schoolmaster does

<sup>78</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. 68.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

not appear in the accounts for 1574-75,<sup>83</sup> but, as we have seen, both Hunt and Jenkins figure in rent items. The name of the schoolmaster is not given in the accounts for 1575-76, nor in those for 1576-77, but in those for the second half of 1577-78, "Mr Jenkis scole Master" appears, though in those for the first half the master had not been named.<sup>84</sup> Thus by Lady Day, 1578, Jenkins had become master, with no indication as to an usher. So Hunt had dropped out certainly by Lady Day, 1578.

It appears, indeed, that Hunt had dropped out before Midsummer, 1575, eventually to become a Jesuit, since one Simon Hunt had by that time begun his progress to that order.<sup>85</sup> It will be noticed that this fact dovetails exactly with our other facts, especially that Jenkins came at Lady Day, 1575. Nor have we found so far any other Simon Hunt who could have become the Jesuit. Mrs. Stopes, indeed, inadvertently manufactures another Simon Hunt, it appears. She says that one "of this name," which should be Simon Hunt, "was made Bachelor of Arts, Oxford, 1566; Master of Arts, 1569-70."<sup>86</sup> The source of this information is not indicated, and we at once notice that these are the actual facts for Jenkins, for whom she gives no university record. Also, so far as I can determine, she used only the printed sources for university records, and no such record for a Simon Hunt appears to be forthcoming from any of these. I take it that with her accustomed illstarred inaccuracy, she managed to get this note attached to Hunt on one page, instead of to Jenkins on the opposite page. The Stratford Simon Hunt is clearly the man who supplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Arts on March 30, 1568, was admitted on April 5, and determined in 1569.<sup>87</sup> As Mr. Pollen says, the license to the Stratford schoolmaster on October 29, 1571, is "an almost unquestionable proof of Protestantism" at that time.<sup>88</sup> Apparently Hunt was converted before Lady Day, 1575, and by Midsummer was abroad to become a priest.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 115; Vol. III, pp. 13, 27, 28.

<sup>85</sup> Pollen, J. H., *A Shakespeare Discovery* (reprint), p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Stopes, *Contemporaries*, p. 244, note.

<sup>87</sup> Boase, Vol. I, p. 269.

<sup>88</sup> Pollen, *Shakespeare Discovery*, p. 9.

<sup>89</sup> Mr. Gray notes that "Simon Hunt of Stratford-upon-Avon, probably the schoolmaster above mentioned, died in or before the year 1598, and administration of his estate was granted on May 3<sup>rd</sup> of that year to Thomas Harward of Hewell in the parish of Tardebigg, gentleman. Hunt does not appear to have been a householder at the time of his death, as the items in the inventory of his estate consist of two sums of twenty pounds in the hands of Henry Morgan and one of sixty pounds in the hands of William Harwood." (Gray, J. W., *Shakespeare's Marriage*, pp. 108-109). The Jesuit had died long before, on June 11, 1585 (Pollen, *Shakespeare Discovery*, p. 12).

It appears to be reasonably certain, therefore, that Simon Hunt was the schoolmaster at Stratford to about Lady Day, 1575, having begun about Michaelmas, 1571. Jenkins appears to have succeeded Hunt at Lady Day, 1575, as master, and remained till Midsummer, 1579. Thus these two masters span most of the period when Shakspeare should have been in grammar school. If there was an usher, Shakspeare would have been under that worthy during most if not all of Hunt's regime. At our last information in the 'sixties, Sir William Gilbert or Higges was apparently still supplying the place of usher, though William Allen also functioned for a year and three quarters. Gilbert eventually became Curate, remaining in Stratford to the end of his days in 1612.<sup>90</sup> He may have been usher even in the time of Shakspeare,<sup>91</sup> or some unknown person or persons may have supplied the place. So William Shakspeare doubtless began his grammar at some time in 1571, probably about Easter, under Gilbert, or some as yet unidentified person. He should have been under the usher until 1574, or even a year or two beyond, and then have been under the master till he completed grammar school. We cannot be certain, therefore, that Shakspeare was ever directly under Simon Hunt, though the single schoolroom for master and usher would guarantee that Shakspeare knew Hunt very well indeed.

Shakspeare should have been entering the master's domain just about the time Jenkins came or a few months before, and he should have completed grammar school work while Jenkins was still master or shortly after. It is reasonably certain that Jenkins was responsible for most of Shakspeare's "small Latine, and lesse Greeke." Jenkins was of St. John's College, Oxford.<sup>92</sup>

He first appears in the College Register signing last of ten senior Fellows, *i.e.*, Fellows in the modern sense, as opposed to junior Fellows or Scholars, on July 7, 1566, he having taken his B. A. degree on April 6 that year. He took his M. A. degree, April 8, 1570. He last appears on the College books, July 10, 1572, when he was third senior Fellow, at the resignation of President Robinson. On June 4 previous he had been granted a lease of "Chawser's Howse" at Woodstock, with licence to underlet it. As Woodstock records no trace of him, he probably was given the lease merely as a piece of emolument by underletting.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Fripp, *Quyny*, p. 60.

<sup>91</sup> Mrs. Stopes blunders a few inferences and miscopied records together to make Higges schoolmaster along with Jenkins in 1578 (Stopes, *Contemporaries*, p. 245). One fears her statement that Cotton was assistant to Jenkins rests on no better foundation than her own pure assumption.

<sup>92</sup> See Stevenson and Salter, *St. John's College Oxford*, pp. 333-334.

<sup>93</sup> Leach, A. F., "Shakespeare's School," *The Journal of Education* (London, 1908), N. S.

We will be well advised here to remember the advanced nature of White's provisions for St. John's, with their emphasis upon Greek.<sup>94</sup> If his provisions were properly carried out, Jenkins could hardly have found a better place to acquire the "small Latine, and lesse Greeke" which he was to impart to William Shakspeare—and probably to Richard Field.

Sir Thomas White, founder of St. John's, had written the President and Fellows December 12, 1566, requesting leave of absence for Jenkins for two years "that he may give himself to teach children." He adds the information that Jenkins is the son of an old servant of his in London.<sup>95</sup> Jenkins is thus already a man of some prestige and influence when he appears in Stratford at Lady Day, 1575. So early as 1566 he had intended to teach children, and at Stratford he eventually became master.

In aiding Jenkins at St. John's, Sir Thomas White was already acting upon the policy which he expressed in the statute for St. John's of February 1567, "the sons of his beloved servants, viz., John Wall, Richard Evans, and Thomas Hawes, and also the sons of all his apprentices shall have nominations."<sup>96</sup> The imp of speculation suggests that Sir Hugh Evans, of Shakspearean fame, was the son of Richard Evans, fellow servant of Jenkins Sr., who was father of Thomas Jenkins, Shakspeare's schoolmaster, and that through Thomas Jenkins Shakspeare became acquainted with him—let us suppose as usher under Jenkins at Stratford. While there were several persons by the name of Hugh Evans at Oxford, no one of them was at St. John's, and no one of them was of the proper age and qualifications to be inserted as a teacher of Shakspeare. So we must leave this speculation for the novelists.

It is at least possible also, if not probable even, that Jenkins had completed his grammar work at Merchant Taylors' under Mulcaster. For White had been active in founding the school in 1561, and he had later provided several scholarships at St. John's for boys from Merchant Taylors'. If they had not enough to supply the vacancies, then the boys from Christ's came next, and finally boys from any London

Vol. XXX, p. 211. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Shakespeare Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library to Commemorate the Death of Shakespeare April 23, 1616*, p. 87 and note. For perspective on "Chawser's House," see Stevenson and Salter, *St. John's College Oxford*, p. 179.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. above, pp. 106 ff.

<sup>95</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. xl; Stevenson and Salter, *St. John's College Oxford*, p. 426.

<sup>96</sup> Clode, C. M., *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, Vol. II, p. 359.

school.<sup>97</sup> Since Jenkins would not have been eligible at Christ's, one suspects that he had completed his work at Merchant Taylors', and thence had been sent by White to his college of St. John's at Oxford. But inasmuch as we have only a few accidental fragments of the early lists at Merchant Taylors', there is no certain evidence. Yet being from London and under the patronage of White, Jenkins would have been well trained in some good school. So we may feel certain that Master Jenkins would have known what a first-rate grammar school was like. Shakspeare should have been quite safe under his direction. It would be interesting to be certain that Jenkins was under Mulcaster in the school of Spenser, Kyd, and Lodge, just as it is interesting to know that he was in the college of Campion and William Hartley, being, no doubt, personally associated with both. In the meantime, what we already know indicates that the Stratford fathers were well advised in keeping Jenkins so long, and we are illadvised in identifying him too literally with Sir Hugh Evans, who was only a bachelor instead of a master, and decidedly different in many other respects.

So Shakspeare doubtless had "m<sup>r</sup> ginkins" as well impressed upon his mind as did the accounting officer of 1585, or of 1587, who still remembered that worthy. It probably required no great exercise of the imagination on the part of William Shakspeare after 1588 to picture a Welsh schoolmaster drilling a beginner upon his grammar. What we do not know is whether Shakspeare drew an accurate portrait of Jenkins and named it Sir Hugh Evans, or whether he had only the merest hints from that worthy. As for me, I like Sir Hugh—perhaps because I owe my own basic training to more than one teacher far less well equipped than he. I find Shakspeare's picture as highly amusing as some of my own memories, and equally without malice. I suppose too that we must here as in Shakspeare's other comic characters allow for the same humorous exaggeration. If so, Jenkins need not have had the exaggerated Welsh accent which was necessary for the stage Welshman Sir Hugh Evans. Under the conditions of the time, neither London nor Oxford is likely to have eradicated completely any Welsh accent that Jenkins may have been heir to. Palsgrave complained in 1540 of this very defect in the educational system. He claims that some schoolmasters can speak very good Latin, and write good epistles and verses, but because they came originally from sec-

---

<sup>97</sup> Clode, *Merchant Taylors'*, Vol. II, pp. 184, 358.



tions of the country where the English was poor, they have wretched English and cannot give proper equivalents for the Latin. He has known many who after their university work when they came to teach or preach found it necessary to read English authors in order to learn English. If we remember that after the first year or two of grammar school, all speaking and writing was in the Latin, on pain of fine or corporal punishment, Palsgrave's statement is eminently reasonable. Pertinent here is the report of the visitors at Merchant Taylors', possibly the school of Jenkins, on August 16, 1562,

that the ushers had this only fault, that, being northern men born, they had not taught the children to speak distinctly, or to pronounce their words so well as they ought, but that some of the boys had made a proficiency equal to the attainments of the scholars of any school in the realm.<sup>98</sup>

Did Edmund Spenser get some of his dialectical ideas from these ushers? The educational system would not necessarily have done much to change whatever form of vernacular Jenkins was born to.<sup>99</sup> It stands to reason that some of the traits of the Welsh Jenkins get reflected in Sir Hugh Evans. But I think we shall need to know Jenkins better before we can say exactly what ones.

All considered, Jenkins appears to have been well esteemed. He had a longer stay than was usual in Stratford at this period; but this fact might count against him, since it might mean that he had to wait longer than usual for promotion. Yet, even when he left he had longer claims, enabling him to sell his place to his successor. Some years later his memory was still green with Stratford officials. It was Master Jenkins who should probably have put the finishing touches upon William Shakspeare's grammar school education. It is probable that to Jenkins Shakspeare owed no little of his small Latin and less Greek.

As has been said, Jenkins evidently proved quite satisfactory to someone in authority, for he remained till 1579 and parted under circumstances which show that he had claims to further tenure. For on July 9, 1579, Jenkins acknowledged receipt of £6 from the corporation, which his successor, John Cottom "late of London" was to pay him "in consideration of my departure from the schole of Stretford vppon Avon."<sup>100</sup> One Londoner has passed his position to

<sup>98</sup> Wilson, *Merchant Taylors'*, p. 25.

<sup>99</sup> The choice appears to be between an Oxford accent and a Welsh one—or perhaps a bit of both, with some cockney thrown in for good measure.

<sup>100</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 33.

another. This is an important early contact with the city for William Shakspeare. One wonders if Master Jenkins sang the praises of that city to him. John Cottom of Brasenose, Oxford, had taken his B.A. at Oxford June 19, 1566, the same year as Jenkins.<sup>101</sup> So they were not only Londoners but from the same university, though not the same college. Jenkins evidently had a considerable further lease on his position, since Cottom paid him £6 for it. Clearly Jenkins had proved quite satisfactory to the authorities, whatever may be true of the "young youth" of Stratford. His connection had begun in some way at least four years before, and he probably had another two-year contract, which Cottom took over. The accounts show that Jenkins was paid till Midsummer, 1579; Cottom till Christmas, less the £6 advanced in July.<sup>102</sup> Cottom had been licensed September 28, 1579.<sup>103</sup> Cottom then received only three quarters of a year's wages, till Michaelmas, 1580.<sup>104</sup> Cottom remained till some time in the year from Michaelmas, 1581, to Michaelmas, 1582, since at the latter date the year's salary is entered to him and his successor Alexander Aspinall, without specification of the division between them.<sup>105</sup> But since there was a license to some unnamed Stratford teacher on January 31, 1582,<sup>106</sup> it was pretty clearly for Aspinall at this transfer. Aspinall, a Lancashire man, was twenty when admitted to Brasenose about 1566, the year Cottom took his bachelor's there.<sup>107</sup> Aspinall received his B.A. from Brasenose February 25, 1575; M.A. June 12, 1578. Aspinall was seemingly about thirty-six in 1582, and remained schoolmaster at Stratford till his death in 1624, when he was apparently about seventy-six.

We should perhaps pause to notice a curious phase of the Jenkins-Cottom transfer. As has been said, Cottom had on July 9 agreed to pay Jenkins £6 for the place, a sum which the city fathers advanced. Consequently, at Christmas, Cottom received only £4 of the half year's pay of £10, which is clear enough. So the city fathers had ordered that Cottom give them a receipt for £10, and the receipt survives, to close this transaction.<sup>108</sup> But in addition they ordered that he should give them bills of debt that the next year he would

<sup>101</sup> *Brasenose College Register 1509-1909*, Vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>102</sup> *Savage and Fripp*, Vol. III, pp. 39, 48 n. 7.

<sup>103</sup> *Journal of Education* (London, 1908), N. S. Vol. XXX, p. 211.

<sup>104</sup> *Savage and Fripp*, Vol. III, p. 79. <sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>106</sup> *Gray, Shakespeare's Marriage*, p. 108.

<sup>107</sup> *Brasenose College Register 1509-1909*, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.

<sup>108</sup> *Savage and Fripp*, Vol. III, pp. 38-39.

repay them £4 by equal portions at the four quarter days. No statement is made as to the reason for this stipulation. But one remembers the early provision that Dalam's £4 out of the annual £20 should be used either for an usher or for repairs, and that it had been used wherever traceable for an usher. It may be that this is the £4 which is here involved, though no direct statement is made.

It may be noticed also that the exchange between Cottom and Jenkins involved repairs at both the schoolmaster's chamber and the schoolhouse.

Payd to Richard smith for making a key for the scole Maisters chamber  
Dore iiij<sup>d</sup> 109

Payd to Peeter starky for working about the stayres & the portall at the  
scole Maisters dore x<sup>d</sup> 110

Payd to John balden for working in the scole Maisters chamber viiij<sup>d</sup> 111  
[Richard Smith] P<sup>d</sup> him for making a key<sup>112</sup> to the schole howse dore &  
mendinge the locke vj<sup>d</sup> 113

Cottom could now lock both school and chamber, and the chamber had been put into repair for his tenancy, all at the expense of 2<sup>s</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>. The last previous renovations recorded had been under Hunt in 1572-73.

It is now clear that Brasenose and Lancashire connections were in some way partly responsible for Aspinall's succeeding Cottom. For Cottom was also of Brasenose and Lancashire. It has been suggested<sup>114</sup> that John Cottom is the elder brother of the priest Thomas Cottam, who was born in 1549, had taken his B.A. at Brasenose in 1569, his M.A. in 1572. Thomas by May, 1575<sup>115</sup> had gone abroad to become a Roman Catholic priest, and was finally executed with Campion's group. In view of the Brasenose records for the two, this identification becomes certain. Further, the brevity of John Cottom's career at Stratford is now easily explained. For Thomas Cottam, the priest, was captured in June 1580, but was not arraigned till November 14, 1581, along with Campion. The trials of Campion and these companions were notorious; and equally notorious was the execution of Thomas Cottam, on May 30, 1582. Since John Cottom was a brother of Thomas Cottam, the city fathers of Strat-

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>112</sup> "A Key for the Scholchowse" had cost 4<sup>d</sup> in 1567-68 (Savage and Fripp, Vol. II, p. 22).

<sup>113</sup> Savage and Fripp, Vol. III, p. 49.

<sup>114</sup> Fripp, E. I., *Shakespeare's Haunts*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>115</sup> Foley, H., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. II, p. 172.

ford had very good reason for dismissing him shortly before January 31, 1582.

It should be remembered in this connection that in 1580 strict orders with heavy penalties had been provided on the matter of suspected recusant schoolmasters.<sup>116</sup> But there were even more definite reasons for such action on the part of Stratford officials. As Fripp has pointed out, Thomas Cottam, the younger brother of John, was a close friend of Robert Debdale, who on June 4, 1580, commended Cottam to his parents at Shottery, and was sending by him certain tokens, etc. Though Cottam and the note were captured, he had intended to visit the Stratford neighborhood. His projected visit was hardly motivated primarily by the desire to deliver Debdale's tokens; there must have been some other reason. Since John Cottom, then schoolmaster at Stratford, was the elder brother of Thomas Cottam, we see one of the prime motivations for the visit. One suspects that the Cottom family had some connection with Stratford which had placed John as schoolmaster, and was now also attracting Thomas as missionary priest. Since Walter Roche was a Lancashire man and still connected with Stratford, he may also have had something to do with bringing John Cottom to Stratford. Because of Thomas Cottam's intended mission at Stratford, alluded to in Debdale's letter, his elder brother John would certainly have fallen under suspicion of voluntary or involuntary complicity.

It will be remembered that at the time of his coming to Stratford in 1579, John Cottom was said to be "late of London." We apparently get some information concerning him in London, in connection with the trial of his brother. Thomas claimed that the examiners at the rack forced him to tell them what penance his confessor had imposed upon him for his sins, and then attempted to force him to tell what the sins themselves had been, which he refused to do.<sup>117</sup> The purpose behind these questions comes out at the execution of Thomas on May 13, 1582.

Whilst these things were going on, a certain Protestant minister present exhorted Father Cottam to confess a certain sin committed in the fish or meat market some four years ago. "What do you mean?" said the martyr. Mr. Martin Field (before mentioned) replied that the minister wished him to confess some grievous sin he had committed in the market long ago. "O good Jesus," replied the martyr, "may your name be ever blessed! Do you

<sup>116</sup> Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 524-526.

<sup>117</sup> Allen, William, *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 22-23.

dare to charge me with this crime?" "We do not charge you with it," said the minister, "we only wish you to free yourself from all suspicion of it, if any such crime was ever committed." The Father replied, "Hear me, I pray you; how can you accuse me of committing a crime four years ago, not having for these seven years past been in London? And if I should have committed such an offence, who has put it into your minds to charge me with it in such a place and at such a time as this?" Then both of the ministers affirmed that it was not Father Cottam, but a brother of his who had committed the offence in question.<sup>118</sup>

Apparently, the authorities had tried to connect Thomas Cottam with the alleged sin or crime of about 1578. When Cottam publicly accused the authorities of trying to invade his conscience by making him confess his sins, the authorities took care at his execution to make it clear that this alleged crime had nothing to do with the sentence against him; he was being executed for treason, not for anything else.

But who was the brother who had committed this crime, if any had been committed, in London about 1578? We remember that John Cottom, the elder brother of Thomas, was in 1579 "late of London." It looks as if John is the person involved. Further, a fellow priest and prisoner of Thomas, Arthur Pitts, says the former "was well known and beloved in the city, having been before a school-master there."<sup>119</sup> Now this statement does not fit Thomas very well, who was out of England by May, 1575, at least seven years before, as he himself says, and who has only a little more than two years at most between his final degree and leaving England in which to do this teaching. One suspects again that John Cottom is the London teacher. If so, it ought to be possible to learn more of his career before he came to Stratford in 1579. Incidentally, the degrees at Brasenose indicate that John was perhaps about three years older than Thomas. If so, he was born about 1546, and was about thirty-three on coming to Stratford.

It now becomes possible to trace the future of John Cottom in some fullness. For, Thomas and John Cottom were the sons of Lawrence Cottam of Dilworth and Tarnaker, gent., [son of William Cottom of Dilworth,] and his wife Ann, daughter of Mr. Brewer, or Brewerth, of Brindle, co. Lancaster, who after her husband's death married William Ambrose, of Ambrose Hall, in Woodplumpton, gent.

This ancient family had been seated at Dilworth for many generations,

<sup>118</sup> Foley, *Records*, Vol. II, p. 172.

<sup>119</sup> Pollen, J. H., *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 281.

and returned a pedigree at St. George's Visitation of Lancashire in 1613.<sup>120</sup> The martyr's brother, John Cottam, succeeded to the estates, and resided at Tarnaker.<sup>121</sup> Both he and his wife Catherine, daughter of Mr. Dove, of Birtwood, in Essex, frequently appear in the Recusant Rolls with their only child, Priscilla. . . . Though other members of the family appear in the Recusant Rolls, Fr. Cottam's parents were Protestants, and, being people of substance, could well afford to give their son a liberal education.<sup>122</sup>

About John Cottom considerable could and should be learned.

At first sight, one wonders how the brother of one who had already entered the Jesuit novitiate, as had Thomas by the time John went to Stratford, could have been approved by the Earl of Warwick, whose brother, the Earl of Leicester, was already perhaps the most bitter enemy the Roman Catholics had in England. One whose religious opinions were tinged with Roman Catholicism might perhaps manage to pass the Bishop of Worcester, but one whose known political affiliations were Roman Catholic would certainly receive close scrutiny from Warwick and Leicester. And they would almost as certainly know. We ought not, therefore, lightly to condemn their knowledge and judgment by sending a man of Roman Catholic affiliations as schoolmaster to Stratford except on very strong evidence. There were too many hungry and deserving Protestants to be cared for. But in this case Roman Catholic historians tell us that the parents of John and Thomas were Protestants, and John must have passed as Protestant before the Bishop of Worcester. His Roman Catholicism came later.

It must be remembered, too, that the distinction we are here making between protestant and catholic is almost entirely political, and hardly at all religious. There were extremists on both sides, but many very religious people would have felt themselves almost equally at peace under either regime so far as essential religion was concerned. To say that one was politically satisfactory to the English government does not mean at all that the same person had no sympathy for nor connections with Roman Catholics, no more than that he had no sympathy for nor connections with Puritans. Both extreme Roman Catholics and extreme Puritans were non-conform-

<sup>120</sup> Raines, F. R., *The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster, made in the Year 1613* (Chetham Society, Vol. LXXXII), p. 100. See also *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, Vol. VI, p. 153n.

<sup>121</sup> John Cottom's will, made in 1616, appears to survive (Earwaker, J. P., "An Index to the Wills and Inventories now preserved in The Court of Probate, at Chester, From A.D. 1545 to 1620," *Record Society* (Lancashire and Cheshire), Vol. II, p. 45).

<sup>122</sup> Gillow, J., *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, Vol. I, pp. 574-576.

ists and so unsatisfactory to the government religiously. Some within each group were so extreme as to be dangerous politically. It is not likely that any of these Stratford masters was at the time a known or suspected extremist. They must all have been, at least outwardly, conformists; but there is a great deal to show that where there was choice between Puritan and Catholic (not Roman-Catholic specifically), their sympathies were Catholic rather than Puritan. This attitude was clearly that of Shakspeare himself as pretty clearly it was of the majority of contemporary Englishmen.

Now these schoolmasters form a significant background for certain known facts connected with Shakspeare. Thomas Jenkins is quite important. It will be remembered that he was the son of a servant of Sir Thomas White's in London, and was patronized by Sir Thomas in his college of St. John's at Oxford. The sympathies of Sir Thomas were strongly catholic, but he had conformed, as did most patriotic Englishmen. Similarly, his college of St. John's had furnished some who strongly preferred the Roman Catholic faith, but wished nevertheless to reconcile it with political loyalty. Among these was Edmund Campion, who did not finally withdraw from St. John's till 1569. So Thomas Jenkins, who took his bachelor's in 1566, had necessarily been rather closely associated with Campion. Now, one can see why Shakspeare may have been very deeply interested in the fate of William Hartley in 1588.<sup>123</sup> He was another St. John's man, a college mate of Jenkins, apparently Shakspeare's principal teacher. Since Hartley's college connection was known and turned against him as a further sign of perversity, Shakspeare could hardly have avoided making the connection; and it is, of course, quite possible under the circumstances that Shakspeare had even closer connections with Hartley. I think we now have, at least, clear indication of how Shakspeare's attention was attracted to him. Under the circumstances, Shakspeare could not have helped being interested in him, and the picture he has drawn in *The Comedy of Errors* makes it clear that in Hartley Shakspeare found much to admire.

We may feel reasonably certain that Shakspeare had the greater part of his advanced training with Jenkins. It is, of course, quite possible that he was under Cottom also and even under Aspinall for a few weeks; at any rate, he is certain to have known both, and Cottom's brother was executed under notorious circumstances, of which Shakspeare would certainly have known something. We need, therefore, to consider about what time Shakspeare would probably have

<sup>123</sup> Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakspeare Adapts a Hanging*.

left school. Here we must remember first the general custom. As we have seen, the theorists said the boy ought to be ready to enter university at fifteen.<sup>124</sup>

Fifteen may therefore be regarded as the normal age at which a student was deemed fit to enter upon an academical career in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On the other hand, statistics are available, from various sources, to show that many boys of tender years were incorporated both at home and foreign universities. Thus at Oxford, between 1567 and 1579, 1 student was admitted at eight years of age, 2 at nine, 11 at ten, 9 at eleven, 40 at twelve, 56 at thirteen, and 115 at fourteen.<sup>125</sup>

For the same period, 135 were admitted at fifteen, 193 at sixteen, 247 at seventeen, 306 at eighteen, 198 at nineteen, 144 at twenty, and 39 at twenty-one. While, therefore, the boy was supposed to be able to enter at fifteen, and a considerable number did enter even at fourteen, yet seventeen or eighteen is more likely to be the age of official matriculation. Founders frequently set eighteen as the maximum age for continuance in grammar school, hence the high incidence of entrance to university from fifteen to eighteen, and the rapid decline thereafter. William Shakspeare, therefore, was married exactly at the age when he was most likely to have been matriculating in university, had he continued his education. This could mean that he had recently completed grammar school and had then decided, or been caused to decide, for matrimony and schoolmastering in the country against matriculation at Oxford. The matrimony is certain, the schoolmastering vouched for on competent authority, the remainder a normal expectation for those who went to university, as Shakspeare did not.

We must bear in mind, however, that Shakspeare may have remained in school at Stratford till he was eighteen. I do not know any direct evidence for the age of completion at Stratford in Shakspeare's day. But Mr. Fripp points out that three Stratford boys matriculated at Oxford on May 6, 1597 at the ages of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen.<sup>126</sup> He also points out that Henry Sturley, who became Aspinall's usher for a time, matriculated at Oxford from Exeter College in January, 1595, when he was in his eighteenth year.<sup>127</sup> So Stratford boys shortly after Shakspeare's day show the normal age spread for entering college. This indicates that they might at that time

<sup>124</sup> Above, pp. 441 ff.

<sup>125</sup> Anderson, J. M., *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews* (Pub. of Scottish Hist. Soc., 3rd series, Vol. VIII), p. xxiv, referring to *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. by Andrew Clark, 1887, vol. II, pt. ii. p. 421.

<sup>126</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 492.

<sup>127</sup> Fripp, *Quyny*, p. 92.



complete the work of grammar school at fourteen, and may possibly indicate that they might remain till eighteen. Just before Shakspeare, we have the case of Richard Field, who was apprenticed in London at eighteen to use his "small Latine, and lesse Greeke" to become one of the two recognized best printers of those languages in London. Since we have now no evidence whatever to force Shakspeare out of school, it may very well be that he had remained connected till at eighteen he was called on by contemporary ideas to leave grammar school and decide upon a way of life. The renewal of the family coat of arms about this time and Shakspeare's being married by license like a gentleman both cast some shadows in that same direction.<sup>128</sup> Shakspeare was thus under Jenkins, who was a college mate of Hartley and Campion,<sup>129</sup> and may have been under Cottom, whose brother suffered with Campion. Of Campion and probably Hartley he would be aware, whatever his personal reactions may have been toward them. One may suppose that Hunt's case had also made Shakspeare aware of the Roman Catholic background. Shakspeare is not likely to have been subjected to any anti-Catholic bias from his schoolmasters.

Jenkins and Hunt were Oxford men of nearly the same date, and seemingly Hunt had passed his position at Stratford to Jenkins. Similarly, Jenkins, a Londoner, passed his position to another Londoner, John Cottom, who was, however, of another college, though exactly contemporary with Jenkins at Oxford. One suspects some form of grammar school connection between the two in London. Here are three university mates passing the position on. As we have seen, Cottom became eventually a Roman Catholic recusant. Finally, Aspinall was from the same college and the same county as Cottom, though he was a younger man, and shows no Roman Catholic sympathies.

This group of schoolmasters consisted of as well trained men as grammar schools ordinarily had. Many of them were Masters of Art, as was Jenkins, under whom Shakspeare perhaps received his final training. Many, if not most, of them gave up the mastership because of greater preferment, indicating that they were considered capable men worthy of their training. It is also clear that some pupils, at least, got competent instruction in the school. Of Aspinall, Fripp says,

<sup>128</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. LVII, pp. 371-372.

<sup>129</sup> Since Campion was rhetoric lecturer 1564-1570, Jenkins would have had most of his college rhetoric from him. So Shakspeare's rhetoric is a kind of grandson of Campion's.

With an usher to help him, he had charge of some two dozens boys whom he instructed in Latin and the Bible, preparing them for the professions and the University. I have traced thirteen Oxford scholars to his probable tuition.<sup>120</sup>

Malone long since pointed out a surviving family correspondence from Stratford which showed that the Latin language was used with ease, and Fripp has given us an illuminating study of that family in *Master Richard Quyny*.

Quyny was probably some seven or eight years older than Shakspeare.<sup>121</sup> He had his study of books, was expected to understand the Latin which was written to him, and was directed to read Tully's Epistles. His son Richard about October 5, 1598, wrote to him in London a typical sixteenth-century schoolboy letter, asking for needed supplies. At the time, Richard was about eleven, and hence at the epistolary stage of grammar school, seeking at the instigation of his master victims upon whom to practice. Mr. Alexander Aspinall and his usher had evidently used the most approved methods upon him successfully. There can be no question that Stratford grammar school gave an effective command over ordinary spoken and written Latin, as it was expected to do.

An even more satisfactory witness for the linguistic efficiency of Stratford grammar school at this time is Richard Field, who was but some two and one half years older than Shakspeare, and so procured his own "small Latine, and lesse Greeke" under practically the same teachers and conditions as did Shakspeare. Field is known to fame as Shakspeare's first printer, and the only printer known certainly to have been authorized by Shakspeare himself. In succession to Vautrollier, Field became, as we shall see, one of the chief and best printers of the classics in London.

Of his work, Kirkwood says,<sup>122</sup>

Field printed with ease in several languages other than English. An Elizabethan printer's ability to set up in Latin may be taken for granted, but the accuracy of Field's compositors called forth tributes of praise from at least two of the authors whose works he printed. Passages in Greek, usually short quotations, are found in many of his books, and it would seem that he possessed a fairly good supply of Greek type in different sizes. In addition he printed a few books in French, half a dozen in Italian, five in Spanish, and one in Welsh. Several books contain Hebrew type in varying quantities and

<sup>120</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 78.

<sup>121</sup> Fripp, *Quyny*, p. 32.

<sup>122</sup> Kirkwood, A. E. M., "Richard Field, Printer, 1589-1624," *The Library*, Series IV, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

sizes; sometimes this appears in marginal notes, sometimes in a quotation on the title-page. In one book, namely *Daniel his Chaldie visions and his Ebrew* by Hugh Broughton, published in 1596, there are four pages entirely in Hebrew type and in two colours, red and black, as well as words and sentences scattered in marginal notes.

While all this erudition is not necessarily Field's own personal acquisition, yet he must have had a fairly sound foundation in languages when at eighteen in 1579 he became an apprentice in London. If William Shakspeare did not have a competent grammar school training, the fault cannot be charged entirely to the Stratford grammar school. In Stratford and in London Shakspeare could easily have had as good opportunities to learn languages as had Field, had he desired or needed so to do.

Further light is thrown on Stratford educational conditions by a consideration of other significant facts. The Stratford minister who baptized Shakspeare, John Bretchgirdle, had taught at Witton, and one of the pupils he taught there, John Brownsword, a man of some literary attainment, was schoolmaster for a period at Stratford just before Shakspeare entered school. Also, Bretchgirdle had expected the books which had been used at Witton to be of service to Stratford youth. The two schools were thus likely quite similar in their curricula, as indeed all schools were.

The grammar school at Witton near Northwich in Cheshire, founded in 1557, is another school which in its general provisions echoes Dean Colet and Paul's. The provision for the curriculum will bear repetition.

I will the children learn the *Catechisma*, and then the *Accidence and Grammar* set out by King Henry the Eight, or some other if any can be better for the purpose, to induce children more speedily to Latin speech; and then *Institutum Christiani Hominis* that learned Erasmus made, and then *Copia* of the same Erasmus, *Colloquia Erasmi*, *Ovidius: Metamorphoseos*, Terence, Mantuan, Tully, Horace, Sallust, Virgil and such other as shall be thought most convenient to the purpose unto true Latin speech.<sup>123</sup>

Significantly enough, in his will June 20, 1565, John Bretchgirdle, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, and former Curate and Schoolmaster at Witton, leaves nearly a complete set of the regular grammar school texts to the young hopefuls of Stratford—not including William Shakspeare, who was barely a year old and so too young even to be hopeful. Bretchgirdle had not the gift of prophecy, and apparently had no suspicion of the genius he had so recently baptized into

<sup>123</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, pp. 34-35.

the church. The children of Alderman Smith get his attention. To the school of Stratford, he bequeathed Cooper's Latin Dictionary. Doubtless William Shakspeare later used this copy many a time and oft. William Smith, aged about twelve, gets the Apothegms either of Erasmus or Lycosthenes, and Aesop's Fables. Richard, about ten, gets Erasmus *Copia Verborum*. He also gets "David salmes / & the Actes of the aposteles bothe in Englyshe meter." The first was Sternhold and Hopkins, the second by Christopher Tye. Bretchgirdle left a second copy of Tye to Thomas Smith, under two years old. Francis Willoughby had also been provided with Tye in 1556.<sup>134</sup> Tye considers his work

very necessary for Students after their study to file their wits, and also for all Christians that cannot sing to read the good and godly stories of the Lives of Christ his Apostles.

Robert, age six, gets, besides a religious work, Tully's *Offices* in English, which would probably be the translation by Nicholas Grimald rather than the older translation by Robert Whittinton. Thomas, age about nineteen months, gets only a copy of Tye. John, about eight years, gets Sallust and Justin. Apparently, though, the Sallust and Justin did not prove efficacious.<sup>135</sup> William, Jr., a little more than six months, is given a shilling instead of books. Edward Wynnynghton of Northwich, Bretchgirdle's godson, gets *Trilingua Lexicon Graecum*. Another godson, George Marson, gets a Virgil with commentary and a Horace also with commentary. Still another, Robert Venables, gets Erasmus, *Encheiridion Militis Christiani* in English and Latin. Christopher Sanckye gets Tully's *Offices*, text of the largest volume, and the *Abcedarium Anglico-Latinum pro tyrunculis Ricardo Huloets exscriptore*, which was an English-Latin dictionary. William Sanckye receives Withals, John, *A Short Dictionary for Young Beginners*, English and Latin.<sup>136</sup> Thus Bretchgirdle had evidently taught the conventional course at Witton, and expected the conventional texts to be of use in Stratford as well. Since the books of Bretchgirdle were valued at £10, he probably had three or four hundred volumes, of which those in his will are only samples.

The inventory of a neighboring minister who married a Stratford wife also throws light on our problem of probable Stratford practice. John Marshall of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, who took his B.A. in 1575 and M.A. in 1577, died in 1607, leaving a library for which the in-

<sup>134</sup> See above, p. 378.

<sup>135</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 76.

<sup>136</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, pp. 25-28.

ventory survives. From the inventory I cull the items I recognize as schoolbooks or allied items. There were

Palengenius Englishe, 4*d*. A Latine Grammar, 6*d*. L<sup>r</sup> Evans, Dictionary, 3*d* . . . Sengentiae Pueriles, 1*d* . . . An old Latine Grammar, 3*d* . . . Stockwood's Greek Grammar, 12*d*. Roger Ascham's Schoolmaster, 10*d*. Nowell's Catechisme, 6*d* . . . Accidentia Stanbrigiana, 8*d* . . . Stockwood's Grammar, 6*d* . . . Ovid de Tristibus, 4*d* . . . ts Vocabular Vet., 6*d* . . . Epitheta Jh. Riniij, 12*d* . . . Palengenius Lat., 8*d* . . . Eras. Colloquiū, 10*d*. Virgill, 12*d*. Terents, 8*d* . . . Enchiridion Militis Christ., 4*d* . . . Eras. cap. Fabor, &c., 8*d* [*?Copia Verborum*] . . . Erasmi colloquia, old, 4*d* . . . Pars erat [*sic*] Ciceronis, 10*d*. T. Offic. Engl., 6*d* . . . Morall Philosophi Engl., 6*d*. Beuerly, English Meeter, 3*d* . . . An old gramer, 4*d* . . . Aesopi fabula, 3*d*. Ternts Lat., 8*d*. Castal, Dialog., 4*d*. Ciceronis Epistol. pars, 4*d* . . . Corderius, Colloquia, 4*d* . . . Castalionis Dial. Lat., 8*d* . . . Lodo. Vives, 3*d* . . . Aesop fabl., engl., old, 2*d*. Acolastus de filio et digo [*sic*], 2*d*. Methods Hegindorph, 2*d*. D. Erasmus, instructio grammaticalis, 2*d* . . . Accidens and instructions, old, 2*d*. An old Dictionary or Lexicon, 1*d* . . . Grammatica Haeb., 4*d*. Joh. Leniceri grammaticae Graec., 6*d* . . . Udall's Haebrew Gramer, 16*d*. Testamentu. Graec., 16*d* . . . An a. b. c., 1*d* . . . A schole-book, English and Latin, 1*d* . . . Caeporius, Greeke Grammer, 10*d* . . . Liber Haebreus, 8*d* . . . Epitheton tropor, 1*d*. Epistolar' Ciceronis Libri 4to, 2*d* . . . Stockwood's Questions gra:, 2*d* . . . Gramer, a pamphlet, 2*d* . . . Virgill, Engl., old . . . Hulett's Dictionary, 2*s* . . . Cap's [*?Cooper's*] Dictionari, 6*s*. 8*d*.<sup>127</sup>

Here are the grammar school texts and classics in abundance, but of the classics, only such as would be used in grammar school. The numerous other works belonging to Marshall were mostly religious. This library is fitted very exactly to the practical purposes of a country preacher and schoolteacher. It is not the library of a classical scholar. Most notable of the omissions is that of Horace. Apparently, Marshall had not been called on to teach him. Nor do his other Latin classics go beyond the bare necessities.

At each stage, therefore, our results have been the same. The surviving sixteenth century curricula are practically uniform, and their component items were administered in a standard order. The organization into forms and the routine might need to be adapted to different conditions, but the items and objectives of the curriculum would remain the same. Thus the one-teacher schools at the one extreme attempt the same curriculum in the same order, and by the same general methods as do the so-called great schools. The will of Bretchgirdle at Stratford and the inventory of the books of Marshall

<sup>127</sup> Stopes, C. C., *Shakespeare's Environment* (1918), pp. 58-60. For a similar inventory of July 6, 1593 at Manchester, see *Remains Historical & Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester*. Published by *The Chetham Society*, Vol. XCVI, Pt. I, pp. 32-35. See also N. S. Vol. VII, *Old Lancashire Libraries*; also Blackburn School, etc., N. S. Vol. LXVI.

nearby indicate that men of the class who taught at Stratford had the regulation schoolbooks. It is thus to be inferred that Shakspeare and Stratford youth would be subjected to the regular curriculum in the regular order. And it may be added, as the Quyny family and Field show, with the regular results.

Nor should we take too seriously the evident fact that Stratford grammar school was not Eton or some other great public school. Fortunately, the school is, after all, comparatively unimportant. It is to be feared that "education" has not yet learned the distinction between learn and teach which at the grammatical stage every schoolmaster more or less unsuccessfully tries to drill into his students. Many have a touching faith in the ability to teach which I, as a "beaten" pedagogue now beginning his second third of a century in service cannot share. The important thing is not teaching but learning. In a comparatively free society, as was England then, or America even today, the best men have a disconcerting habit of getting taught at the poorest schools, or even of not getting taught at all. Then the "poor" school points with pride to its product, and is sometimes permitted to beg the question by becoming forthwith a "good" school. Even when the man has had no formal teaching at all, the faith still clings; "Experience is the best teacher." It may be after all that teaching is only a helping to learn. And it may even be too that our best learn in spite of us. In Shakspeare's age, there was Ben Jonson himself, who was proud of the fact that he did not owe his "great" scholarship to the universities. So far as we can judge, he was only a "learned grammarian," though from a good school. Therein lies part of the point to his pharisaical sentence upon Shakspeare's "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*." Shakspeare had also a grammar school training, but it was from a school which Jonson would have considered inferior to his own—and the worst of it must have been that Shakspeare did not care. Had he desired, he too might have perfected himself in the Classics and have taken pride in his self-made scholarship, as did Jonson. It is thus abundantly clear that Shakspeare did not really desire or value such scholarship. There is plenty of evidence on that point, including Shakspeare's attitude to the pedantry of schools and scholars. Indeed, it may be a piece of the greatest good fortune that Shakspeare had no better an education to waste his time upon things which were for him unimportant. He got as much of formal education as he really wanted, and I suspect as much as he really needed. The test of time seems to have shown that clearly.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### GRAMMAR SCHOOL TEXTS IN SHAKSPERE'S TIME

WE HAVE SEEN that the grammar schools of sixteenth century England were essentially uniform, and we have seen that Stratford school was of the standard type. We know, therefore, what subjects would be taught there. But subjects were taught from books. It will thus be well to glance at the current situation in textbooks when Shakspeare should have been in need of them, especially since these texts also furnish numerous indications of practice. For reasons which will later appear, this sketch must cover the latter half of the sixteenth century, not merely the actual period of from about 1571 to about 1577 or 1579 when Shakspeare should have been in grammar school.

The fundamental text was the *accidence*, rules, and grammar, which would, of course, have been the authorized form in some edition between 1545 and about 1571. Shakspeare's chance for a new book here and throughout would have been good, since apparently there is little likelihood that he would have inherited a set of texts—there were some advantages to being the son of an unschooled father. At this time, the monopoly on the authorized grammar belonged to Reginald Wolfe, as it had almost from the beginning. Though several thousand copies were doubtless printed each year,<sup>1</sup> yet only four copies printed by Wolfe are listed in S. T. C.; 1549, 1566-67, ?1570, 1572-73.<sup>2</sup> Copies of two continental editions, both of 1557, are also listed. From such statistics, the reader may at once see how infinitely small is the chance that any one of Shakspeare's own personal school texts has survived, or even for English prints that a single copy has survived of the particular edition from which any one of them was. Yet since there was a high degree of uniformity in content, barring misprints, one contemporary copy will serve all practical purposes about as well as another.

Since nearly all grammar school texts other than the first part of the grammar were wholly in Latin, they had before the 'seventies for the most part been imported from the continent. But in 1569 a

<sup>1</sup> Toward the end of the century, regular provision was made for four double impressions, or ten or twelve thousand copies a year (Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> Wolfe was the printer of a fragment of 1548 now in the Lambeth Palace Library. There is record of an edition of 1559 by Wolfe (Herbert, W., *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 605), one of 1564 (*Ibid.*, p. 608), one of 1568 (6 *Notes and Queries*, Vol. II, p. 462), and one of 1569 (Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 610). There were, of course, many other editions of which we have no record.

young printer named Henry Bynneman conceived the idea of getting a patent on school books.<sup>3</sup> Bynneman had been the apprentice of Richard Harrison, who had for a time been associated with Reginald Wolfe, the patentee for the authorized grammar.<sup>4</sup> "At the death of Reginald Wolfe, in 1573, Henry Bynneman secured a large part of the stock of letters and devices in his office and struck out a new line for himself."<sup>5</sup> It is thus not difficult to guess where Bynneman got his idea of a patent on schoolbooks.

On August 9, 1569, Matthew Parker wrote a letter to Lord Burghley on behalf of Bynneman.

Sir, I am styl sued onto bi the prynter bineman, to entreate yo<sup>r</sup> honor to optayne for hym a privilege for prynting two or iii vsual bokes for grammarians, as Therence, Virgile or Tullye's office, etc. he feareth that he shal susteyne great loss of hys prynted bokes of the Lotarye. I thinke he shulde do this thing aptly inough, and better cheape then they may be bought frō beyond the seas, standyng the paper and goodnes of his prynt, and it wer not amys to set our own contrymen on werke, as they wold be diligent, and take good correctors. He hath brought me a litle pece of his workmanship in a tryall, w<sup>ch</sup> he desiereth to be sent to yo<sup>r</sup> honor, to see the forme & order of his prynt.<sup>6</sup>

Archbishop Parker implies, it will be noticed, that before this time such works were regularly imported, since they could be procured more cheaply abroad; but he thinks that if the quality and local economy be considered, Bynneman could compete with the continent. Whether Bynneman procured his patent on schoolbooks we do not know directly, but in this year 1569-70 he entered two of those mentioned by Parker. If he had procured a patent, he would not have needed to make such entries. In a separate entry, Bynneman first entered Virgil in Latin.<sup>7</sup> Then shortly before July, 1570, he entered Terence and several other grammar school authors. His list contains, "*Coloquium Erasmi in latine . . . Terence in latine . . . Cato in latine . . . sententia pueriles in laten . . . Confabulationes Hesse Laten.*"<sup>8</sup> Bynneman also includes "*niargrata theologica in latin,*" preceding the *Sententiae Pueriles*, probably indicating to us that this godly collec-

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Udall appears once to have had his eyes on the printing of books to be used in grammar schools (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward VI*, Vol. III, p. 315).

<sup>4</sup> McKerrow, R. B., "Henry Bynneman, Printer, 1566-83," *The Library*, Series Two, Vol. IX, p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> McKerrow, R. B., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, p. 60. But Bynneman had already struck out before the death of Wolfe.

<sup>6</sup> McKerrow, "Bynneman," *Library*, ser. 2, Vol. IX, p. 233.

<sup>7</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 407.

<sup>8</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 418.



tion was also to be used to indoctrinate the boys.<sup>9</sup> Here are Virgil and Terence of Parker's list, but Bynneman is not known to have been further connected with Cicero's *De Officiis*, which was also mentioned on that list.

Bynneman now proceeded to put his plans partially into effect. He published Virgil in 1570 and 1572. John Kingston published an edition in 1577 (Herbert), and Henry Middleton then published an edition for J. Harrison in 1580, and another for him in 1583. An edition was printed by or for F. Coldock in 1591 (Herbert). F. Kingston also printed an edition in 1597. Of the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, a copy survives at Cambridge of an edition printed by Bynneman in 1571, though no previous edition is listed S. T. C., and no later before 1631. If the *Margareta Theologica* by Johann Spangenberg was really intended for a school text, then we should notice that G. Dewes had printed an edition in 1566, Bynneman one in 1570, and another in 1573. It was also in English translation as well. I suspect that it was a kind of rival and successor to Vives, *Ad Sapientiam Introductio*, of which an English translation by Richard Morison was printed by Berthelet in 1540, 1544, 1550, by John Daye in ?1550, by Thomas Powell in 1563,<sup>10</sup> and by H. Wykes in 1564. This collection had been used in grammar school, but I find no reference in the curricula to Spangenberg. There were numerous other works of the type also available.

No other book of those licensed 1569-70 is known to have been printed by Bynneman, though in a list of his copies dated January 8, 1584, it appears that he still retained the rights to the Virgil, the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, the *Confabulationes* of Hessus, and the *Sententiae Pueriles*.<sup>11</sup> But the *Confabulationes Tyronum Literariorum* by Hermannus Schottenius Hessus had probably been printed in England before Bynneman recorded his claim to them in 1570, and reaffirmed it on January 8, 1584. For Henry Wykes was fined on August 7, 1564, for printing *Confabulationes* without license.<sup>12</sup> This is

<sup>9</sup> William Turner thought that the English translation of Spangenberg's *Margarita Theologica* made by Robert Hutten "is very necessary for all Studentes of Diuinitie, for Curates, for yong Children, and for al them that haue anye rule ouer any Houshold" (*The summe of Diuinitie* (1567), Preface; copy belonging to University of Illinois Library). For all these it would serve as an advanced catechism. I suspect that is one reason that its latest recorded edition in England is 1567, though the Latin still found use into the 'seventies. Nowell's advanced catechism became the official "summe of Diuinitie" in 1570, supplanting all others in that official function.

<sup>10</sup> Quaritch, *Catalogue* 528, No. 495.

<sup>11</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, pp. 788-789.

<sup>12</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 274.

more likely to be Schottenius than any other work, but since no copy is known to survive, we cannot be quite certain.

Bynneman had also published, however, certain other schoolbooks at this period without surviving entry S. R. He published Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares* in 1571, which were then published by Marshe in 1574, followed by R. Robinson in 1590 (Herbert), and in 1591. In the meantime, as we shall see, Vautrollier had published editions in 1575, 1579, and 1581, which eventually caused conflict with Marshe. J. Jackson and E. Bollifant of the Eliot's Court printing house had also published an edition in 1585. Palingenius, *Zodiacus*, was published by Marshe in 1569,<sup>13</sup> by Bynneman in 1572, then by Marshe in 1574, 1575, and 1579, followed by R. Robinson in 1592, and R. Dexter in 1599 (Herbert). Similarly, Bynneman had printed Justin in 1572, and again in 1577 (Herbert). Bynneman's edition is avowedly prepared for boys, and the copy of the edition of 1572 in the British Museum shows in some detail the handiwork of one of them. The Justin was listed as still Bynneman's on January 8, 1584.<sup>14</sup> Justin was then printed by George Robinson in 1586 (Herbert), and by his successor T. Orwin under date of 1593. The following order of December 18, 1592, was made concerning this last edition, Yt is ordered that when Tho orwin shall haue fynished thimpression of Iustin in latin: he shall bringe the whole impression into the hall' and then the right of m<sup>r</sup> norton or any other pretendinge interest to yt to be Discussed' and further order to be taken for the distributinge of the seid booke accordinge to thordōnaunces.<sup>15</sup>

The list of January 8, 1584, besides Justin, also attributes to Bynneman at that time Vives, *Exercitatio Linguae Latinae*, of which no copies are recorded S. T. C. for the sixteenth century. There is no indication from what date Bynneman claimed Vives.

It will be noticed that Bynneman's printing of schoolbooks was confined chiefly to 1570-72, before he procured Wolfe's stock in 1573, and thereafter turned chiefly to other fields. His further ventures of the kind are mostly Greek. In 1575, he printed Grant's Greek grammar for F. Coldock. In 1580 and in 1582 R. Newbery published editions of Christopher Ocland's *Anglorum Praelia* as an assign of Bynneman, the latter having entered the work August 18, 1580. The *Kettus* of Alexander Neville, printed by Bynneman in 1582, sometimes appears as a third part of the *Anglorum Praelia* in

<sup>13</sup> University of Illinois Library, not in S. T. C.      <sup>14</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 789.

<sup>15</sup> Greg, W. W. and Boswell, E., *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company*, p. 45.

the edition of 1582. Bynneman had already issued the *Kettus* separately in 1575. Barker had also printed an edition of the *Praelia* in 1582 for Newbery, and the *Elizabetha* without statement. Barker and T. Woodcock had entered<sup>16</sup> the *Elizabetha* on March 21, 1582.<sup>17</sup> Orwin printed the *Elizabethais* in 1589. In 1581, Bynneman printed an edition of the Greek grammar by Ramus, and a Latin translation of Plutarch's *De Liberorum Institutione*, together with the "Isocrates orationes tres" (Herbert). These may have had some use in grammar school. On March 11, 1581 Bynneman entered S. R., Textor's *Dialogues and Epigrams*,<sup>18</sup> which he printed the same year, doubtless with some view to grammar school. In 1582, the Greek grammar of Clenardus issued "Ex Officina Typographica Henrici Binneman, assignatione Thomae March" (B. M. copy). Similarly, an entry of the Greek Testament to Bynneman on March 26, 1583, "Novum Testamentum grece in 16<sup>to</sup> ex impressione Henrici Stephani"<sup>19</sup> was also doubtless aimed at grammar school, though no edition by Bynneman is known. On the same day, Bynneman entered, "Homer grece et latine," but no edition of this either is known.

It is now clear that for some reason Bynneman's interest shifted from schoolbooks about 1573. The reason for this shift, and the approximate time of it are also known. On March 31, 1573, Bynneman recorded S. R. an exchange of Terence with Marshe for Stow's *Chronicle*, and the Cato for Hill's *Book of Gardening*.<sup>20</sup> The Cato would be some form of the collection by Erasmus. An adaptation of this collection by Richard Taverner was current in England, 1540 to 1562. But in 1572 H. Middleton printed the old collection without Taverner's adaptations, and R. Robinson another in 1592, this now continuing to be the only known form. An edition of the *Institutio Hominis Christiani* alone was printed by A. Kitson in 1555.<sup>21</sup> Since the Cato assigned to Bynneman is in Latin, it too is doubtless this form by Erasmus. Probably, therefore, Middleton had printed in 1572 under some arrangement with Bynneman, or with Marshe, to whom before September 29, 1572, it had passed. From Marshe, it evidently passed to Robinson, as we shall see was regularly true of Marshe's copies. As we have seen, Bynneman in 1573 transferred S. R. not only the Cato, but also the Terence in Latin to Marshe,

<sup>16</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 408.

<sup>17</sup> R. Waldegrave had printed a translation of the *Elizabetha* by John Sharrock in 1585.

<sup>18</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 391.

<sup>19</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 422.

<sup>20</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 418.

<sup>21</sup> *The Times Literary Supplement*, August 8, 1936, p. 648.

who in 1583 printed "Comediae sex, ex A. Mureti exemplari." There is no trace of an earlier edition in the sixteenth century. This copy also passed from Marshe to R. Robinson, who printed an edition of it in 1592 (Herbert), and another in 1597 (printed for Robert Dexter), though using another form. In the meantime, J. Legatt had also printed an edition at Cambridge in 1589, and this is the form which Robinson prints. The entry to Bynneman is for Terence in Latin to distinguish it from Udall's *Floures of Terence*, which had already been licensed to Marshe in 1567-68. There had been several earlier editions. Marshe himself printed the work in 1575 and 1581, with additions by J. Higgins; and the rights to the work passed in 1591 to Thomas Orwin.

It will thus be seen that Bynneman had been a chief printer of these school texts, but in March 1573 recorded S. R. a transfer of some of them to Marshe. The reason for the transfer comes out a few years later in the complaints against monopolies. By that time the patent for the grammar had passed to Flower. Bynneman's patent called for "all *Dictionaries* in all tongues, all *Chronicles* and *histories* whatsoever."<sup>22</sup> Marshe's patent

includeth a number of the most vsuall *schoole bookes in Latin*, which (no doubt) would be a beneficiall patent to him that could well vse it, yea, great service to the common wealth might a carefull man do therein: but in myne opinion he that hath it is the vnfittest man in England, in deed neither profiting himself, nor the realme.<sup>23</sup>

Herbert gives the reference to this patent, and some slight indication of its contents.

The 29th of Sept. 14th of Eliz. a license was granted him to print Catonis dysticha de moribus, Marci Tull. epist. familiares, Aesopi fabulae, and other classick authors, for 12 years; and none to print any of his copies; with privilege to enter any house, or warehouse, to search for, and seize any books printed and brought into the realm, contrary to the tenour of these our letters patent, and the same to seize to the use of us, and our heirs and successors.<sup>24</sup>

According to this statement, Marshe had a complete monopoly on these books, not only against other English printers, but also against importers of continental copies. Whether this monopoly actually held against importation I do not know directly; but there is plenty of indirect evidence that it did not. It would have been possible also

<sup>22</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 116.

<sup>23</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, pp. 116, 144.

<sup>24</sup> Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 861.

under its terms for Marshe himself to import instead of print, or to permit others for a consideration so to do. But a section we shall later quote seems to indicate that this importation was forbidden by another regulation which this could not countervail.

The patent itself gives the reasons for this monopoly, and furnishes a complete list of the books to be monopolized for school purposes. Through this patent the highest authority gives us in 1572 an official list of school books, just after William Shakspeare should have entered school, and just when he should have been needing the first of these besides the grammar, which belonged to another monopoly. The patent recites concerning Marshe that

he hath by his labour and travayle to his grette coste and charges procured more proporcyonable and apte letters then heretofore hath byn occupied And whereas we and our Counsell vpon iust causes vs movyng have heretofore geven in comaundement that dyuers bookes made and ymprinted in the partyes beyonde the Seas should not be transported and brought into this our realme or into any parte of the Dominyons of the same, by meanes whereof and that the same our pleasure and comaundement standeth styll in force as reason shoulde requyre, dyuers and sondrye schole books ymprinted in the partyes [of] beyonde the Seas, and heretofore vsed to be transported and brought into this our said Realme and Domynions of the same are not brought and transported into this our said Realme, or into any parte of them & dominions of the same sythens the said restraint by vs made as aforesaid to the grette hynderaunce of & setting forthe of learnyng in the scholes within thys our said Realme, In consyderacion whereof the premysse consydered, we myndinge the preferment of learnyng and the vse and contynuaunce of the bookes hereafter mencyoned to be redd and taught in scholes for the erudycion of the yonger sorte of youthe, we do you to vnderstand

that Marshe and his assigns have license

for and duryng the terme and space of twelue yeares next ensuyng the date of theis our letters patents to prynte and sett forthe to sale these schole bookes particulerlye mentyoned, That ys to saye Catonis Disticha de moribus, Marci Tullij Ciceronis epistolae familiares, Aesopi fabulae, Dialogorum sacrorum Sententiae & Ciceronis, Publij Tirentii, Epitome colloquiorum Erasmi, Baptistae Mantuani, Marcelli Palingenij Aphethonij Sophistae Progimnasmata Instituciones linguae graecae per Clenardo cum scholijs & praxi Petri Antesignani and the shorte dictyonary for children with the englyshe before the latyn eyther heretofore alreedye ymprinted or not ymprinted.

These conditions were also to apply to

any other booke or books whatsoever they be whych he the said Thomas Marshe or his assigns hath or shall first take in hand to ymprint or cause

to be ymprynted oute of any writing cōpye or cōpyes or any other cōpye booke or bookes which he the said Thomas Marshe or his assignes shall at-  
teyne vnto or buy att any other mans handes duryng the foresaid tyme of  
this our present privilege.<sup>26</sup>

Then follow the provisions which have been summed up by Herbert.

Of the school books included in Marshe's monopoly, several had been connected with Bynneman. An exchange between the two is recorded S. R. for gild purposes in March 1573. There we learn that Bynneman had exchanged with Marshe Terence for Stow's *Chronicle*, and Cato for Hill's *Book of Gardening*. Marshe now claims Palingenius, which he had already published in 1569,<sup>26</sup> but Bynneman had published an edition in 1572. We do not know what Bynneman's claim had been, but now the copy is definitely assigned by patent to Marshe. Bynneman had also published the *Epistolae Familiares* of Cicero, which Marshe now gets, though we have no details of an exchange.<sup>27</sup> There is no record of transfer S. R. for either the Cicero or the Palingenius. These had not been entered S. R. Presumably, therefore, they did not require record of transfer. Neither was Marshe obliged to register his copies with the company. He was authorized by the crown directly, and it was for the company to see to it that it did not trespass on his rights. He was in the same position as the patentees for the grammar.

By this arrangement of 1572, Marshe was now to turn his attention to schoolbooks, while Bynneman was to turn his to dictionaries and chronicles. Of the four copies from Bynneman, Marshe is not known to have printed Cato, and he printed Terence only in 1583.<sup>28</sup> As we have seen, both were also printed by Robinson in succession to Marshe. These are the two which are known to have been officially transferred S. R. from Bynneman to Marshe. Palingenius was printed by Marshe in 1569, 1574, 1575, and 1579, followed by R. Robinson in 1592. Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares* were printed also in 1574, and were also passed to R. Robinson for an edition by 1590.

So of Marshe's twelve items, certainly two and possibly four had come from Bynneman. Two others had come from H. Sutton. The *Epitome* of the colloquies of Erasmus had been printed by Sutton in

<sup>26</sup> Patent Roll (No. 1,082), 14 Eliz. Part 1. I have silently expanded the contractions. Someone else may have the immense distinction of printing it "for the first time exactly and in full." <sup>27</sup> Copy in University of Illinois Library; not in S. T. C.

<sup>27</sup> Bynneman had and retained the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. Marshe claims only the *Epitome*.

<sup>28</sup> Marshe's Terence of 1583 is a reprint of a form used by Gryphius at Lyons, first known edition in 1569 (Lawton, H. W., *Terence En France*, p. 224).

1557; Castalio's *Holy Dialogues* in 1560. These two copies had thus by some arrangement passed from Sutton to Marshe before the patent of September 29, 1572.

From other printers had come a copy each. John Kingston had printed Mantuan in 1569, and in 1572; then Marshe had printed it in 1573, 1580 (my copy, not in S. T. C.), and 1582, followed by R. Robinson in 1590, and R. Dexter who had published it in 1598 (Herbert). Henry Middleton printed Aphthonius in 1572, though this might conceivably have been after the patent. Marshe himself printed editions in 1575 (my copy, not in S. T. C.), 1580 (my copy, not in S. T. C.), 1583, and the widow of Thomas Orwin another in 1596. Apparently, "the shorte dictyonyary for children with the englyshe before the latyn" is Withals. If so, there had been some dispute over the title to it, and T. Purfoot had entered it in 1564-65, and printed several editions, beginning with 1574.<sup>29</sup> It would seem clear that Marshe failed to establish title to Withals. We have left only the Aesop, which had also been printed before in England, but whose previous ownership is obscure, the *Sententiae Ciceronis*, and the Clenardus Greek grammar. Marshe printed an edition of the *Sententiae Ciceronis*, etc. in 1580 (Herbert), which Vautrollier also printed in 1584.

Clenardus offers a more complicated problem. Marshe published in 1582 the "Editio Decima" of *Institutiones Linguae Graecae*, N. Clenardo Authore cum Scholijs P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis (B.M.; not in S. T. C.). This copy bears the imprint of Marshe on its title page, but is said in the colophon to be "Ex Officina Typographica Henrici Binneman, assignatione Thomae March." In succession to Marshe, Robinson printed an edition, which consequently he numbered the eleventh, in 1594. The edition, however, contained additions to the materials of the previous volume; "adjunctum est syntaxeos compendium a Frid. Sylburgis conscriptum, una cum Fr. Vergara prosodia." An edition with notes by Sylburgius (as first printed in 1580) and with some material from H. Stephanus was licensed to Wechelius under date of July 14, 1587. This revised form was printed without date by J. Windet in England as an assign, but without statement from whom. The Cambridge copy of this edition has the date of 1587 attributed, doubtless because of the date of the license to Wechelius. But the license shows only that Windet did not

<sup>29</sup> See below, pp. 527-28.

print earlier than 1587. A copy of Clenardus by Windet is recorded also at Queen's College, Oxford, and the date queried as ?1590. I suspect it is of the same edition as the preceding, but I have not seen it to make comparisons.

It will be seen that most of these books had been already printed in England before Marshe's patent. He simply assembled them from different previous owners. He was to furnish more appropriate type, etc., and to specialize in school books. But it is immediately apparent that Marshe lacked the necessary capital for so large an undertaking. He had effected, in part, an exchange with Bynneman. He immediately made an arrangement with Kingston which is also significant. On May 22, 1573, the Stationers' court made an order "concerninge three bookes' viž Esopes fables. Holie dialoges. and thepitome of Colloquies," which had belonged to Marshe and were now to belong to Kingston until Marshe repaid a debt. By August 31, 1579, Marshe claimed the debt had been cancelled by a general acquittance from Kingston. On this date, the court awarded the copies to Marshe on the payment by him to Kingston of certain specified sums.<sup>30</sup> I suppose the "Holie dialoges" had brought matters to an issue between Marshe and Kingston. The *Dialogorum sacrorum libri quatuor* of Sebastian Castalio had been published by Sutton in 1560, and by Marshe in ?1573 (Herbert), 1577, and 1580 (Herbert). So Marshe had procured this copy of Sutton's before September 29, 1572, had pawned it to Kingston on May 22, 1573, probably after the edition of 1573, if there was such an edition, had printed an edition in 1577, which would raise the issue that assigned him the copy on August 31, 1579, which he reprinted in 1580. Sutton had also printed the *Epitome colloquiorum Erasmi* in 1557, so that this copy, too, had passed from Sutton to Marshe before September 29, 1572. No other copy of the *Epitome* is recorded in S. T. C. before 1602. It will be remembered that Bynneman had printed the full collection, but did not pass it to Marshe. Thus the *Sacred Dialogues* and the *Epitome* had come to Marshe from Sutton, and had under some arrangement been transferred before the patent of September 29, 1572. Marshe also reprinted the Aesop in Latin as well as the Castalio, of which Herbert notes that there was an edition in 1580 used by Bullokar, though no copy is recorded S. T. C. between 1535 and 1591, when it had passed to R. Robinson with others of Marshe's copies. It will be remembered

---

<sup>30</sup> Greg and Boswell, *Records*, p. 9.



that the Aesop is mentioned in Marshe's patent of September 29, 1572.

In 1584 Marshe printed "Cum priuilegio," an edition of Mancinus.<sup>21</sup> While this is not mentioned specifically in his patent, it would be covered by his general title. Herbert records on the authority of T. Martin that an edition of this had been printed by Harrison in 1574. But Harrison was not a printer and this would be his earliest connection with schoolbooks by about two years. Marshe may have printed such an edition for Harrison, but most likely there has been some confusion as to this edition of 1574, if any such edition existed.

Besides the books mentioned in his patent, Marshe had a few others which are likely to have found some use in grammar school. We have already noted that Marshe had entered Udall's *Floures of Terence* in 1567-68, which had belonged to Berthelet. This he had printed in 1575 with additions by J. Higgins, and again in 1581. This work may have been considered as covered in the patent by the assignment of Terence. John Seton's *Dialectica* had come to Marshe from Berthelet, as had the *Floures of Terence*. Berthelet had printed this work in 1545. Marshe entered it S. R. 1562-63, and printed it in 1572, 1574, and 1577, followed by G. Dewes and H. Marshe as his assigns in 1584. Herbert seems also to indicate editions by Marshe in 1563 and 1568. In 1578, Marshe printed an edition of David Rowland's *A Comfortable ayde for Schollers, full of variety of sentences, gathered out of an Italian Authour*. This had been entered S. R. in 1567-68,<sup>22</sup> and printed by H. Wykes in 1568. It is a phrase book, somewhat similar to that of Manutius which Vautrollier was to publish for English pupils, with English phrases put into numerous Latin equivalents. These books, however, are only a few possible supplementary aids; the chief school books are in the patent. Thus from Berthelet, Sutton, Middleton, Kingston, and Bynneman, Marshe had procured copies to set up as a chief purveyor of schoolbooks. But Bynneman did not give up all his titles to Marshe, though he himself apparently did not continue to use them.

Marshe's patent was to expire at the end of twelve years; that is, on September 28, 1584. We shall see that in the meantime Thomas Vautrollier had also procured patents which were to expire about the same time. Thus school-books, a large and profitable branch of the

<sup>21</sup> Hazlitt, W. C., *Collections and Notes 1867-1876*, pp. 273-274.

<sup>22</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 361.

book trade, were withdrawn from the control of the Stationers' Company and put into monopolies under the crown. Naturally, the Company objected. A note of July 18, 1583, shows that the Company was moving to prevent renewal of these monopolies and so again to bring school-books back into the control of the Company.

Their Lordships to be a meane to her maiestie that hereafter no generall title of bookes of Arte nor scholle bookes except bookes perteyning to her maiesties service be not Drawen into priuiledge.

That *Marshe* and *vautrouller* haveng the sole printing of schole bookes maye be treated withall to chose some sortes and leave the rest.<sup>33</sup>

Apparently, Vautrollier's patents were not renewed; but it is clear that Marshe's patent was renewed and passed to Robert Robinson, who printed most of these books between 1590 and 1597 "Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis." Marshe had printed continuously up to 1587,<sup>34</sup> evidently dying about that time. In 1588, Robinson was getting established, and before 1590 had procured Marshe's patent.

The earliest notice of him occurs in the proceedings taken in 1585 by Francis Flower and his assigns against T. Dunn and Robert Robinson for illegally printing the *Accidence* . . . In 1588 Robinson bought the printing stuff of Henry Middleton from his widow, including three printing presses with sundry sorts of letters and other necessities, certain copies of books and Letters Patent, for the sum of £200 . . . He was frequently fined for disorderly printing.<sup>35</sup>

About this same time Robinson had in some way procured Marshe's patent, since by 1590 he was beginning to reprint Marshe's books "Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis." In 1590, he produced Mantuan; in 1590 (Herbert), and 1591, Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares*; in 1591, Aesop; in 1592, Cato<sup>36</sup> and Palingenius; in 1592 (Herbert), and in 1597, Terence, this latter edition having the privilege in its colophon, "Londini, Excudebat Robertus Dexter 1597. Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis;" in 1594, Clenardus; and in 1595, Schonaeus, *Terentius Christianus*, "Impensis R. D." It must have been about the time of the Clenardus in 1594 that Robinson printed on one side of a sheet, *Tabula, Graecas Declinationes Et Coniugationes Omnes, Partem Grammaticae potissimam & maxime necessariam*,

<sup>33</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 785.

<sup>34</sup> Duff, E. G., *A Century of the English Book Trade*, p. 100.

<sup>35</sup> McKerrow, *Dictionary*, pp. 230-231.

<sup>36</sup> In November 1595, Bollifant and his partners were printing an edition of Cato against Robinson's privilege (Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, pp. 578, 581; Vol. II, p. 824).

*breuissima methodo comprehendens*, with the imprint, "Londini, Excudebat Robertus Robinsonus, commorans in Fetter-Lane."<sup>87</sup>

Thus Robinson is known to have printed "Cum Priuilegio" all of the copies from Marshe's patent except Castalio's *Sacred Dialogues*, the *Sententiae Ciceronis*, and the *Epitome* of Erasmus. Marshe himself, as we have seen, had failed to establish his claim to the *Little Dictionarie* of Withals. Robinson evidently claimed the Schonaeus under the Terence clause in Marshe's patent. At least two of the three items Robinson is not known himself to have printed he passed on to Robert Dexter. We have seen that the Schonaeus of 1595 and the Terence of 1597 are by Robinson for Dexter. Dexter also published Palingenius in 1599 (Herbert), and Mantuan in 1598 (Herbert), and 1602. Similarly, Dexter published an edition of the *Sententiae Ciceronis* in 1603, and the *Epitome* of the colloquies of Erasmus in 1602. So at least a considerable part of the holdings of Robinson, whose last book entry is dated May 11, 1597, passed to Robert Dexter.

It should be noticed here that Dexter had for some time been attempting to get into the schoolbook business before he formed connections with Robinson. He had entered *Cato Construed* on November 2, 1590.<sup>88</sup> This apparently is the work entered by Wilkes in 1577 and printed in 1584 for Maunsell, whom Dexter is supposed to have succeeded as a publisher. No other edition is known. Dexter also proposed on December 30, 1591 as a fitting companion *Propria Quae Maribus* and *As In Praesenti* construed,<sup>89</sup> if the patentees of the authorized grammar did not object. No copy is known. Thus Dexter had finally worked into Robinson's place, but as a publisher only instead of as a printer and publisher of textbooks.

It now appears that of the books in Marshe's patent, only the Castalio's *Sacred Dialogues* is not known directly or indirectly to have been in the possession of Robinson, and he printed most of them "Cum Priuilegio." In the edition of 1605, the Castalio is being printed for the Society of Stationers. Such others of these books as have recorded editions thereafter are regularly for the Society. The private monopoly had finally been broken, and the schoolbooks were becoming the monopoly of the Stationers' Company, but that did

<sup>87</sup> This copy was given me by F. Norman, Esq., bookseller of London, and is one of my most prized possessions. Because of its nature, it is almost a miracle that even a single copy has survived.

<sup>88</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 566.

<sup>89</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 601.

not begin to occur to the books of Marshe's patent till the seventeenth century.

Besides the schoolbooks from Marshe's patent, Robinson had been connected also with three other books of the type. It had been agreed on July 6, 1589, that Robinson print Corderius for Harrison and Bishop,<sup>40</sup> but no copy of such an edition is known. In 1589, the tragedies of Seneca were printed by Robinson for T. Man and T. Gubbin. This is a page for page reprint of the edition by Gryphius in 1584, even to an imitation of his "griffin." In 1591, Robinson had published the epistles of Paulus Manutius "Cum Priuilegio," which had been printed in 1573 by J. Kingston for W. Norton, and in 1581 by T. Vautrollier, also for Norton. I suppose Robinson claimed privilege on these epistles under the clause which protected further acquisitions of this type. These also passed to Dexter, who printed an edition in 1603. Here then is the line of succession in Marshe's patent on schoolbooks, from Marshe to Robinson, and thence at least in considerable part to Dexter.

As we have seen, even Marshe did not secure a complete monopoly, since Bynneman himself retained some of his own copies. Similarly, Kingston retained several titles and used them, so that Marshe's patent did not cover these items either. Kingston's copies are in part listed in a transfer recorded May 7, 1593. On that date Thomas Orwin,

Entred for his copies by assent of A Court holden this Day these bookes folowinge whiche were first *kingstons* amd after *George Robinsons* whose widowe the said *Orwin* hath married . . . *Virgil* in Latin, *Tullies offices* Latin, *Acolastus*, [Y] *Sturmius epistles*, [Y] *Susembrotus figures*, *pueriles confabulatiuncul[a]e*, *pueriles Scriptur[a]e*.<sup>41</sup>

Herbert records an edition of Virgil in Latin by Kingston in 1577. It will be remembered that Virgil in Latin had been entered by Bynneman in 1569-70, and printed as edited by Paulus Manutius 1570, 1572, and later by Henry Middleton for J. Harrison with additions in 1580 and in 1583, by or for F. Coldock in 1591 (Herbert), and by F. Kingston in 1597.

Kingston had also printed in 1574 an edition of the school collection surrounding *De Officiis*, and the widow of George Robinson had published another in 1587, neither apparently recorded hitherto. My copies of these are both of the same form,<sup>42</sup> but differ from that of

<sup>40</sup> Greg and Boswell, *Records*, p. 32.

<sup>41</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 630.

<sup>42</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 581 ff.

Vautrollier in 1579. Brüggemann records an edition of 1577, and Herbert also records an edition of *De Officiis* by Middleton in 1583, but neither gives any clue as to the form. In 1595, the widow Orwin again printed an edition of the collection, though the company had in 1594, as we shall see, assumed its own ownership of this copy in assigning it to Richard Field. The claim of Field thus presumably came through Vautrollier, while that of the widow Orwin came through Kingston and George Robinson, whose widow Thomas Orwin had married and had now again left a widow. This claim through Kingston had been asserted S. R. in 1593, and was used by the widow Orwin in 1595. Vautrollier's claim we shall examine a little later. It will be remembered that in 1569 Bynneman had also thought of printing *De Officiis*, though neither entry nor copy is known for him. The translation of *De Officiis* by Nicholas Grimald was sometimes published with the Latin adjoining, so that it was also at times doubtless used as a grammar school text. This was printed by Richard Tottel through 1583, and then by Thomas Este.

No copy of Acolastus or of Sturm's epistles<sup>43</sup> belonging to the Kingston succession is known at this period. But for Susenbrotus Kingston received license, together with Mosellanus his predecessor, in 1579,<sup>44</sup> after he had already published an edition of Susenbrotus in 1576. Before him, G. Dewes had published an edition in 1562, and H. Wykes another in 1570. No copy of either of the *pueriles* is known at this period. No English-printed copy of the *Confabulatiunculae* of Evaldus Gallus is known to survive for the sixteenth century, but adaptations by Brinsley and Webbe (Huntington Library) survive for the early seventeenth century.

Besides the works on the list we have been examining, Kingston had printed the *De Duplici Copia* of Erasmus in 1569, with the commentaries of Veltkirchius; and H. Middleton another in 1573.<sup>45</sup> This work in this form had previously been printed by Sibertius Roedius in 1556 (Bod.). In the same year 1569, Kingston printed Mantuan, and again in 1572, before it passed to Marshe for editions in 1573, 1580, 1582, and thence to Robinson for an edition of 1590, and on to Dexter for an edition in 1598. Herbert attributes to Kingston in 1571 an edition of "C. Crispi Sallustij Historia." Palmer also attributes an

<sup>43</sup> See Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 921.

<sup>44</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, Vol. II, p. 359.

<sup>45</sup> In each of the copies B. M., it is the first book that the boys have labored through, but not the second; copy of words, not of things. The same is approximately the case of the Bodleian copy, and that of the University of Illinois.

edition of the Catiline and Jugurthine War to Henry Middleton in 1573, correctly locating a copy in B. M. (9040 aaa. 3); but S. T. C. overlooks it. Herbert says another edition of this was printed by Middleton in 1583. Middleton's edition is the form prepared by Aldus Manutius. "Salust et bellum Jugurthium" was entered to R. Walley on March 7, 1591,<sup>46</sup> and "a booke entituled *Coniuratione Catalinae ac bello Jugurthino*" was entered to John Harrison, Sr., on May 21, 1595.<sup>47</sup> There is no record of a copy by Walley. But there is an edition of *C. Sallusti Crispi Opera Omnia Quae Exstant: Cum Petri Ciacconii Toletani nouis ad eadem Notis*, printed at London 1601 "Apud Robertvm Dexter . . . Cum Priuilegio,"<sup>48</sup> "Typis Iohannis Harisoni." Dexter is thus again in the tradition tracing from Kingston; and Harrison is making use of his license or of another similar one. This edition has the Plantin compasses and motto on the title page, and is in fact an ultimate reproduction of the Plantin edition of 1594, which itself rests upon the text of the Plantin edition of 1579.<sup>49</sup> Kingston had also printed the epistles of Paulus Manutius for W. Norton in 1573. Vautrollier had printed another edition in 1581, with W. Norton's mark at the end (B. M. copy), and R. Robinson still another edition in 1591. These were used in grammar school as epistolary models. In 1573, Kingston had printed Melanchthon's edition of *Cicero's De Oratore*, and *De Perfecto Oratore ad M. Brutum*. Legatt had then printed another edition of *De Oratore* at Cambridge in 1589. But it is not likely that either of these editions was for grammar school use. Yet another volume of Cicero printed by Kingston in 1574 would certainly have been for grammar school. This contained *Ad Herennium* as edited by Longolius, and the *De Inventione*.<sup>50</sup> The

*Principia Latine loquendi, scribendique siue, Selecta quaedam ex Ciceronis epistolis, ad pueros in Latina lingua exercendos, adiecta interpretatione Anglica, & (ubi opus esse visum est) Latina declaratione. Ad rationem quam nuper suis sedulitate summa Gallicè conscripsit Maturinus Corderius,*

printed by Kingston in 1575 for Oliver Wilkes would also have been for grammar school. One of the texts by Corderius has been adapted by substituting English for French; but apparently only the one edition was called for. In 1577, Kingston printed an edition of Cicero's

<sup>46</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 576.

<sup>47</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 298.

<sup>48</sup> My copy; not in S. T. C.

<sup>49</sup> Graesse, *Trésor*, Vol. VI, p. 239.

<sup>50</sup> Copy at Cambridge. The first book of *Ad Herennium* has been carefully read and under-scored throughout, and about one-third of the second book.

*Quaestiones Tusculanae*, as edited by Erasmus, which was later entered to J. Harrison on January 8, 1591. It may be noticed also that Kingston was appointed printer to the University of Cambridge February 8, 1577, but seems never to have printed there.<sup>51</sup> Thus the record shows that Kingston was a very active printer of grammar school texts. Here then is a second succession among the printers of schoolbooks in the second half of the sixteenth century. It may be added that, besides the works from Kingston through George Robinson, Orwin also printed in 1589 for Man and Gubbin an edition of the Latin grammar by Ramus (Herbert), which may have been intended for grammar school consumption. This had previously been printed in 1585 by Waldegrave at London and Thomas at Cambridge.

So Bynneman and Kingston had retained some of their schoolbooks, and Kingston had continued to be a principal publisher, though Marshe had managed to get a patent covering a considerable number. Thomas Vautrollier had also procured a rather unlucky patent under date of June 19, 1574.<sup>52</sup> Vautrollier had first been an importer of Latin books for Plantin.

Before he set up his press he had been associated with a fellow-countryman, Jean Desserans, in an agency for the distribution and sale in London of books from the press of Christopher Plantin. The agency lasted for only one year, but in that time a large number of books were sent over, and the agents received a commission of 16½ per cent.<sup>53</sup>

The date of this agency was 1567-68.<sup>54</sup> This actual illustration of the importing of Latin books in 1567-68, and the lack of English-printed Latin authors together confirm the statement of Parker in 1569 that Bynneman was contemplating a new departure in planning to publish the Latin schoolbooks in England. But, as we have seen, the idea spread rapidly enough. Kingston continued to publish. Bynneman gave way to Marshe in 1572, and Vautrollier also procured patents for other schoolbooks about the same time.

By the patent of June 19, 1574, Vautrollier was given a ten-year privilege on,

Silua [Synonymorum] Simonis Pelegronij ex germanica in Anglicam linguam conversa

<sup>51</sup> McKerrow, *Dictionary*, p. 164.

<sup>52</sup> Printed in Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, pp. 746-747.

<sup>53</sup> Kirkwood, *Field, Library*, ser. 4, Vol. XII, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Rooses, M., *Christophe Plantin Imprimeur Anversois* (1883), p. 258; see also by the same editor, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 1883-1911, index under Desserans and Vautrollier.

Publij Ovidij Nazonis opera omnia

Marci Tullij Ciceronis, opera omnia ex Dionisij Lambini et aliorum doctissimorum virorum recognitoe et castigatoe Simul et Separatim and

Petri Rami omni artium exemplis illustratae per. Rolandum Makilmeneum Scotum.<sup>55</sup>

Vautrollier had previously on April 22, 1573, obtained a ten-year privilege for,

Purae elegantes linguae Latinae phrases, olim ab Aldo Manutio Paulo filio conscriptae iam uero in ordinem alphabeticam redactae, et in Anglicum sermonem Conuersae.<sup>56</sup>

These patents were aimed to give Vautrollier control of some of the more important upper grammar school authors in rhetoric and oratory.

Of the *Synonymorum Sylva* by Simon Pelegromius, editions by Vautrollier are known in 1580 and 1585, and an edition is recorded to Field, his successor, in 1598 (Herbert).

For the Ovid, Vautrollier had printed a school edition of *Tristia* at once as *P. Ovidii Nasonis De Tristibus Libri Quinque; Cum Annotationibus Minime Reiiciendis . . . Londini, Excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius. Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis. 1574*. At the end, he has set the sum of his patent,

REGIAE MAIESTATIS PRIuilegio cautum est, ne quis P. Ouidij Nasonis Tristium libros, aut alia quaecunque eius opera; infra decennium imprimat, aut alibi extra Angliae regnum impressos diuendat, preter eos quos Thomas Vautrollerius typographus Londinensis in clauistro vulgo Blackfriars comorans, suis typis excuderit.<sup>57</sup>

No one may sell any of Ovid not printed by Vautrollier. The only copy of which I know is bound with the Aesop printed by Robinson in 1591. Both have received the attentions of "Andreas Hamiltonus." We regret to note that in his Aesop Andrew glosses *Colubro* as *storke*, *cygnos* as *cranes*, etc., though he was mostly right; but he was probably no worse than the average shaver of eight or so in his mistakings. The two works are a significant pair, for the *Tristia* would follow hard upon the heels of Aesop.

The particular type of *Tristia* printed is also significant. It is a further editing of the type printed by Thomas Richards at Paris in 1552, the copy of which in the British Museum (833. h. 8) bears

<sup>55</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 746, 886.

<sup>56</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 886.

<sup>57</sup> The only copy of which I know belongs to F. S. Ferguson, Esq., through whose generous courtesy I have examined it.



across the top of its title-page the signature of "R. Aschamus," and on its spine the initials E. R. to claim it for Queen Elizabeth. If it did eventually belong to Elizabeth, it was after the days when Ascham was officially her teacher. It is interesting to know that Ascham at least once owned a copy of this school edition of *Tristia*, whether he ever permitted Ovid to enter into his teachings or not. The slightly revised form printed by Vautrollier from some continental edition continued to be the official form of *Tristia* in grammar school for at least a century and a half. It was printed at Cambridge in 1638, and I have a page for page reprint of this type made for the Society of Stationers in London, 1691. There are other editions well into the eighteenth century. Vautrollier's copy in 1574 was probably a year or so too late for Shakspeare, who probably had the complete volume of Ovid anyway, since he knew *Fasti* also.

Later, Vautrollier published a complete Ovid in three volumes. In 1582, he printed *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri IV. Ab Andrea Naugerio castigati, & Vict. Gisellini scholijs illustrati*.<sup>58</sup> In 1583, Vautrollier printed another volume containing *Fasti*, *Tristia*, *De Ponto*, *In Ibin*, and *Ad Liviam*, with the notes of Naugerius, and still another volume in the same year said to be in two editions, containing the *Heroides*, *Amores*, *Art of Love*, and *Remedy of Love*. Vautrollier had thus printed a regular three-volume edition of Ovid, which was of the Plantin form. Vautrollier's successor, Richard Field, printed an edition of the *Metamorphoses* with the same annotations as above in 1589 for John Harrison, Senior. Thomas Thomas had also at Cambridge printed the *Metamorphoses* in 1584, but of another edition. Field printed, too, an edition of the *Heroides*, etc. with the same annotations as above for Harrison in 1594.

An interesting point here is connected with Field, who as Vautrollier's apprentice and successor had been concerned in the printing of these Latin books under Vautrollier's patent and beyond. Field was of Stratford, being some two and a half years older than Shakspeare. Field's small Latin and less Greek, attained at Stratford along with Shakspeare, was yet sufficient to enable him to become one of the chief printers of Latin classics in London. That such an amount of training was considered sufficient appears from the case of Archbishop Rich-

<sup>58</sup> Copies in B. M. and the Library of the University of Illinois; not in S. T. C. I have heard of one other copy in the hands of a bookseller—unique, of course. I do not know why the Reverend Mr. Fripp thinks these English editions have been expurgated, unless he is so translating *castigati*, which merely means purified textually. But I have not missed anything from the content; they are not *castrati*, I think.

ard Neile, who gratefully records that but for the bounty of the Lady Burghley in sending him to university after he had completed Westminster,

the best of my Fortunes would haue bin to haue become some Bookesellers apprentice in Paules Churchyard; To which trade of life Mr. Grante then Schoolemaster here perswaded my Mother to haue disposed of mee.<sup>59</sup>

Shakspere's Latin was doubtless just as capable of handling Ovid as was Field's. Both were from the same school at almost the same time.

But to return to Vautrollier, it was upon his Cicero that he met difficulties with his patent. The grant had been of the complete edition of Lambinus with the revision of others, as a whole or in parts. This edition, when complete, consisted of nine volumes, the first containing the rhetorical works, the second, third, and fourth the orations, the fifth and sixth the epistles, the remaining three philosophy. There is no record that Vautrollier ever published the complete edition, but Herbert records, as we shall see, a complete edition to Jackson and Bollifant in 1585, though no complete set seems now known, and I believe it will appear that Herbert saw only the first two volumes. There is no record that Vautrollier ever published the first volume of this edition, but Jackson and Bollifant later printed it. Both the British Museum and the Library of the University of Illinois have copies of this first volume printed in 1585 "Per Ioh. I. & Edm. C." (not in S. T. C.), but neither copy gives any sign of having ever belonged to Herbert. Since it contained the rhetorical works, including *Ad Herennium*, this first volume probably found some demand in grammar school.

Of the three volumes of orations (two through four of the complete edition), Vautrollier published at least the first volume of orations in 1579; but it was of the edition by Brutus, not that of Lambinus. Nevertheless, Vautrollier prints "Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis," evidently on the ground that Brutus was a revision of Lambinus. Vautrollier reprinted this form in 1587. Herbert says this edition was for Harrison, but Quaritch has a copy which was for G. Norton.<sup>60</sup> It was evidently a split edition. Herbert records to Vautrollier, "1579. Ciceronis orationes. Lib. III."<sup>61</sup> It may be, then, that Vautrollier did print at this time all the orations. Jackson and Bollifant

<sup>59</sup> Tanner, *Westminster School*, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> Quaritch Catalogue No. 589, item 462.

<sup>61</sup> Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 1070.

would, of course, have printed these three volumes of orations in their edition of Lambinus in 1585, if such an edition was ever completed. There is a copy of the first volume of the orations of this date, "Apud Ioh. Iacsonum, & Edm. Bollifantum" in the British Museum,<sup>62</sup> and Herbert had a copy. Ames records that there was also a companion "volumen secundum,"<sup>63</sup> and in fact the Bodleian has copies of both volumes one and two of the orations of this edition of 1585. On January 14, 1594, Richard Field had,

Assigned vnto hym. the printing of *Tullies orations* in 16 [mo] for the companye, And he to alowe vpon euery impression *vj*<sup>d</sup> in the *pound* to th[e] use of the poore of the company accordinge to th[e] order in yat behalf . . .

Memorandum that this entrance is onely of *Tullies orations* in decimo sexto in three volumes.

Assigned vnto him in like sort the printinge of *Tullies offices* in decimo sexto only,

on the same terms.<sup>64</sup> Apparently, then, the Company regarded the right to the orations and *Offices* as having reverted to itself, and all London editions in the first half of the seventeenth century are for the Company. Field seems to have printed the three volumes of orations as edited by Brutus, in 1596<sup>65</sup> (Herbert), and also in the seventeenth century. Herbert apparently records an edition of the *Offices* to him in 1596 also.

So far, Vautrollier had met no recorded difficulties with his Cicero. But the epistles were different, since other publishers already had rights in separate school collections of other editions. Vautrollier sets out his rights thus (ed. 1579),

Regiae Maiestatis Privilegio cautum est, ne quis M. T. Ciceronis epistolas familiares, ex Dionisij Lambini & aliorum doctissimorū virorum recognitione, & castigatione, infra decennium imprimat, aut alibi extra Angliae regnum impressa diuendat, praeter ea quae Thomas Vautrollerius typographus Londinensis in claustro vulgo Blackfriars commorans, suis typis excuderit.

On Lambinus and his variants, as upon the other copies in this patent, Vautrollier had a ten year monopoly which forbade anyone else either to print or to import the particular form specified. But there were other editions. Bynneman had published the *Epistolae Familiares* in 1571, and had evidently passed the collection to Marshe, who

<sup>62</sup> S. T. C. gives two volumes of the orations for B. M. Actually, the two volumes are the first two volumes of the edition, only volume one of the orations being thus included.

<sup>63</sup> Ames, Joseph, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), p. 406.

<sup>64</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 643. <sup>65</sup> F. S. Ferguson, Esq. has a copy of volume two.

published an edition, as edited by Christopher Hegendorff, in 1574. On July 17, 1581, officers of the Stationers' Company had before them the question of ownership "of Tullies eyles w<sup>th</sup> lambines ānota-cōns."<sup>66</sup> Thomas Marshe claimed the right to the epistles, of which he had issued at least one edition, in 1574. In the meantime, Thomas Vautrollier had printed at least two editions, one in 1575, another in 1579. In the absence of Vautrollier, his wife was now in 1581 completing an impression, against which Marshe was objecting. It was ordered that the impression be completed and the question of ownership and consequent possible damages be deferred till the return of Thomas Vautrollier. It should be noted, however, that Marshe had printed the *Epistles* as edited by Christopher Hegendorff, while Vautrollier had printed the work as edited by Lambinus, with the notes of Paulus Manutius. These were, therefore, only reprints of continental editions, as was uniformly the situation in England at this period. Since Marshe and Vautrollier had reprinted different continental editions of the *Epistles*, and since Marshe had the right to schoolbooks, but Vautrollier to the complete Cicero by Lambinus and its variants, some very pretty points were involved; but on their solution we have no further direct information. Vautrollier's patent, however, should have been sufficient warrant for this or any other edition based on Lambinus, until it expired. But after Vautrollier's patent expired we find Jackson and Bollifant printing in 1585 an edition of the Lambinus-Manutius. Robinson also printed editions of this form in 1590 and 1591.<sup>67</sup> All were thus agreed that this was the best form for grammar school.

No copy of Vautrollier's impression of 1581 is recorded in S. T. C., and Herbert knew only the record S. R. that there had been such an edition. It being Dr. Greg's purpose to refer only to now known copies as recorded in S. T. C., he has not referred to this edition at all. Palmer's description of the edition of 1579 almost exactly fits my copy of the edition of 1581, only the date and one or two minor matters of punctuation being changed. A hasty and very superficial comparison of this copy with that of 1579 in B. M. indicated that it is merely a reprint of some one of Vautrollier's previous editions. This collection contains only the familiar epistles of Volume V, in the form edited from Lambinus by Paulus Manutius. It is thus not

<sup>66</sup> Greg, Boswell, *Records*, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> The B. M. Catalogue says this edition of 1591 is "Another edition of that of Cologne, 1577," on what authority I do not know.

a reprint of the fifth volume of the Lambinus edition. There is no indication that any other collection of Cicero's letters was published in England, though those *Ad T. Pomponium Atticum* were also at times used in grammar schools.

For the Lambinus set, we now have left the three volumes of philosophy. Of these, only the third, which is the last of the set, seems to have been published in England. As we have seen in connection with Kingston, Vautrollier had printed in 1579 an edition of the school collection surrounding *De Officiis*, which formed the third volume of philosophy, the last volume of the edition. But again Vautrollier is printing, not from Lambinus, but from the revision of Paulus Manutius on Lambinus, as in the case of the *Epistolae Familiares*. The Stationers' Company granted Field the right in 1594 to print an edition of the *De Officiis* volume, showing that ownership had reverted to them. Herbert records that Field printed such an edition in 1596. It would seem, therefore, that under his patent to the complete works of Cicero by Lambinus Vautrollier had attempted to print only the volumes demanded in grammar school, and not the unrevised Lambinus at that. In 1579, he had printed the first volume of the orations as edited by Brutus, upon Lambinus. In addition, he is recorded as having printed only the *Epistolae Familiares*, and the last volume of philosophy, containing *De Officiis*, etc., both being Lambinus as edited by Paulus Manutius. Thus Vautrollier's publications were aimed at supplying grammar school needs in Cicero. Since Vautrollier was aiming to supply grammar school needs in Cicero, he had also printed in 1584 the collection of *Sententiae Ciceronis*, etc., which Herbert says Marshe had previously printed in 1580. So Marshe and Vautrollier were here again in conflict. It will be seen how for lack of precise delimitation these patents caused difficulty.

For the logic of Ramus, Vautrollier had printed the original Latin in 1576, and the translation of Makylmenaeus in 1574 and in 1581. It was later entered to G. Bishop December 9, 1588, who published an edition of the Latin in 1589. There had also been an edition of the Latin at Cambridge by T. Thomas in 1584.

The history of these copies makes it appear that the patent of Vautrollier was not renewed at expiration in 1584. In 1582, it was said of Vautrollier that,

He doth yet, neither great good, nor great harme withall. This patent if it were fully executed, it were verie doubtfull, whether the Printer should be

a gayner, or a looser: He hath other small thinges wherewith he keepeth his presses on work, and also worketh for bookesellers of the Company, who kepe no presses.<sup>68</sup>

While we probably do not have all of Vautrollier's editions recorded, yet this statement agrees with surviving facts to indicate that Vautrollier had not done very much with the larger program of this patent. Then it was agreed on July 18, 1583,

Their Lordships to be a meane to her maiestie that hereafter no generall title of bookes of Arte nor scholle bookes except bookes perteyning to her maiesties service be not Drawen into priviledge

That *Marshe* and *vautrouller* haveng the sole printing of schole bookes may be treated withall to chose some sortes and leave the rest.<sup>69</sup>

That apparently did happen to the holdings of Vautrollier; but by some arrangement Marshe's copies passed to R. Robinson, as has already appeared, and from Robinson passed at least in great part to R. Dexter.

As we have seen, Vautrollier also had by another patent the *Phrases Linguae Latinae* of Aldus Manutius. Vautrollier's preface is dated, "Londino, Calend. Iulii. M. D. LXXIII," and there was evidently an edition at that time, but the earliest known edition is of 1579.<sup>70</sup> Vautrollier also printed an edition in 1581. The work was entered to Harrison and Field on October 29, 1594,<sup>71</sup> and editions printed for John Harrison in 1595 and 1599.

Besides these patented works, Vautrollier had printed Buchanan's *Baptistes* in 1577, and 1578; and G. Macropedius, *Methodus de conscribendis epistolis* in 1580. The latter work had been entered to John Harrison, Sr., on September 5, of the same year, who assigned it to Richard Field May 7, 1594,<sup>72</sup> who printed an edition in 1595 (Herbert). Field had already printed an edition of it in 1592.<sup>73</sup> Vautrollier had also printed the *Epistles* of Paulus Manutius for Norton in 1581.

Vautrollier had printed under date of 1587, an edition of the New Testament in Greek from the form of H. Stephanus, collated to T. Beza. Vautrollier died between July 10 and 22, 1587, and Mrs. Vautrollier was forbidden on March 4, 1588, to print any more; but some days later she was permitted to complete certain work, including,

<sup>68</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 144.

<sup>69</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 785.

<sup>70</sup> B. M.; not in S. T. C. This copy lacks Q, having instead that gathering of some edition of the *Epistolae Familiares*.

<sup>71</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 663.

<sup>72</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, pp. 373, 648.

<sup>73</sup> My copy; not in S. T. C. I have also a copy of an edition printed by Field in 1621; not in S. T. C.

"the leafe of the greke testament."<sup>74</sup> Presumably this was a final sheet for the edition of 1587. This work doubtless exercised the "lesse Greeke" which Field had acquired at Stratford. It was probably exercised also on Hesiod's *Opera et Dies*, of which, according to Brüggemann,<sup>75</sup> Field printed an edition in 1590. Field had also printed an edition of Verepaeus *De Epistolis Conscribendis* for John Harrison in 1592. It had been entered S. R. to Harrison March 16, 1592.<sup>76</sup> Of these works which had been printed by Vautrollier and had eventually been printed by Field, the widow of Field on April 3, 1626, assigned "Macropedes . . . Manutius phrases . . . Tullies Orations 3. volumes."<sup>77</sup> So Field had retained the right in some form to these school books till his death. Here, then, is a third succession of printers of schoolbooks in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

It appears, therefore, that Bynneman about 1573 arranged to take dictionaries as his province in the way of schoolbooks, leaving school texts to Marshe, whose holdings passed to Robert Robinson. Vautrollier had also procured patents in 1573 and in 1574, and Field had succeeded both to Vautrollier's press and to some of his copies. Field also printed a considerable number of copies belonging to publishers who were not printers. Though we do not hear of a patent, Kingston, too, was a considerable printer of schoolbooks, his copies passing for the most part to George Robinson, whose widow carried them to Thomas Orwin, and herself did some printing after Orwin's death.

The partners in the Eliot's Court printing house also occasionally printed grammar school texts. "John Jackson was one of the partners in the Eliot's Court printing house, the others being Ninian Newton, Arnold Hatfield and Edmund Bollifant."<sup>78</sup> In 1585, the partners, two and two, produced several schoolbooks. Newton and Hatfield produced Caesar, but Hatfield appeared alone in the edition of 1590. These two also produced for Norton and Harrison in 1585 an edition of the Horace, Persius, Juvenal, though Newton's name does not appear on the title of the Horace, nor the attribution to Norton and Harrison on that of the Persius-Juvenal.

Similarly, the other two partners, Jackson and Bollifant (alias Carpenter), are said by Herbert to have produced in this same year of 1585 a complete edition in nine volumes of the Cicero by Lambinus.

<sup>74</sup> Greg and Boswell, *Records*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>75</sup> Brüggemann, L. W., *A View of the English Editions . . . of the Ancient Greek and Latin Authors*, p. 41.

<sup>76</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 606.

<sup>77</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. IV, p. 157.

<sup>78</sup> McKerrow, *Dictionary*, p. 150.

As we have seen, the patent on this edition had belonged to Vautrollier, but he is not known to have printed any of it in unrevised form. Copies of the first volume of this edition of 1585 are in the British Museum and the Library of the University of Illinois. Being the first volume, it gives, of course, a table of contents for all nine volumes, as if the complete edition was to be published. Herbert may, therefore, be basing his inference for a complete edition entirely upon this first volume. The only other volume of the set that he gives definite evidence of having seen is the second, whose imprint is not uniform with that of the first. A copy of this second volume is in the British Museum. There is also a copy of it as well as of the third in the Bodleian. So the partners had printed at least the first three volumes of the set. I believe, however, that Herbert had seen only the first two volumes, and from the table of contents in the first had inferred a complete edition. Certainly the first three volumes of such an edition were printed.

Jackson and Bollifant also printed another of Vautrollier's copies of Cicero in this same year 1585, producing the *Epistolae Familiares* as edited by Lambinus-Manutius. Marshe's copy had been of another form. So Jackson and Bollifant were in 1585 printing a great part of Vautrollier's grammar school Cicero. In 1588, Jackson had produced alone for John Harrison<sup>79</sup> the epitome of Textor's *Epitheta* by Hadrianus Junius. In 1589, Bollifant printed alone Livy for Bishop, for Watkins, and for Harrison (Bodleian). On December 1, 1595, Bollifant and his partners were fined for printing Cato disorderly, the book was confiscated for Robinson, who owned it, and Bollifant was committed to ward.<sup>80</sup>

So the chief connection of the partners of the Eliot's Court printing house with schoolbooks was for some reason confined to the one year 1585. No one of these copies belonged to them, except possibly Caesar, which Bollifant and Hatfield entered in 1601 preparatory to an edition of that year which bears the name of Hatfield alone.

Still another printer put forth several schoolbooks; but there is no record that he owned any copy, and he presumably printed for others always, as he certainly did usually. This was Henry Middleton. He printed an edition of Aphthonius in 1572, which Marshe printed in 1575, 1580, and 1583, and the widow of T. Orwin in 1596. Thus three

<sup>79</sup> B. M. copy. An imperfect copy at Cambridge has been guessed as 1564, presumably because the preface is dated "Kal. October 1564."

<sup>80</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, pp. 578, 581; Vol. II, p. 824; Greg and Boswell, *Records*, p. 56.



different lines of printers are involved in these four editions, so that the copy presumably belonged to no one of them. In this same year 1572, Middleton printed Cato, which at the time belonged to Bynne-man, or Marshe, whose successor, R. Robinson, printed it in 1592. Middleton printed in 1573 Sallust as edited by Aldus Manutius in 1562 (B. M. copy; not in S. T. C.), but does not say for whom. Herbert says that Middleton printed Sallust again in 1583. In 1573 also, Middleton printed Lippus Brandolinus, *De Ratione Scribendi libri tres*, which probably was intended for grammar school consumption, though I have found no direct mention of the work there. In the same year, 1573, Middleton printed Erasmus, *De Duplici Copia*, which Kingston had printed in 1569, and Roedius in 1556. In 1578, Middleton printed for G. Norton and J. Harrison<sup>81</sup> Erasmus, *De Civilitate*, with the scholia by Gisbertus Longolius. In 1580, he printed Virgil for J. Harrison, and another edition for him in 1583. In 1583, he printed the supposititious *Consolatio* of Cicero for G. Ponsonby. Herbert attributes also an edition of *De Officiis* to Middleton in 1583. Apparently, Middleton was simply printing these schoolbooks for others, and was content to reap his profit merely from printing.

Similarly, there might be publishers who had no presses, but were interested in distribution alone. Several of these make their appearance as publishers of editions along with other more or less occasional printers of schoolbooks. One of these stationers who published editions of the grammar school classics in the 'seventies was William Norton. We have seen that Kingston printed an edition of the epistles of Paulus Manutius for Norton in 1573, and Vautrollier another in 1581. In 1574, Norton had published Horace, Juvenal, and Persius together. The collection was reprinted in 1578-79 for Norton and John Harrison. N. Newton and A. Hatfield of the Eliot's Court printing house had also printed an edition for them in 1585. In 1592, copies occur with the names of Harrison and Norton separately. These two men together or separately continued to publish

<sup>81</sup> The copy in B. M. has the following interesting note at the end.

[L]iber Dni Robarti Baynlei(?), emptus  
[ ]entoni, decimo secundo die noue-  
[mb]ris, Ao. 1584 & Rodolpho Mourdeno,  
Bibliopola Stamfordiensi  
pcm huius libri—iij<sup>d</sup>  
Scopus vitae Christus.

The title page also bears inscription and price. "How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford fair?" (*a Henry IV*, III, 2, 42-43). It appears that books as well as bullocks might be had at Stamford, even if the books were six years old.

this collection well into the seventeenth century. In 1578, Norton and Harrison had published *De Civilitate Morum* of Erasmus, as prepared by Longolius, their printer being H. Middleton. Norton and Harrison entered the logic of Ramus in Latin and the rhetoric of Talaeus on November 11, 1577;<sup>82</sup> both were licensed to Harrison alone on December 5, 1582;<sup>83</sup> and both again to Harrison and Norton together on August 22, 1586.<sup>84</sup> Yet no edition of either Ramus or Talaeus is recorded for either Harrison or Norton, though Harrison was connected with two works upon the logic of Ramus. In both of these, he was associated with George Bishop, who eventually printed the logic itself. In 1587, Vautrollier printed an edition of the first volume of Cicero's orations, part for Norton (Quaritch), and part for Harrison (Herbert). With both Harrison and Bishop, Norton had entered on January 5, 1579, the *Apophthegmata* of Lycosthenes,<sup>85</sup> but no English edition is known till well into the seventeenth century. Herbert records to Norton in 1587 an edition of the *Erasmi Parabolae* by John Artopaeus, with similes added from Cicero and other authors. This was entered to Norton October 29, 1585.<sup>86</sup> Thus Norton is an occasional publisher of schoolbooks.

John Harrison, Sr., is said by Herbert on the authority of T. Martin to have printed an edition of Mancinus in 1574; but most and presumably all of his schoolbooks were printed for him by others. And the Mancinus is probably no exception. For it was again printed, in 1584, this time by Marshe "Cum priuilegio."<sup>87</sup> This would look as if the copy belonged to Marshe, who may have produced an edition for Harrison in 1574, but most likely there has been some confusion. We have seen that Harrison was concerned with Norton in the publication of the collection of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius from the edition of 1578-79 on into the seventeenth century. Similarly, Harrison was concerned with Norton and George Bishop in the licensing of the *Apophthegmata* of Lycosthenes January 5, 1579, and with Norton in the series of licenses for Ramus and Talaeus, beginning November 11, 1577, though no copy of either Lycosthenes, Talaeus, or Ramus survives from either of these entrants. Harrison and Bishop had entered the *Colloquies* of Corderius July 17, 1576,<sup>88</sup> but no copy of this

<sup>82</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 319.

<sup>83</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 417. The Talaeus was now to be "cum commentationes per Claudium Minoem." <sup>84</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 455.

<sup>85</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 344.

<sup>86</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 444.

<sup>87</sup> Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes 1867-1876*, pp. 273-274.

<sup>88</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 301.

work of Corderius survives till well into the seventeenth century. On July 6, 1589, Harrison and Bishop agreed that Robert Robinson should have the only printing of the work during the time of the letters patent which they held upon it. Robinson was to receive 3s 6d for every ream of 3,000 upon a form of the pica Roman letter, printing only when directed and as the copy of Harrison and Bishop.<sup>89</sup> J. Jackson produced for Harrison in 1588 an edition of the *Epitheta* of Ravisius Textor. His partner E. Bollifant produced in 1589 a split edition of Livy for Harrison (Bodl.), Bishop, and Watkins. H. Middleton had printed an edition of Virgil for Harrison in 1580, and another in 1583.

Harrison had also employed Vautrollier and Field to print several of his schoolbooks. It was he who entered the *Methodus* of Macrope-dius on September 5, 1580, which was printed by Vautrollier in 1580, and by his successor Field in 1592, before Harrison transferred the copy to Field May 7, 1594, which Field retained till his death, printing an edition in 1595 (Herbert), and others in the seventeenth century. According to Herbert, Vautrollier had printed for Harrison in 1587 the first volume of Cicero's orations as edited by Brutus. This edition was divided with Norton. Field had printed an edition of the *Metamorphoses* in 1589 for Harrison. He printed for Harrison in 1592, Simon Verepaeus, *De Epistolis Latine Conscribendis Libri V*, which was entered S. R. March 16, 1592.<sup>90</sup> This was the form of the work which Verepaeus had prepared in 1586. Again, Field and Harrison together entered on October 29, 1594, the *Phrases* of Manutius,<sup>91</sup> which had belonged to Vautrollier; and Field printed editions for Harrison in 1595, and 1599.

Harrison had also entered for himself Freigius, *Paedagogus*, on November 27, 1582;<sup>92</sup> but there is no evidence that he proceeded to print. Since the preface is dated the Calends of September, 1582, one suspects that Harrison may have jumped at the title before he had seen the book, though he evidently became aware of it through the autumn Fair. But there is indirect evidence that the work was used in school work, at least occasionally. In the copy of Withals, *A Shorte Dictionarie*, of 1574, in B. M., among other scrawls on the blank verso of the last leaf is a list of three books:

Willobies avisa  
pathwaie to knowledge  
Joannis Thomae Freigij Paedagogus.

<sup>89</sup> Greg and Boswell, *Records*, p. 32.

<sup>91</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 663.

<sup>90</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 606.

<sup>92</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 416.

The *Pathway to Knowledge* is a book on arithmetic translated from the Dutch by W. P. It was entered to T. Nelson May 31, 1592,<sup>93</sup> and survives in an edition of 1596 for W. Barley. Now the handwriting in the list above appears to be that of William Nelson,<sup>94</sup> who made scrawls elsewhere in the volume. One suspects that he may be the son of T. Nelson, who entered the *Pathway*. Freigius and *The Pathway*, listed in this copy of Withals, are certainly intended as schoolbooks.

The surprising member of the trio is *Willobies Avis*. This was entered September 3, 1594,<sup>95</sup> and printed the same year by J. Windet. It is supposed that a second edition was published in 1596, and a third in 1599, etc. So the list we are considering in a Withals of 1574 seems most likely to have been made in or not long after 1596, when there were apparently editions of both the *Pathway* and *Avis*. Freigius, it will be remembered, is 1582. To us, with our scandalous ideas of the work, this is curious company for the *Avis* to be keeping. For it is clear from this list that the book was to be used in connection with school work, no doubt in the study of poetry. This use accounts for the numerous editions of the work, and for the general poor state of surviving copies. Contemporary grammar school masters evidently saw in it shining examples of virtue well worthy to be impressed upon every boy. That was the spirit in which it professed to be written, and unsuspecting contemporaries evidently took it at face value. How those schoolmasters would have been shocked had they known what some moderns think they know! And how the boys would have been delighted!

But to return to Harrison, in 1589 he entered three orations of Isocrates in Greek,<sup>96</sup> though no edition for him is known. He also entered Cicero's *Tusculan Questions* on June 8, 1591.<sup>97</sup> The Library of the University of Illinois has a copy printed in 1599 for Harrison by "Arn. Hatf." (not in S. T. C.). This work, as edited by Erasmus, had previously been printed by J. Kingston in 1577, but there is no further indication that Harrison proceeded earlier to an edition. Sallust was entered to Harrison on May 21, 1595,<sup>98</sup> and there is an edition of 1601 for Robert Dexter, "Typis Iohannis Harrisoni," who was the son of our John. In fact, then, it appears that Harrison's personal copies frequently did not go to print. Apparently, he used them for purposes

<sup>93</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 613.

<sup>94</sup> I find a William Nelson, born March 13, 1604, entering Merchant Taylors' in 1614 (Robinson, *Merchant Taylors' School*, Vol. I, p. 81), but he seems to be several years too late for this entry.

<sup>95</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 659.

<sup>96</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 535.

<sup>97</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 584.

<sup>98</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 298.

of control. Since he was only a publisher and not a printer, the small license fee would prevent local competition. Presumably, he could then either import, or hire a local printer, according as he could get the best terms.

Norton and Harrison, then, were publishers who sometimes co-operated. We have seen that George Bishop, who seems to have been both printer and publisher, was concerned with Norton and Harrison in the entry of the *Apophthegmata* of Lycosthenes on January 5, 1579, though no copy is known to survive. Bishop also entered on February 28, 1579, "Rocci Pilorcij. Marsianensis Ciuis Perusini de scribendi rescribendique epistolas ratione liber."<sup>99</sup> No copy is known. The *Epistolae* of Lipsius published by Bishop are likely also to have been used in grammar school. Bishop published a first part in 1586, a second in 1590 (entered May 29), and both together in 1593. Livy was printed in 1589 by E. Bollifant for G. Bishop, also for John Harrison (Bodleian),<sup>100</sup> and for R. Watkins. On December 9, 1588,<sup>101</sup> Bishop entered an edition of the *Dialectica* by Ramus, which was printed for him in 1589. On July 3, 1589, he entered Lucan,<sup>102</sup> which was printed the same year. In 1590, Bishop published an edition of the Greek grammar of Ceperinus as revised by Frisius (Herbert). Ceperinus had previously been printed in 1585 by J. Windet. On July 3, 1591, Bishop entered with Newbery Aesop in Greek,<sup>103</sup> and alone Homer, and *Oratio* of Isocrates in Greek. No copy of the Aesop survives, though the Iliad was printed for Bishop in 1591, and the first three orations of Isocrates for Bishop, supposedly in 1599. These, together with the grammar of Ceperinus in Greek, were transferred on March 14, 1611, as Bishop's copies, following his death. This entry of Isocrates refers only to the *Ad Demonicum*, though the first three orations had been included in the edition of 1599. These three had been licensed to John Harrison, Sr., in 1589.<sup>104</sup>

Several other publishers enter only an item or two for school use. We have seen that Oliver Wilkes had caused Kingston in 1575 to print the *Principia*, a book of Latin formulae prepared from Cicero's epistles by Corderius. Similarly, on February 19, 1577, Wilkes entered the Latin-French Cato of Corderius, which was to be turned

<sup>99</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 348.

<sup>100</sup> Copy containing only the supplementary matter, without the Livy itself.

<sup>101</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 510.

<sup>102</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 525. Herbert gives an edition of 1588, but none of 1589, evidently in error (*Typographical Antiquities*, p. 1149).

<sup>103</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 587.

<sup>104</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 535.

into Latin-English.<sup>106</sup> Ruddiman records an edition of 1577 (Palmer), and the work was printed for A. Maunsell in 1584.

A couple of items may have been intended at least partially for grammar school. W. Ponsonby entered on July 23, 1583,<sup>106</sup> the supposititious *Ciceronis Consolatio*, which was printed for him by H. Middleton in the same year. On November 7, 1586, T. Dawson entered the works of Demosthenes in Greek,<sup>107</sup> and printed in 1586 only the text of *κατὰ Μειδίου* in Greek. Denham had already entered and printed Nicholas Carr's Latin translation of the three Olynthiacs and four Philippics of Demosthenes in 1571. He had printed in 1570 an English translation by T. Wilson of the same orations. Joseph Barnes is said by Herbert<sup>108</sup> to have printed at Oxford in 1593 fifteen orations of Demosthenes in Greek, together with Carr's Latin translations as above. In 1597, he printed again the fifteen orations in Greek, but without Carr's translations attached.

A few other individual entries may be noticed. In 1550, J. Day had printed Richard Sherry's *Schemes and Tropes*. Sherry then revised the work into a Latin-English text for grammar schools, and R. Tottel printed it in 1555, but it evidently did not "take," since only the one edition was called for. In 1573, W. Williamson printed Rudolph Walther's *De syllabarum et carminum ratione* for the guidance of youth in the writing of verse.

A frequently published collection of *Carminum Prouerbialium Loci Communes Selecti* throws interesting light on the ways of the book trade. In 1576, Oporinus published at Basle a collection of proverbs in Latin verse, with a preface to the reader by Hermannus Germbergius, who had collected them for the use of youth, and with a prefatory poem by "S. A. I. Ad Emptorem."<sup>109</sup> The proverbs frequently are paralleled with their German equivalent. Christopher Barker then entered this collection of Germbergius S. R. on November 21, 1576,<sup>110</sup> and printed an edition in 1577, omitting the preface by Germbergius and the German equivalent proverbs as his chief changes; that is, if these items were in the edition of 1576, which I have not seen. Barker evidently located the work at the autumn Fair of 1576, and lost no time at his return in staking out a claim. The numerous editions for the next century show that he had picked

<sup>106</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 308.

<sup>106</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 426.

<sup>107</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 458.

<sup>108</sup> Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 1405.

<sup>109</sup> Copy of 1582 in B. M.; Bernstein, Ignace, *Catalogue Des Livres Parémiologiques*, No. 505; Gratet-Duplessis, P. A., *Bibliographie Parémiologique* (1847), No. 136; Nopitsch, C. C., *Literatur der Sprichwörter* (1822), p. 208.

<sup>110</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 305.

a useful commodity. Queen Elizabeth herself had a copy of the edition of 1579, even though she seldom invested in English-printed books. Editions were printed by Barker in 1577, 1579, and 1583,<sup>111</sup> then by T. Dawson as the assign of Barker in 1588, 1595, 1599, etc.

J. Windet printed an edition of the Greek grammar by Ceporinus in 1585. The *Illustrium Poetarum Flores* by Octavianus Mirandula was entered S. R. to Thomas Creede on February 13, 1598,<sup>112</sup> for one impression only, at rates specified, and was printed that year.

There were a few other publications for grammar school at the end of the century, which I have not included because they were written too late for Shakspeare to have been taught or to have taught them, and because they were not connected with the printers and publishers of the 'seventies or their successors. This is, of course, the barest of sketches, and should not be taken as anything else.<sup>113</sup> My purpose has been simply to give some general idea of what were school books in Shakspeare's time, whence they came, who handled them, etc. This is in no sense a complete history of the publication of school books in England during the sixteenth century. A rather useful piece of research could be done in working out this problem in detail; but that is not demanded by our present purpose.

It will be seen from this sketch that most of the standard grammar school authors were at some time or other during the second half of the sixteenth century printed in England. There were certainly a great many editions not yet recorded, and we ought to make special effort to locate and preserve these battered wrecks of other days.<sup>114</sup> But the general situation is clear enough. The Latin texts were almost without exception mere reprints of continental editions, sometimes page for page. Englishmen did not themselves qualify as editors of these texts till the seventeenth century. Whether, therefore, a given text was printed in England early enough for Shakspeare to have used it is not of much importance for our purpose. He would

<sup>111</sup> My copy; not in S. T. C., but listed in Bernstein, *Liures Parémiologiques*, No. 4296.

<sup>112</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. III, p. 103.

<sup>113</sup> I have used basically the *Short Title Catalogue*, Herbert, and Palmer, but checking always to originals wherever possible. My examination of copies at the British Museum has been fairly thorough for the purpose. At the Bodleian, at Cambridge, and at the Huntington Library my examination has been more cursory and supplementary.

<sup>114</sup> I should like here to enter a plea for these old books. There should be no cutting, no erasure, no "washing," for even the thumbing is valuable as showing what passages were emphasized. They should have the dust brushed out gently, should be tightened up if necessary, and in general shielded from further hard usage. By no means should they be treated as did the benevolent ghouls of the last century with their more aristocratic brethren, who pressed them to death, and cut their hearts out to be enshrined in gilded sepulchers.

most likely, but by no means certainly, have used a previous continental edition of the same form. So these English reprints show us what continental forms were sufficiently in demand to call for editions in England. The older texts, of course, would also continue to circulate for centuries, and continental editions may have continued to be imported even after an edition had appeared in England.

So far, we have left aside the dictionaries of various descriptions. The old standard elementary vocabulary had been the *Vocabula* of Stanbridge, which still survived to serve some useful functions. Within our period, there had been an edition by J. Day for A. Vele about 1562. It was revised by T. Newton, entered September 30, 1577, and printed by J. Aldaeus the same year. It was licensed to T. East as "nuper emendata ac edita" on March 20, 1587,<sup>115</sup> but no edition by him is known, though there was an occasional edition on into the seventeenth century. Thus it still had some currency.

Berthelet also had copies of dictionaries which projected themselves into Shakspeare's time. He printed the *Little Dictionarie* of John Withals in 1553, though the earliest copy I have seen is from the edition of 1556, under the title *A short Dictionarie For Yonge Beginners. Gathered of good authours, specially of Columell, Grapald, and Plini*. This edition, "very necessarie for children: Compiled by Jhon Withals," was printed by John Kingston for John Waley and Abraham Vele. It was entered S. R. to R. Jugge in 1557-58; and printed in 1562 by the house of Berthelet as it had been in 1553, and in 1559 (Herbert). It was entered to T. Purfoot 1564-65,<sup>116</sup> printed by H. Wykes, in 1566, who was fined for printing it without license 1565-66; printed again by Wykes in 1568; by T. Purfoot "The seconde tyme corrected" in 1572 (Herbert), 1574, 1579 (Herbert). The edition of 1574 sums up the changes thus, "The Seconde tyme corrected, and augmented, with diuerse Phrasys, & other thinges necessarie therevnto added: By Lewys Euans." In his dedication to Leicester, Evans speaks of "Hauinge once before corrected this smale boke." I do not know whether this refers to the edition of 1572 recorded by Herbert or to a still earlier one. It was printed again by Purfoot in 1581, "the thirde time corrected and augmented, with dyuers Phrases, and other things necessary thereunto added by Lewis Euans." This is a page for page reprint of 1574, but at the end

<sup>115</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 466.

<sup>116</sup> Henry Sutton received license for *the brefe Dyxeyonary* in 1562-1563 (Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 215). Is this Withals?



are "Certayne Phrases added in the third correction," and "Illustres quaedam sententiae ex optimis autoribus selectae." It was next printed by Purfoot in 1584,

And nowe lastlie augmented with more than six hundred rythmical verses, whereof many be prouerbial, some heretofore found in olde authours, and othersome neuer before this time seene or read in the Latine tongue, as hauing their originall grace in English; Newlie done by Abraham Fleming.<sup>117</sup>

These materials are inserted by Fleming, and include the distich from Palingenius as to the world as a stage, which Shakspeare was later to immortalize from the original. Purfoot then printed other page for page editions of this form to the end of the century, beyond which we do not at present need to pursue its history. We may add that in 1586-87 seven hundred and fifty copies of Withals were valued at 49<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> per hundred, just under 6d each.<sup>118</sup>

Berthelet also published the standard Latin-English dictionary for reference, which was the Elyot-Cooper. Sir Thomas Elyot had published his *Dictionary* in 1538, which he revised and reprinted in 1545. It was then revised by Cooper 1548, a second time revised by Cooper 1552, the third time corrected by Cooper in 1559, entered to R. Haryson 1562-63. Cooper then reconstructed the work as his *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae*, which was printed 1565 by H. Wykes in the former house of Berthelet, who had printed all the earlier versions. It was reprinted in 1573 and 1578. Bynneman received a patent on it in 1579.<sup>119</sup> It was agreed by Bynneman and Newbery on April 2, 1582, that by or before midsummer they would begin to print an impression of the dictionary. It was entered to Newbery and Denham December 30, 1584, and published the same year as printed by Bynneman. There was another edition in 1587.

It will be noticed that Wykes was connected with both of the preceding copies in succession to Berthelet. This succession is also carried on in the case of the *Ad Sapientiam Introductio* of Vives, which was used in grammar school. In 1540, Berthelet had printed a translation of this by Richard Morison under the title of *An Introduction to Wysedome*. Berthelet reprinted this in 1544 and 1550, and Wykes in 1564. It will be remembered that Wykes had also printed Susenbrotus in 1570, though Berthelet is not known ever to have been con-

<sup>117</sup> My copy, imperfect, not in S. T. C.; but Hazlitt probably saw this copy (Hazlitt, *Bibliographical Collections* (2nd series), p. 654).

<sup>118</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, pp. 520, 521, 532, 537, 543, 546, 553, 557, 559.

<sup>119</sup> McKerrow, "Bynneman," *Library*, ser. 2, Vol. IX, pp. 242-243.

nected with this author. But Wykes had published several of Berthelet's copies, and at least in the case of Withals got into some trouble by so doing. We have seen that others of Berthelet's copies had passed to other men than Wykes, however.

But to continue with the dictionaries, an English-Latin dictionary was Richard Huloet's *Abcedarium Anglo-Latinum pro tyrunculis*, printed in 1552 by W. Riddell, and as "newelye corrected . . . by Iohn Higgins" to include English, Latin, and French, by T. Marshe in 1572 after entry to him from Riddell in 1568-69.<sup>120</sup> It was passed from Marshe to T. Orwin on June 23, 1591.<sup>121</sup> One would have thought Huloet a valuable adjunct to Cooper, but apparently contemporaries did not so consider him.

One would also expect John Baret's *Alvearie* to have been used for reference in grammar school.<sup>122</sup> It was printed in English, Latin, and French, with some Greek, by H. Denham in 1573, and again with the Greek strengthened in 1580. It was thus of some currency, but not widely used.

Another work which the author hoped would be used in grammar school is the *Manipulus Vocabulorum. A Dictionarie of English and Latine wordes*, by P. Levens, which was entered to R. Newbery 1569-70,<sup>123</sup> and printed by H. Bynneman for J. Waley in 1570. But this is the only edition recorded, so that it could hardly have been widely used. It was passed on October 12, 1591, to T. Adams from Waley.<sup>124</sup>

Yet another possible schoolbook is the *Nomenclator* of Adrianus Junius, "Written by the said Ad. Iu. in Latine, Greeke, French and other forrein tongues: and now in English, by Iohn Higinis," which was entered on October 12, 1583,<sup>125</sup> to R. Newberie, and printed in 1585 for him and H. Denham. No other edition is known.

Jean Veron's *A Dictionary in Latine and English* corrected by R. W[addington] was printed by H. Middleton for J. Harrison in 1575. It was entered to R. Newbery and H. Denham December 30, 1584,<sup>126</sup> and printed by them the same year. It thus had some currency no doubt. This had been printed by R. Wolfe in 1552 as the *Dictionariolum Puerorum*. Stephanus had written it in Latin and

<sup>120</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 387.

<sup>121</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 586.

<sup>122</sup> A printer had at first proposed to reprint Huloet's *Dictionary* with the addition of Baret's notes, but that offer was not accepted (Baret, *Alvearie* (1580), [A6]v).

<sup>123</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 409.

<sup>124</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 596.

<sup>125</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 428. Copy in University of Illinois Library.

<sup>126</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 438.

French; then by 1552 Veron had added English,<sup>127</sup> and by 1575 Waddington had corrected it. Waddington, master of Christ's Hospital, himself explains this past history of the work, which he edits in 1575 as

*A Dictionary in Latine and English, heretofore set forth by Master Iohn Veron, and now newly corrected and enlarged, For the vilitie and profite of all young students in the Latine tongue, as by further search therin they shall finde.*

He says,

But because so ritche a tongue in wordes, adorned with so many apt phrases, cannot be comprised in any smal volume fitte in price or bulke, for young students, therefore that worthy French Printer Robert Steuens, thought good to draw a short Dictionary into Latine and French for the vse of his countrey schollers, whereunto Maister Iohn Veron Senouois, likewise a French man, and a painefull preacher of Gods Gospell here amongst vs, desiring to profite our youth in the Latine tongue, wherin he was very skilfull, added the English. These Bookes being all sold, and the meaner learned youth of this land wholly vnprouided, I was intreated by one desirous to further learning, to ouer looke and augment the same.

He has omitted the French in deference to Baret, but has augmented the number of useful words.

There were also Greek dictionaries. Harrison, Bishop, and Norton entered on January 5, 1579<sup>128</sup> the Lexicon in Greek and Latin that Crispinus had compiled from Constantinus, which was printed by Bynneman in 1581 as revised by Edward Grant, avowedly for the use of boys. On December 30, 1584, Newbery and Denham<sup>129</sup> entered under the Queen's patent various dictionaries, including Morelius, G., *Verborum Latinorum cum Graecis Anglicisque coniunctorum, locupletissimi Commentarii*, which had been printed in 1583 in the shop of Bynneman "per assignationem Richardi Huttoni." Newbery and Denham now claimed a patent on Cooper, Morelius, Veron and all similar Latin and Greek dictionaries.

But the reference-dictionary business was soon to shift to the universities. Thomas Thomas brought out his *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* at Cambridge and London about 1588, which reached its sixth edition in 1600, its twelfth in 1620. John Rider then pillaged Thomas for his *Bibliotheca scholastica* at Oxford in 1589 (copy in University of Illinois Library), which did not thrive till the seventeenth century.

<sup>127</sup> Dibdin, T. F., *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. IV, pp. 18-19.

<sup>128</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 344.

<sup>129</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. II, p. 438.

It will be seen, then, that in Latin the *Little Dictionarie* of Withals was the regular grammar school dictionary for memorization in Shakspeare's time, while Cooper's *Thesaurus* was the standard for reference. Various other dictionaries Latin and Greek printed within or without England might also be used.

From these English-printed schoolbooks and from their continental originals we can learn very exactly what Shakspeare ought to have been taught in grammar school. From them, we can determine on what materials and by what methods to examine Shakspeare upon his grammar school knowledge. And to that task we now address ourselves.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE TEXTBOOKS OF KING JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND

THE TEXTBOOKS of King James VI of Scotland, I of England, are of particular interest, since James was but two years younger than Shakspeare and so shows what texts were most current for educational work in Shakspeare's day. James was born June 19, 1566. George Buchanan was appointed preceptor to him in August, 1569, though he seems not to have taken up official duty till 1570, and Peter Young as joint preceptor at some time in 1569, apparently taking up official duty January 4, 1570.<sup>1</sup> As Sir James Melville distinguishes their functions, "Mr Georg Bowchanan and Mr Piter Young, that an the Kings maister, that vther his paedagog."<sup>2</sup>

In the surviving notes of Young upon James' books between 1573 and 1583, it is easy enough to follow the progress of James by the textbooks which were bought for him. Most of the early ones are entered consecutively at one place and marked *achepté*, in a list entitled *Index Librorum Regis*. The texts in this *Index* are earlier than November 1575.<sup>3</sup> The first text in this main group of purchases is *Fabulae Aesopi Camerarii*, 16° (p. lxxv). We shall see that Shakspeare also used the *Camerarius Aesop*. The next purchase listed is *Epitome Gesneri Bibliothecae*, fol. This was doubtless for bibliographical purposes, to locate the best editions. Then come in succession the two companions of Aesop, *Ciceronis epistolae selectae per Sturmium*, 8°, and *Catonis disticha cum aliis nonnullis*, 8°. The Cato was probably some edition of the usual Erasmus collection, while the Cicero was Sturm's popular collection of the easier epistles. A companion work of moral philosophy to Cato comes next, *Philelphus de disciplina morali*, 4°. This group of purchases had been immediately preceded by a companion group of gifts. These included an *Introduction of grammer in inglish and latin*, 8° which was entered elsewhere also in the *Index* as *Lilii Rudimenta et grammatica* (p. lx). This is immediately preceded by *Introduction to Wisdome, etc.*, 16°, which is Sir Richard Morison's translation from the *Ad Sapientiam Introductio* of Vives. Like Edward VI and many another English-speaking boy, James used this work of Vives as something to turn into Latin, in

<sup>1</sup> Warner, G. F., "The Library of James VI," *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* (1893), p. xiii, and n. 3. Also "40 copies printed for the Editor," extracted from the same.

<sup>2</sup> *The Diary of Mr James Melville* (Bannatyne Club, 1829), p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> For the order and dates of these lists, see Appendix V.

the way the grammar directs. In a list of books bought about July 25, 1576, the *Dialogi viuis francois lat.* was aimed at both Latin and French. Immediately preceding the Vives (Morison) was *Dialogi Sacri Castellionis*, 16°, given, *et des autres in 8°*, which were *Acheptez*. Thus Young has grouped here the books of the first two years of a grammar school course, including the texts for the corresponding work in French, which I have not included, though they are of similar nature.

The only other Latin work in this group as so far considered is a gift, *De Institutione Principis loci communes Lorichii*, 8°, the purpose of which is obvious enough. Some supplementary English and French works are listed after the Cicero, Cato, Philelphus, as purchased. John Sadler's translation of Vegetius, William Thomas, *History of Italy*, Sir Thomas Elyot's *Gouernour*. These were to help Cato and Philelphus on the moral philosophy of a "Prince." The next two items are definitely for religious training, *Christian prayers, etc.*, 8° and 2 *Catechismus A. Noëli gr. et lat.*, 8°. The Nowell, *Catechism*, would have been the full form of 1573. It seems clear that Shakspeare also had this full form, whether in English, Latin, or Greek, or all three. James would work from the Latin to the Greek. No copy of the English translation is listed for him.

The texts of Terence, the next grammar school author, form a separate group elsewhere in the *Index* (pp. lviii–lix). Bought were *Terentius in 8° ex editione Aldi*, and *Terentius cum comment. ex editione Antesignani*, 4°. The first was simple text; the second in its complete triple form had elaborate commentary, French translation, etc. There was also, of course, a *Terentii flores*, 16°, probably some form of the continental collection which Nicholas Udall had adapted for England in 1534. These are the basic purchases for Terence. In ordinary school the boy would purchase the first and third of these, and the school would furnish the annotated edition or editions. These three basic texts were supplemented by various gifts. In the group are listed *Terentius*, 8°, *Terentius et Horatius simul in 16°*, *Terentius Lat. et gall.*, 16°, *Terentius Ital.*, 8°, *Terentii Phormio*, 4°, which may be a purchase, *Terentius cum omnibus comment., fol.*, *Terentii Comoediae singulae singulis libellis*. James was thus well provided on his Terence.<sup>4</sup>

For his further progress we return to our original group. After Nowell's catechism we find *Epistolae Ciceronis Aldi*, 8°; Florus with

<sup>4</sup> Young has preserved an anecdote of James and Terence (p. lxxiv).

the commentaries of Stadius; Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius with the commentaries of Muretus; the *Cosmographia* of Mizaldus and the elements of geometry of another author; Quintus Curtius; *Illustrium poetarum flores*; *Dialectica* of Ramus; *Dialectica* of Sturm; Sturm, *De periodis*; Sturm, *Dialectica* (which Young thinks he bought); Lucan; Caesar's *Commentaries* in English (Golding's translation); *Ethica* of Valerius and Fox; A Pretorius, *De Poesi Graecorum*; Schotus, *De ratione disciplinae linguae lat. et graecae*; Leopardus, *Miscellanea*; Camerarius, *Praecepta Morum*;<sup>5</sup> Priscian and others, *De Ponderibus et Mensuris*. The other items in this section are mostly French for exercising that language. Clearly, Young has listed here the bulk of the schoolbooks he had bought for James up to the time of the *Index*, and he has listed them in general according to pattern.

Cicero's epistles are the model for epistolary writing and continue the work begun upon Sturm's collection. Florus and Quintus Curtius are for history and would also furnish compositional materials. A folio Caesar is in an earlier part of the *Index* as a purchase (p. lvi), and here we have Golding's translation. These items connect with Young's special interest in Caesar about 1575, as we shall see, and his purchase of Hotoman's Caesar in that year for James, who is thus making at least normal progress with the curriculum. In his study of these subjects James would need the guidance of rhetoric and dialectic. The dialectics of Ramus and Sturm would serve one of these functions. Cicero would furnish the rhetorical guidance. In the *Index*, a nine volume edition of Cicero is listed as bought, but lacking *Rhetor et Officia* (lix). These two missing volumes, however, are listed as given, apparently later than December 22, 1575 and earlier than March 5, 1577. Presumably Cicero directed the rhetoric for James. Sturm, *De Periodis* was a special discussion on technical matters. For poetry, James had the *Flores*, and Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius in which to locate all the different types of verse. Lucan was really to supplement the history above. Two items were to prepare the mind of James for the study of Greek. Some provision is made for the elements of cosmography and geometry, and of course ethics and moral precepts are further provided.

A few items preceding our main list and not yet mentioned are also marked as bought, these nearly always having school connections. Such was the folio Latin Bible of Castalio (liii); the New Testament

<sup>5</sup> James also read Erasmus, *De Civilitate Morum*, retorting one of Erasmus's sayings upon the author himself (p. lxxii).

of Beza; Buchanan's Psalms (a great deal of such material was also given); a *Dictionarium Latinobritannicum*, fol., whose provenance is not indicated; Chelidonius, *Institution of Christian Prince* (various others of the type given); a Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia*,<sup>6</sup> Smyth, T., *De Recta Pronuntiatione Linguae Graecae*; Valerius, *Grammatica*; (Linacre and Lily given, also Manutius, *Latin Phrases*); Corderius, *De Corrupti Sermonis Emendatione*; Erasmus, *Colloquia*; Plutarch and others *Apophthegmata*, Gr. and Lat.; Faernus, *Fabulae*; Edwards, R., *Boke of very Godly Psalmes and prayers*.

These were bought. But numerous school items besides those referred to incidentally above are marked as having been gifts. Of these, grouped together are Erasmus, *Apothegms* (pp. lxi-lxiii), Virgil, Valerius Maximus, Plautus, Caesar, Suetonius Tranquillus, Melanchthon's *Dialectica*, Alciat's *Emblems*, Virgil's *Bucolics*; Murelius, *Tabulae*; Stobaeus, *Sententiae*, Vol. II; *Historiae illustriorum rerum memorabilium libellus*; Riccius, *De Imitatione*; Justin in English; Ascham, *Scholemaster*; Underdowne, *Aethiopian History*; Aesop in English; Corderius, *Exempla de latino declinatu*, also *De Syllabarum Quantitate, Epistolarum Familiarium liber 2*, Lat. and Fr. (Cicero), *Colloquiorum Scholasticorum*; Ovid, *Metamorphose figurée cum Tetrastichis Joannis Posthii*. This list has been consecutive, with only a few items interjected, mostly French. Another small group of gifts we have already noticed. These groupings are thus of themselves significant. It will be noticed that Virgil's *Bucolics* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have put in their appearance, as would be expected, and that various fables, colloquies, etc. supplement the earlier work.

Our next list of straight school purchases begins at the top of a page, with an item dated January 18, 1576. (p. xlv). The Greek is now getting under way. There was the *Grammatica graeca cum annotationibus Antesignani*, 4°, which was Clenardus, the most frequently used in England of the Greek grammars. It was supplemented by 2 *Alphabetum graecum*.<sup>7</sup> For Greek texts, 2 *Luciani quidam Dialogi*, 8°; 2 *Tabulae Cebetis*, gr.; and 2 *Plutarchi περί παιδων ἀγωγῆς*. Item, *Isocratis orationes*. Plutarch also appeared in French for moral and linguistic purposes, *Opuscles de Plutarque gall.*, fol. For the Latins, the

<sup>6</sup> Ascham had recommended after Sturm's selections from the epistles "some plaine Oration of Tullie, as, *pro lege Manil: pro Archia Poeta*, or in those three *ad C. Caes*" (Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 4r, a copy of which James had). Sturm himself had recommended *Pro Lege Manilia* or *Pro Q. Ligario* for the fifth class from the top out of nine.

<sup>7</sup> Two of James' puns recorded by Young give some idea of his Greek pronunciation (p. lxxv).



historians are represented by 2 *Sallustii*, 8°. James was now in 1576 reading Sallust, this being the reason that Buchanan in his dedication of *Baptistes* to James in 1576 refers to "apud tuum Sallustium" (p. xxii, n 1). For moral philosophy *Officia Ciceronis* (supported by Cebes, Plutarch, and Isocrates in Greek), and for moral materials in composition *Valerius Maximus*, and *Titus Liuius Lat.*, fol., Paris. Here is regular work in the Greek and Latin progression.

The purchased school items we have been examining are mostly of actual working school texts and closely subsidiary materials, the necessary minimum to carry on. But Peter Young had higher ideas than that. He wanted James to have a real library, and to that end assembled as many as he could of the books which had belonged to James' mother. These we need not consider here. Young also wanted to keep up with current publication, in spite of the expected opposition of some to his wasteful ideas. A note of his to the Lord Justice Clerk concerning the first of these recorded group purchases—and from the circumstances presumably the very first—is highly amusing. He addresses his request for payment to this official chiefly because of

the gret affectioun I am assurit ye beare unto our Maisteris furtherance in lerning: And alsua in caise any persoun suld say as the fascioun of the maist part is, quhat neidis his Majestie sa mony Buikis, hes he not anew alreddy? that in that caise your L. vald schaw thame thair errour, and persuade my Lordis grace alwayes to graunt. . . . As I vryt the last tyme, I vald wish to haue the Caesar of Uenise for a saison to conferr him with utheris. I pray your L. for the panegyriques gif thay may be had. As for the Caesar correctit be Hotomans, I haue reseruit ane in the Kingis catalogue. The Librare will think lang for payment, and I for a sicht of the Buikis. Your L. may put us baith out of payne.<sup>8</sup>

These are the sentiments of a true bibliophile, and he had to meet the same arguments from officialdom as now. He evidently got his books—we hope at once, after that gem of a penultimate sentence. For the Hotoman to which he refers as "reseruit" appears in a list of books bought in November, 1575, and bound "en ceste ville" (p. xlviij).

The books listed here are annotated editions of the school authors which James was using at the time and various types of reference works for his use. No one of these appears in the *Index Librorum*. A second list was ordered paid on July 25, 1576.<sup>9</sup> But again no one of

<sup>8</sup> *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* (1833), p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* (1833), pp. 13-15.

the items appears in the *Index*. These bills are thus pretty fair evidence that the schoolbooks listed in the *Index* as bought were procured before November 1575. The position of the books in the school curriculum is also evidence of the same thing.

Incidentally, James evidently began his formal grammar school work about 1573, when he was seven, the usual age, since Young began at that time to collect the proper books for him, though James had probably been subjected to Latin almost from the beginning of his education in 1570. James himself was referring to this early training when he made his equivalent translation, "Thay gar me speik latin ar I could speik Scotis" (lxxii). In a letter from Sir Thomas Randolph to Buchanan, March 15, 1580, we hear something of the method by which James was taught to read.

I am not (my good Maister) a little beholdinge vnto yow, for your late remembraunce both of me and my Sonne, by your prettie and fyne Devyse to make him reade before he knowe or handle his Booke.<sup>9</sup> Howe he will prove learnid heirafter, I knowe not, but farre vnlyke to resemble him from whome he taketh the Patterne, that, longe before my Boyes Yeares, farre passid many in Learninge and Judgement, wherof such encrease ensueth, as in this Age is wonderfull, and amongst Princes most rare. I looke not for the lyke in myne, but shall thinke my self happie yf he resemble yours in on Poynt of a Number, that in him more brightly shyne then *Iulium sidus\* lunas inter minores*. That your worthie and noble Kinge in so short Tyme is become so skillfull, not a litle is to be attributid to the great Diligence and Care of his Maisters, who besydes the Giftes of Nature, haue addid as muche as by Art could be devised. In this, my good Maister, consistith your Prayse, and in this shall your Fame remayne immortall, though many other thinges in this World haue made yow famous for euer.

Under the same date, Randolph wrote Young, "I thought the Kinge your Maister more happie that had *Buchanan* to his Maister, then *Alexander the Great*, that had *Aristotell* his instructor."<sup>10</sup> High hopes and big words, but *Sic transit gloria mundi!* One may now well wonder which was the more fortunate pair, Cox and Cheke, whose handiwork died young before results could be appraised or Buchanan and Young, whose prodigy lived to prove the pudding.

Some phases of this education of James had political implications which were closely watched by the English ambassador. Killigrew reported to Walsingham on June 23, 1574,

<sup>9</sup> The interested reader may find one such method described in some detail by Brinsley (Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 18 ff.). \* *Ignes scriptum oportuit.*

<sup>10</sup> Buchanan, *Opera* (Edinburgh, 1715), *Epistolae*, pp. 18-19, Cf. *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. V, pp. 565-566.

I cannot learn that there is anything intended for the transporting of the young King [to France], but assuredly there is favour sought of those that are about him, and he much exercised of late in the French tongue; which moved me to ask the Regent whether he would have a schoolmaster for him in the Italian tongue—meaning by Alessandro Citolyni. His grace said that they had nothing to do with Italy in comparison with France, and therefore could not agree that the King should have any such until he had overcome the hardness of the French tongue.<sup>11</sup>

A week later, June 30, 1574, Killigrew reported to Walsingham of James at eight that he

speaks the French tongue marvellously well, and it seemed strange to him he was able extempore—which he did before him—to read a chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French into English, so well that few men could have added anything to his translation. His schoolmasters, Mr. George Buchanan and Mr. Peter Young (rare men) caused him to appoint the King what chapter he would, whereby he perceived it was not studied for. . . . Cannot learn of any practice to transport the King to France, but there is a sister of Lord Livingston's about him much suspected to be French, and his schoolmasters are desirous to have him from the handling of women,<sup>12</sup> by whom he is yet guided and kept, saving when he goes to his book.<sup>13</sup>

James was being well trained, and well watched. The English agent himself could never manage to "give" Peter Young anything; nor anyone else of importance near James.

With the surviving lists of books we can now follow James in considerable detail, for Young has left an undated account of routines, which must be about 1576.

Ordo, quem Regia Majestas sibi in literarum studiis praescripsit, ac diei partitio.

1. Mane primò à precibus auspicabitur, quò Deus Opt. Max. conatus omnes ac studia secundet, provehatque. Absolutis precibus ac placato Numine ad Graeca se accinget, vel ex *Novo Testamento*, vel *Isocrate*, vel ex *Plutarchi Apophthegmatibus* una cum praxi praeceptorum Grammatices.

2. A jentaculo Latinè aliquid leget vel ex *Livio*, *Justino*, *Cicerone*, aut ex *Chronicis* nostratibus vel externis.

<sup>11</sup> *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 680.

<sup>12</sup> It will be remembered that Elyot thought the boy should "be taken from the company of women" at seven, and Edward records that he was brought up "among the women" only till he was six. James, now fully eight, was tarrying under the contaminating influence overlong. Incidentally, like Edward—and Elizabeth—James had the smallpox, in May 1573 (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 569).

<sup>13</sup> *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. V, p. 13; said to be printed in Tytler, Patrick Fraser, *History of Scotland*, ed. Eadie, III, 97.

3. A merenda scriptioni nonnihil temporis impendet; reliquas horas pomeridianas, quum vacabit, vel Arithmeticae, vel Cosmographiae, (quae Geographiam ac doctrinam sphaerae Astronomicae complectitur) vel Dialecticae, vel Rhetoricae tribuet.

Sed haec singula sigillatim, non simul omnia tractabuntur.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the only technicality which calls for comment is connected with the Greek. Young says that after prayers James fell to work upon his "Greeks" (by analogy with "Latins") either from the New Testament, or from Isocrates, or from Plutarch's *Apophthegms*,<sup>15</sup> together with a praxis of the grammatical precepts. Young's phrase, "praxi praeceptorum Grammatices" is that covering a section of the Clenardus added by Antesignanus, "Praxis Seu Usus Praeceptorum Grammatices," demonstrating a method of studying Greek authors grammatically, with various extracts as illustrations. Young could, therefore, be referring specifically to this section, but, as the context and construction show, here he means that James applied this method to the Greek authors he was reading, just as his "Greeks" were based upon them. Incidentally, the authors sampled by Antesignanus give some hint as to the authors which were expected to be read: First was religious material; the Lord's Prayer, Angelic Salutation, Apostles' Creed, Grace before and after meat.<sup>16</sup> Next the dramatists; for tragedy, Euripides, *Orestes*, *Electra*; for Comedy, Aristophanes, *Plutus*. Finally, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, and Pindar.

Young's routine furnishes the key to the purchases and gifts of this period. For the Greek, the grammar of Clenardus and the Isocrates are in the list of purchases of about January 1576. One of the purchases listed in the *Index* as bought is *Apophthegmata Plutarchi et aliorum gr. et lat.*, 16<sup>o</sup> but no Greek Testament appears in the lists before New Year's 1577. Livy in Latin appears in a list of purchases of about January 1576, as also Cicero, *De Officiis*. Among the gifts of 1576 appear *Les Offices de Cicero lat. et gall.*; *Justinus historia gall. fol.*; *Rhetor et Officia Ciceronis*, 16<sup>o</sup> (p. li). James was now studying *De Officiis* in both Latin and French, also the rhetorical works of Cicero. Golding's translation of Justin into English had already been listed

<sup>14</sup> Smith, Thomas, *Vitae Quorundam Eruditissimorum*, etc. (1707); *Vita Petri Junii*, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> The reference is to "Apophthegmata Graeca Regvm & ducum, philosophorum item, aliorumque quorundam: ex Plutarcho & Diogene Laertio. Cum Latina Interpr." I have a copy as printed by Stephanus 1568, with the signature "Alex<sup>r</sup> Boswel Edinb: 1762."

<sup>16</sup> These are the chief materials of the typical Greek ABC. It will be remembered that James had Beza's *Alphabetum Graecum* and so did not need this material, though Young evidently made him follow the method.

in the *Index*, but no Latin copy is listed, though it must have been in existence. It is clear from these purchases and gifts that Young is referring to the routines of 1576.

From the routines and from the lists of 1575-76, it is possible to show in some detail what James was doing. To begin with the Greek, an *Enchiridion linguae graecae*, 16°, in the list of November 1575 shows that James began his Greek with this elementary text before the *Clenardus* was bought early in 1576. Consequently, it was the only Greek book in the list, though a *Euclid* in Latin and Greek and a *Diogenes Laërtius gr. et lat.*, 8° looked forward to that sequence. James was thus beginning his Greek about the end of 1575, before he was ten on June 19 of the following year. It was being brought into parallel with the whole of his upper grammar school work, as was at that time becoming the custom. We have seen that besides the *Clenardus* he was supplied early in 1576 with Beza's Greek Alphabet. He was also given a *Clenardus* in 1576 (p. lii). For texts, he had early in 1576 *Lucian's Dialogues*; the *Tabula* of Cebes; *Plutarch* *περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς*; and the orations of *Isocrates*.<sup>17</sup> In the list of July 25, 1576, Greek is a strong preoccupation. We find *De abusu Linguae graecae*; *Synonyma graeca*; *Lexicon graecolatinum* 4°; and 2 *Fabulae Aesopi graecolat.* 16°. James was now coming to *Aesop* in Greek, with parallel Latin; and was to do Greek composition as was usual. In lists of about the same date appear *Ἀθηναγόρου ἀπολογία καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*, 8° (p. xxxix); *Sententiae Nazanzeni*, gr., 8°; *Nemesius gr. et lat. De natura hominis*, 8°; *Euripidis Tragediae* 18, *graecè*, 16°; *Theognidis sententiae, etc., cum commentario*, 4°.

The gifts at New Year's 1577 were aimed almost entirely at the Greek. There was a *Lexicon graeco-lat., Basileae, fol.*; also a *Biblia graeco-lat., 5 voluminibus*, 8° and a *Synesii hymni graeco-lat.* For the

<sup>17</sup> For instance, *Johannes Cherpontinus, Aliquot Formandis tum iuuentutis moribus, tum linguae Graecae, Latinae, Gallicae & Germanicae utilissimi* (1581) furnished in the four languages named:

*Plutarchi Libellus de puerorum educatione.*

*Isocratis orationes duae: Altera ad Demonicum, Altera ad Nicoclem.*

*Ethicae Christianae compendium.*

Milton still recommends the Cebes and the Plutarch: "Next, to make them expert in the use-fullest points of grammar, and withal to season them, and win them early to the love of virtue and true labor ere any flattering seducement or vain principle seize them wandering, some easy and delightful book of education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have store, as Cebes, Plutarch, and other Socratic discourses; but in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first books of Quintilian and some select pieces elsewhere" (*Ainsworth, O. M., Milton on Education*, p. 56; delete p. 334, the identification of the Plutarch as the *Moralia*).

Greek poets *Hesiodus cum aliis nonnullis gr.*, 8°; and *Heroici Poëtae graece, fol.* These were good Scottish gifts, aimed directly at a useful purpose. Incidentally, Young was evidently on pretty intimate terms with Santa Claus; the old gentleman was well prompted as to what to bring. Of a *Nouum Testamentum gr., fol.*, which is almost certain to have been Beza, Young notes, "Manfully and clerkly won fra me the x of April, 1577." James was now getting on with his Biblical Greek; so about the same time he had been presented with a *Nouum Test. graecum*, 16°. He had, of course, been studying his Bible intensively in English, French, and Latin from his earliest days, and had a plentiful supply of materials for doing so. Young also gave him about this same time *Aeschyli Tragediae gr. cum commentario*, 4°, *bien relié*. Probably toward the end of 1576 or early in 1577, James was given another Clenardus, and *Orationes Demosthenis aliquot*, 8°, which would be much easier to manage than the huge complete Demosthenes and Aeschines, which was bought about this time or a little later. In a group of books purchased probably around April, 1577, is *De pronuntiatione gr. linguae Jo. Chaeci*, 8°. About May, 1577, appeared *Oppiani ἀλιευτικὰ καὶ κυνεγετικὰ, gr. et lat.*, 8°, *una cum comoed. Aeschyli*. In a list of purchases which appears to be after July, 1576, but earlier than March, 1578, appears *Demosthenes et Aeschines gr. et lat., fol.*; *Xenophon gr. et lat., fol.*, *Basileae*; and *La Cyropédie<sup>18</sup> en francoys*, 8°. Probably in 1578 a *Plutarque en deux volumes* was given.

In these lists are all the grammar school authors in Greek, and a few to spare, except Homer, the usual capstone of the system. But Homer makes his appearance also in a list of November, 1583, as *Homeri Ilias et Odyssea, gr. et lat.*, 16°. This list represents the working collection of James at that time and will be examined as a whole later. The progression in Greek was evidently much that used by Nowell at Westminster, with the New Testament in Greek as an early objective, bolstered by Isocrates and Plutarch, following the grammar, Lucian, and other dialogues, all well supported by the best Greek moralists and with only an absolute modicum of belles lettres, that also well-moralized, no doubt. It will be seen that in Greek James was supplied abundantly in certain types. He was being most excellently trained to become the "wisest fool in christendom."

Following the Greek, Young records, it will be remembered, that

<sup>18</sup> James produced an apothegm anent Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* which Young thought worth recording (p. lxxiii).

after breakfast James read something in Latin from either Livy, Justin, Cicero, or from the chronicles, either Scottish or foreign. Livy was for Roman history to B.C. 8, giving the background for Cicero and the other Roman worthies. The elegant extracts of Justin from Trogus Pompeius set the Macedonian stage in relation to Rome for Cyrus, who, as we have seen, was soon to appear in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. We have seen also that Cicero consisted at least of the works on rhetoric and moral philosophy. We shall soon get further ideas as to the chronicles, Scottish and foreign.

First we follow the sequence in Roman history. As we have seen, the *Index* had already listed the epitome of Roman history to A.D. 20 by Florus as a prologue to Livy. Quintus Curtius presented his hero Alexander the Great. Julius Caesar spoke for himself in the heroic period of Rome, when Cicero was overflowing voluminously. There had also been Golding's translation of Caesar, who was a chief preoccupation around November, 1575. About that time Young had purchased Hotoman's *Caesar* for James. This had appeared but shortly before and was the latest word on this important military historian. Among gifts were the moralized histories of Valerius Maximus, which were rather for compositional purposes; Suetonius, who would furnish the lives of the twelve Caesars, including Julius; and Golding's Justin English, looking forward to the Justin in Latin, which was being used in 1576. In the list of November, 1575, Caesar was further strengthened by *Commentarii Caesaris en francoys*, 16°. As usual, French was yoked with the Latin. Supplementary to the military side of Caesar was *Heronis liber de Machinis bellicis*, 4°. There was also a *Sallustius castigatus*, 8°, looking forward to the beginning of that author. Another copy appears in a list of about January, 1576, as 2. *Sallustii*, 8°. Sallust, as an eye-witness, presented the contentions of Caesar, Cicero, and Catiline, also the Jugurthine war if one cared to know about it. Buchanan shows by a reference to James' Sallust in the dedication of *Baptistes* the calends of November, 1576, that he expected James to draw guidance for himself as a ruler from Sallust moralized historically. Turbulent Scots had much to learn from that author. Background information on the Rome of Sallust, Caesar etc. would be furnished by *Gruchius de Comitibus Romanorum*, fol.; and *Onuphrius de comitiis Romanorum*. A *Diodorus Siculus Latine*, fol. supplied an omnibus background for all this history. About the time of this list in November, 1575, had also been given 3 *Liures de Diodore* to keep company with the Latin.

As we have seen, James progressed from Sallust to Livy in 1576, a copy of the latter having been supplied early in 1576. Along with it had been a Valerius Maximus, chiefly for compositional purposes. In the list of July 25, 1576, Sallust continues as *Salustius english*, which would be most likely the translation of Paynell and Barclay in the edition of 1557. After the Latin horse has been safely stolen, an English lock has been put on the stable door, as has been the case with other authors. There was also *L. Florus per Vinetum* 4°. Buchanan had been a colleague at the College of Guyenne and continued to the last a friend of Vinetus, who had just published his Florus "iam tertium emendatus" in 1576. This third emendment was not, therefore, to be overlooked, though the principal work of James on Florus had already been done. Incidentally, Vinetus published in 1583, with the approval of Michael Montaigne, Mayor, and other officials, the program of studies of the College of Guyenne, important also because of its connection with Corderius.<sup>19</sup> In a supplementary list of this period we find *Cornelius Tacitus Beati Rhenani, fol.*, which gives a background for the period preceding and including Nero. A *Dionysii halicarnassei antiquitatum Romanorum libri, Latine, 16°* supplied the early history of Rome. The *Graecia et Sicilia Goltzii, fol°* informs us on its title page that it gives the history of the cities and peoples of Greece, restored from their ancient coins. An *Aeliani varia historia, Lat., 16°* rather furnished narrations and anecdotes for compositional purposes. In another list appears *Herodianus Latine, 16°*. I suppose this was the history of Rome from A.D. 18 to A.D. 238. The gifts in 1576 and up to March, 1577, brought a *Caesar Goltzii, fol°*, and a *Comment. Caesar en francoys, 4°*. Another French translation was to appear in the gifts at New Year's, 1578, *Commentaires de Caesar en francoys*, these in addition to the French translation which had been early purchased. The Scottish lords evidently wanted James to emulate Caesar, though he himself preferred to be Solomon. There was also given in 1576 a *Justini historia gall., fol.* to accompany the Latin. Probably around April, 1577, was bought a *Velleius Paterculus, 8°*.

The object of this compendium was to give a brief view of universal history, but more especially of the events connected with Rome, the history of which occupies the main portion of the book. It commenced apparently with the destruction of Troy, and ended with the year A.D. 30.<sup>19a</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Massebieu, *Mémoires et Documents Scolaires*, No. 7.

<sup>19a</sup> Smith, William, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*.



About December 1577 was given *Titus Liuius in fol° avec les commentaires.en un autre volume a part*, this being the customary French translation to accompany the Latin. At some time after July, 1576, but before March 1578 was bought *Q. Curtius in 8°* to supplement an earlier one in 16°. A gift, probably in 1578, was *Appian des guerres de Romains*.

James was thus well indoctrinated with political morals from Roman history, as Buchanan tells us specifically was his aim. The best application of these morals was to Scottish affairs. So James had also chronicles, Scottish and foreign. It will be remembered that Buchanan's own crowning work of a long career was *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, published in 1582, the year of his death. And a surviving anecdote of his last days shows clearly with what view he wrote the work. As Buchanan was bethinking himself how to die, friends were checking his history at the printer's for him.

We went from him to the printars wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his Cornicle, at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying the haill wark, anent the buriall of Daue. Therfor, steying the printer from proceeding, we cam to Mr George again, and fund him bedfast by his custome, and asking him, whow he did, "Even going the way of weifare," sayes he. Mr. Thomas, his cusing, schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his Storie, that the king wald be offendit with it, and it might stey all the wark. "Tell me, man," sayes he, "giff I haue tauld the treuthe?" "Yis," sayes Mr Thomas, "Sir, I think sa." "I will byd his fead, and all his kins, then," quoth he: "Pray, pray to God for me, and let him direct all." Sa, be the printing of his Cornicle was endit, that maist lerned, wyse, and godlie man, endit this mortall lyff.<sup>20</sup>

This view of his Buchanan had stated and called the world to witness in the dedication of *Baptistes* to James under date of "Calend. Nov. 1576." He points out that all his books since he became tutor to James had been addressed to his pupil, and that the *Baptistes*, his earliest offspring, also belongs naturally with these works. Because it challenges youth from the vulgar habit of scenic fables to the imitation of antiquity and strives to excite their minds as strongly as possible to the study of piety, which then was sought eagerly almost everywhere. But it may appear to apply quite peculiarly to you, because the tortures of tyrants, and even when they seem to flourish most, their miseries it sets forth clearly. This I think it not only profitable but even necessary that you should now understand, so that you may begin early to hate what you

<sup>20</sup> *The Diary of Mr James Melville* (Bannatyne Club, 1829), pp. 86-87. For James Melville's education, see his *Diary*, pp. 13 ff.

must always flee. I wish also this little book to be a witness to posterity, if ever at any time impelled by evil counsellors or by the license of rule overcoming right education you act otherwise, that must be attributed for a fault not to your teachers but to you, who will not have conformed to them admonishing correctly. May God give better things, and as is said in your Sallust, may he turn from custom into nature that you do well.<sup>21</sup> Which truly, with many, I hope and pray.

Buchanan wanted early to impress upon James the lessons of history as Buchanan interpreted them, whether James liked them or not. And if later James should depart from these teachings the world was to bear Buchanan witness that it was not the teacher's fault. Naturally, therefore, Scottish history so moralized would be of crucial importance for educating James, and other modern history would also contribute its lessons. For James must rule Scotland and himself in a modern world.

Various works in various languages could have been used for this teaching of modern history. The *Index* lists a *Froissart en deux volumes*, which had come early from Mary's library, and a gift of *Annales de france avec Philippe de Commines*, fol. Given also were *Guicciardini historia Lat. cum nonnullis aliis*, fol.; *Poloniae historiae Compendium Herburti*, 4°. From his mother's library *The Vnion of the housse of Yorke and Lancaster* by Halle, and *Chronicle of Scotland, wrettin with hand*. Given were *Histoire de nostre temps*, 8°; *Commentarii belli Melitensis*, 8°; *L'estat et succez des affaires de France*, 16°; *Epitome gestorum 58 Regum franciae, Lat. et gall*, 8°; *Epitome Regum francorum carmine H. Pantaleonis*, 4°; *Recueil des effigies des Roys de france avec le sommaire de leur histoire*, fol.; *Item vn autre Recueil avec les effigies sans plus*; *Pauli Jouii historia, Lat.*, 16°, *tribus voluminibus*. Purchased was *Thistorie of Italy*, 4°.

In the list of books purchased in November, 1575, was *Ozorii Lusitaniae historia*, 8°; and nearly allied to the interest in history *Lupanus de magistrat. Gallorum*. Bought about April, 1576, *Jo Dubrauii historia Boiémica*, fol°; *Sigonii historia Italiae*, fol°, (A.D. 565-1286). Bought about April, 1576, *Leges Antiquae Anglorum*, 4°, which had some historical connection. In the list of July 1576, *De Republica Heluetiorum*; *Belgicae diuisio* 8°; *Chronicon Bohemiae*; *Sigonius de iure prouinciarum*; *Eiusdem Italia folio*; *Chronicon Melancthonis fol*,

<sup>21</sup> "Illis difficile est in potestatibus tēperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulauere: mihi, qui omnem etatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere iam ex cōsuetudine in naturam vertit" (Sallust, 1574, "Apud Petrum Santandreamum," p. 119; copy which belonged to Fletcher of Saltoun, with his autograph and motto, *Res Tuas Age*).

which is elsewhere listed as *Chronicon Carionis auctum a Melanthon et Peucero, fol.* Given in 1577 *Paulus Jouius en francoys, fol.*; and bought, probably in 1578, *The history of Ingland, Scotland and Ireland in tua faire volumes*. This last was Holinshed, of course, edition of 1577. So the materials were plentifully at hand for teaching James Scottish and modern history as Buchanan desired. But Buchanan preferred to write his own history of Scotland.

This Latin and modern history completed the work of the morning except for Cicero. As we have seen, the Cicero seems to have been the *De Officiis* for moral philosophy and the rhetorical works as guide to composition. The *De Officiis* was provided in various forms. A copy in Latin was in the list of purchases about January, 1576, and a copy in Latin and French and another in Latin were given the same year. Earlier, in the *Index*, occurs as given *Offices de Cicero en francoys, 16°*. James probably read the whole volume of moral philosophy, for the remainder of which he was given Newton's translation on November 27, 1577. This had been printed that year, and contained the "discourses of Frendshippe, old age, paradoxes and Scipio his dreame," being supplementary to Grimald's translation of *De Officiis*. So about 1576-77 James mastered Cicero's volume of moral philosophy.

It may be well to notice here that Cicero's moral philosophy was only a small part of the moral and religious training of James. The *Index* shows that James was early and well supplied. We have already glanced at the Biblical materials. The "institutions" of a prince, mostly gifts, are gathered principally in one place. *The dial of Princes, fol.*; *Elogium Henrici 2. galliarum regis quatuor linguis conscriptum* (from Mary's library); *L'Institution du Prince du Budé, fol.*; *Institutio Regis per Osorium, 8°*; *Institution of Christian Prince, etc., par Chelidonius Tigurinus* (bought); *Le paraugon de vertu pour l'Institution de tous princes, par Jean Maugin, 16°*; *Institution of a prince par Synesius en francoys, 8°*. There was at least plentiful advice at hand. Somewhat similar are the gifts, *The Courtiour in english, 4°*; *Joannes Ferrarius of the order yng of a commoun veale, 4°*; *Agapetus en francois et grecq; The scholemaistre of Mr. Askame; De Institutione Principis loci communes Lorichii, 8°*; *Eliotis Gouvernour, 8°* (bought); *Institution of a gentilman, 8°* (bought); *Foxi Morzilli de regni regisque Institutione, 8°*. Religious materials include *Confessio Bezae, Lat., 8°*; *L'Institution de Mr. Calvin en fr., fol. petit*; *Prieres et oraisons chrestiennes, 32°*; *A table of the principall maters conteined in the Scripture, 16°*; *The perfecte pathevaye to saluacion, 16°*; *Spiritual and*

*pretious pearle*, 16° (bought); *A booke of priuate prayer*, 16° (Feb. 20, 1575); *L. Herefordes prayers*, 8° (bought); *Viret sur le Catechisme*, 16° (bought); *Bulinger sur l'Apocalypse*, 8°; *Confession de foy des eglises de Suisse et de France*, 16° (bought); *Christian prayers, etc.*, 8° (bought); *Bourgoing sur le Catechisme*, 8° (bought), *Adhortatio Bulingeri, etc.* *Item, exhortatio ad Regis galliae consiliarios*, 8° (bought); *Cautelles de la Messe*, 16° (bought); *Conformité de la Confession d'Ausburg, etc.*, 16° (bought); *Bouclier de la foy* 16° (bought); *L'Accord des passages de lesriture*, 16°; *Conseil sacré*, 8°. To be noticed also are moral and ethical materials to supplement the various moral collections; *La Morosophie de Guillaume de la Perriere*, 8°; *Philelphus de disciplina morali*, 4° (bought); *Ethica Valerii et Foxii*, 8° (bought); *Camerarii praecepta morum*, 8° (bought).

Similar materials continued to appear. Bought in November, 1575, *Martyr. In. Lib. Judicum*, fol.; *Matth. Caesius de Discipl. Eccles.*, 8°; 2. *Catechismus Calvinii graeco-lat.*, 16°; *Cytraei regulae vitae*, 8°; *Heresbachius De principum liberis educandis*, 4°; *Hemingii Catechis., Pastor, Enchiridion, et de methodis, 4 libris separatis. Epistolae Bezae*, 8°; *Tabulae in Catechismum*, fol. Perhaps we should also place here *Cento giochi liberali*, 4°, and Ascham's *Toxophilus of shooting*. Given in 1575 *Seb. Foxij Morzilli de Regni regisque Institutione*, 8°. This also forms the last item of the *Index*, indicating again that this list was completed thus far in 1575. Other gifts include *Institution de M<sup>r</sup> Calvin en francoys*, fol.; *Estat de leglise*, 8°; *Les Ethiques d'Aristote en francoys*; *Figures de la Bible*, 8°; *Institution des princes de Chelidonius Tigurinus en francoys*; *Theatrum vitae humanae in thre gret volumes*, fol.; *Le liure des Machabees en velin imprimé et enluminé*, 4°, *Josephus lat. et gall. fol.*; *Quadrins historiques de la Bible*, 8°; *Resolution de tous points etc. de Bulinger*; *L'alcoran des Cordeliers*; *Il Cortegiano*, 16°; *Psalmes in inglish prose*, 16°; *Nouum Testamentum Anglicè*, 8°; *Philon Juif en francoys*, fol°. Bought July 25, 1576, *Confessio Augustana cum apologia*; *De imposturis Judaeorum*; *Confessio Heidelbergensis*; *De origine Dei missatici*; *Calendarium Pauli Ebraei* 4°; *Loci communes Petri Martyris* fol.; *Theodorus presbiter contra haereses*; *Martyr in libros Regum, Erasmi lingua*. Perhaps we should add *De veneficiis* 8°, and remember the later interests of James in this subject. Gifts at New Year's, 1577, *A Defense of th' Apologie be M<sup>r</sup> Jwell*, fol.; *A Confutation be Alex<sup>r</sup> Nowel*, 4°; *Le liure de police humaine*, 16°. Bought about the same time *Historia Ecclesiastica Madeburg*, 4<sup>tuor</sup> voluminibus, fol. Gifts later in 1577, *Rudolphi gualtheri*

*Homiliae in galatas*, fol.; *Bulinger vpon th' Apocalypse*; *Epistolae Caluini*, 8°; *Institution du prince de Budee*, fol. (duplicate); *Institution de la vie ciuile*, 8°; *La Septmaine de G. de Salluste*, 4° (perhaps 1578). Bought about this time *Ariæ Montani humanæ salutis monumenta*, 4°. Given at New Year's, 1578, *Psalmi Buchanani*, 16°; *l'Institution du prince escrite a la main en velin*, fol°; probably later in the year *Historia Ecclesiastica Eusebii*, fol., lat. Of such materials James had a great plenty. Cicero's moral philosophy was merely one more straw on the camel's back of evil, which must have been very strong indeed if it did not break. James had plenty of moral flowers out of which to distil his *Basilikon Doron* for Prince Henry.<sup>22</sup>

Cicero was also directing the rhetoric of James. A copy of the rhetoric had been given him along with the *De Officiis* in 1576. About the same time a complete edition of Cicero by Lambinus<sup>23</sup> had been bought. The rhetorical works of Cicero would serve for the rules of composition. But Cicero in this function was to be supplemented in the afternoon, if time served, with dialectic and rhetoric. The *Index*, as we have seen, lists the *Dialectica* of Ramus and two copies of that of Sturm as bought, and that of Melanchthon as given. Among books bought in November, 1575, is *Demetrius de elocutione*, 8°. Later we learn that this was *Demetrius Phalereus de elocutione*, gr. et lat. It will be seen that dialectic was much more emphasized in these purchases than rhetoric. This was the relative interest of the teachers of James. I believe it will be admitted that this came to be the relative interest of James himself.

There is no separate treatise upon the figures of speech, such as Susenbrotus; and James in 1585 probably explains why. He says of his *Schort Treatise*,

I have lykewayis omittit dyvers figures, whilkis are necessare to be usit in verse, for two causis. The ane is, because they are usit in all languages, and thairfore are spokin of be *Du Bellay*, and sindrie utheris, wha hes written in this airt. Whairfore gif I wrait of them also, it sould seme that I did bot repete that, whilk they have written, and yit not so weil, as they have done already. The uther cause is, that they are figures of Rhetorique and Dialectique, whilkis airtis I professe nocht.<sup>24</sup>

James learned his figures from Du Bellay in French, and had not

<sup>22</sup> In spite of his mother's objections, Henry received the conventional drill (See Birch, T., *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 14 ff., 20-22, 35-37, 98, 119 ff., 138, 388, and Appendices I, III, VIII).

<sup>23</sup> We shall see that Shakspeare also used at least parts of the Lambinus Cicero, but probably in the smaller form. <sup>24</sup> Rait, R. S., *A Royal Rhetorician*, pp. 4-5.

paid detailed attention to them in Latin. He was a "Royal Rhetorician," not a rhetorician. James took along three of the works of Du Bellay in November, 1583, so that his statement in 1585 doubtless reflects his own recent studies.<sup>25</sup>

The afternoon of James was devoted principally to writing. As an aid to correctness in Latin composition a few other grammatical helps were supplied. The list of November, 1575, furnished *Varro de lingua Lat. ex emendatione Vertranii*, 8°; *In Varronem coniectanea Scaligeri*, 8°; *Syntaxis Melanchthonis in tab.*, fol.; *Verrius et Festus castigati*, 8°; and we should probably add here *Nannii Miscellanea*. In the list of July 25, 1576, Latin grammar is represented by *Orthographia Manutij*, which appears elsewhere as *Orthographiae ratio Manutii* 8°. Gregorius, P., *Syntaxis artis mirabilis* 16° was logic. I suppose *Symphosii Aenigmata* also served the compositional process. About the same time we find *Aeliani varia historia*, Lat., 16°, and a little later two works of natural history, *Gesneri de animalibus lib. 1 et 4<sup>ta</sup>. Desunt 2 et 3* [que j'ay depuis eu de leuesque de Glasgow]; *Plinius gallice en deux volumes*. All these probably served compositional purposes principally, as did also *Sententiae Ciceronis cum aliis nonnullis*, 16° at New Year's, 1577. If the teachers of James had been ardent Ciceronians, this last item should have been bought long before. In a later list, appears *Nomenclator Junii*, 8° as an aid on words. A gift about January 1, 1578, of *Dictionarium Calepini septem linguis*, fol. would also have aided upon vocabulary.

One form of Latin prose which James would have been instructed to write would be the oration. The Isocrates and the Demosthenes in Greek and Latin would have been coupled with Cicero and the orations in the various historians as models. It was for this purpose that we find in the list of July, 1576, *Rami praelectiones in Ciceronem*, which contained the *Orationes octo consulares*, Catiline and the rest, with the annotations of Ramus, mostly on the dialectic but also on the rhetoric, etc. In theory and in application Ramus was predominant in the dialectic of James. Earlier James would doubtless have written epistles, but there is little sign of special paraphernalia for that type of writing. There is no record of a text of letter writing, nor of the *Copia* of Erasmus to assist the process. Aphthonius for the fourteen minor forms of writing appears only in a list of books recovered on March 18, 1578, from Queen Mary's library, *In Aphthonii progym-*

<sup>25</sup> For the interest of James and his "band" in Du Bartas also, see Craigie, J., *Thomas Hudson's Historie of Iudith* (Scottish Text Society), Introduction.

*nasmata commentarii, gr., 4<sup>o</sup>*. As with the rhetoric, so with the composition aids; they are scanty.

Nor is composition in verse likely to have been emphasized. The list of November, 1575, contains the conventional poets, *Virgilius cum commentariis, fol.<sup>26</sup>*; *Virgilius cum annotationibus H. Stephani, 8<sup>o</sup>*; *Martialis castratus, 8<sup>o</sup>*; *Horatius cum annotationibus Stephani, 8<sup>o</sup>*. Virgil was being mastered. Martial castrated and Horace furnished further examples of varieties of verse to continue the process of learning to write the different types of verse which James had begun earlier. To unriddle poetic allusions James would use *Giraldus de diis gentium, fol.* The *Opera Fulgentii, 8<sup>o</sup>*, which was bought shortly after, was probably aimed chiefly at this same objective. In a list of July 25, 1576, the poets are represented only by *Carmina Selecta*. A list from the latter part of 1576 or 1577 continues the interest in Horace with *Lambinus in Horatium, fol<sup>o</sup>*, and adds *Allegoriae Sprengii in Ovidii Metamorphoses, 8<sup>o</sup>*. Shakspeare shows knowledge of both the Lambinus Horace and some form of the illustrated Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. James had the chief conventional grammar school poets in sound editions; but there is no excess of either poets or of paraphernalia for studying them. It is even less likely that James did more than the routine minimum of versification. It is likely that James wrote heavily sentential themes moralizing upon history; he is not likely to have done much of a purely literary nature.

Though Buchanan was "Hujus saeculi poetarum facile princeps" and had also written on metrics, that fact shows little influence in the classical training of James. In fact, Ben Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden that "He said to the King, his master, M. G. Buchanan, had corrupted his eare when young, and learned him to sing verses when he sould have read them."<sup>27</sup> Jonson himself had been taught under Camden the usual English way.

His opinion of verses.

That he wrott all his first in prose, for so his Master, Cambden, had learned him.<sup>28</sup>

Of course, James was even more certain that Buchanan had taught

<sup>26</sup> Young has preserved three apothegms of James elicited by the reading of Books II and X of the *Aeneid* (pp. lxxiii-lxxv).

<sup>27</sup> Patterson, R. F., *Ben Jonson's Conversations*, p. 46. The editor notes, "Jonson may have had in mind Quint. *Inst. Or.*, I, 8, 'de quo genere optime C. Caesarem praetextatum adhuc accipimus dixisse "Si cantas, male cantas, si legis, cantas".'" "

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33 and the editor's note for an illustration. Cf. Crawford, Charles, *Collectanea*, First Series pp. 17-19 for some further illustrations of Jonson's methods.

him Greek and Latin by the only true method, and that the English method, for which Camden had written the Greek grammar, was all wrong.

When at the Scholastic Conference, which was held before his Majesty at Stirling, an English Doctor who chanced to be present expressed his admiration at the King's command of the Latin tongue. "All the world," replied James, "knows that my master George Buchanan was a great master in the faculty. I follow his pronunciation both of the Latin and Greek, and am sorry that my people of England do not the like, for certainly their pronunciation utterly spoils the grace of these two learned languages. But you see all the University and learned men of Scotland express the true and native pronunciation of both."<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, James shows no sign of interest in Latin versification. His attitude is given to Prince Henry in the *Basilikon Doron*. And I would also advise you to write in your owne language; for there is nothing left to be saide in Greeke and Latine alreadye, and ynew [enough] of poore schollers would match you in these languages; and beside that, it best becommeth a king to purifie and make famous his owne tongue; wherein he may goe before all his subjects, as it setteth him well to doe in all honest and lawfull things.<sup>30</sup>

He had acted on his own advice, and at eighteen in 1585 had published his *Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*, with *Ane Schort Treatise, Containing Some Reulis* as a preface. Fortunately, press of other duties prevented his pursuing Scottish poetry much further. By temperament and training James was a logician, with a predominant theological interest.

Besides his writing, James in his schooldays paid some attention in his afternoons when there was time to arithmetic or cosmography, which includes geography and the doctrine of the astronomical sphere. In the *Index*, we find as gifts *Insularium illustratum Henrici Martelli Germani in pergameno, fol. manu scriptum*; *Les observations de P. Belon, 4°*; *Les singularitez de la france Antarctique de Theuet, 4°*; from his mother's library *Astronomique discours de J. Bassantyne*; as gifts, *Mappemonde Papistique avec l'histoire de la description* (an anti-Catholic satire); *La Sphere du monde de Piccolhuomini en fr., 8°*; bought *Mizaldi Cosmographia, et elementa geometriae alterius auctoris, 8°*. The really significant books in this list are the Piccolomini, which was given by Buchanan himself, and the Mizaldus together with the elements of geometry, which were bought.

<sup>29</sup> Macmillan, D., *George Buchanan*, p. 217.

<sup>30</sup> Rait, *Royal Rhetorician*, p. xviii. One wonders if a little later King James thought that in English he "went before" his poor subject William Shakspeare.



Bought in November, 1575, was *Euclidis elementa graeco-lat.*, 8°. Bought early in 1576 *Piccolomini Sphaera. Item, de stellis fixis. Item, de magnitudine terrae, Italice*, 4°. In the list of July 25, 1576, *Sphaera Valerij* 8°; *Art pour tyrer eaux*; *Libro di mesurar con la vista*. Given in 1576, *Tua faire globes of ye heauens and earth*; on March 5, 1577, *Les Nauigations de Nicolas de Nicolai*, 4°. Bought about April, 1577, *Munsteri Cosmographia*, fol.; *Scholae Rami*, fol.; *Scholae Mathematicae eiusdem*, 4°; probably at some time in the same year *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, fol°. New Year's gifts for 1578 *Nouus orbis*, fol°; *La Cosmographie de Theuet*, fol., *en velour violet avec des agraphes d'argent dorez et des lames aux quatre coings avec le lyon au milieu, le tout doré*; later that year probably, *Les deuises heroiques avec le Theatre du monde*, 16°. <sup>30a</sup> It will be seen that provision was being made by 1576 for the studies of James in arithmetic, geography, and astronomy as Young intimates, and that it continues in the succeeding years.

We have examined the lists of 1575 and 1576. There were probably similar lists for each succeeding year, at least for a time. Such a list survives under date of October 1, 1580. <sup>31</sup> This list is more general and the books were by way of supplementing the informational resources of James. The Greek, as such, does not appear. James already had the standard texts and nucleus of supporting authorities. There is no sign in these lists that anything more was attempted. There was, however, a *Dictionarium in latino graeco et gallico sermone* 4° *gylt, pryce xx* to add to the dictionaries. There are a few books with historical interest; *Commentaria in Suetonium* 8°; *Sigonius de imperio occidentali* 4°; *Gildae epistola* 8°; *Papirii Massonsi annales* 8°; *De bello contra Barbaros gesto* 8°. Along moral and ethical lines *Aethica vitae ratio* 8°; *Budaeus de contemptu rerum fortuitarum* 4°; *Simonius in aethica* 4°; *Aulicus castellionis* 8°; *Onosander de optimo Imperatore* 8°; *Philosophicae consolationes* 8°. Religious materials preponderate as usual: *Opera Clementis Alexandrini* 8°; *Loci communes Manlii* 8°; *Fides Jesu et Jesuitarum* 8°; *Confessio Valdensium* 8°; *Proteuangelion Jacobi minoris* 8°; *Methodus Pauli sue[rin]ensis*, 3 tomis 8°; <sup>32</sup> *Traicte d'Eglise* 8°; *De conventu Blesensi* 8°; *Thesaurus pauperum* 8°; *Isagoge ad libros propheticos* 8°; *Apologia pro Germanicis ecclesiis* 8°; *Volphius*

<sup>30a</sup> James had several copies of this given him.

<sup>31</sup> *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* (1833), pp. 17-19.

<sup>32</sup> The Bodleian Catalogue (1843), Vol. III, p. 62, lists its copy as "Methodi aliquot locorum doctrinae ecclesiae Dei, illustratae exordiis, in quibus monstratur usus dialecticae et rhetoricae, in orationibus quae pro concione ad plebem habentur; 4 partt. 8°. *Wittebergae*, 1579-80."

*de perseverantia* 8°; *Humanae et diuinae consolationes* 8°; *Themis Dea seu de lege diuina* 8°; *Theatrum conuersionis gentium* 8°; *Liuius de vita Petri et Pauli* 8°; *Bezae de notis ecclesiae* 8°; *Predictiones memorabiles* 8°; *Commentarius de Paradyso* 8°; *Isagoge palladii [P]* 8°; *Taddaeus de Itinere christiani* 8°; *Contemplationes Idiotae* 16°; *Martyrologium Bedae* 16°; *Alberti Magni paradisus diuine* 16°; *Jonas aurelianensis de cultu Imaginum* 16°; *Cassiodorus de diuinis lectionibus* 8°. We may also list here *Hemmingius de superstitionibus magicis* 8°. For grammatical and philological interests *Modus legendi abbreviaturas* 8°. Dialectic still shows life; *Harmonia Stanhursti* fo.; *Freigij questiones logicae* 8°; *Dialectica Cassiodori* 4°. For prose, there were a few collections of orations, mostly of a moral and religious cast, however; *Conciones funebres* 8°; *Conciones nuptiales* 8°; *Orationes clarorum virorum* 16°. For literary connections, *Petronius Arbiter* 8°; *Pulicis encomium* 8°; perhaps *Aenigmata Lorichii* 8°; and *Lustie Juuentus. Aneuch is ane feist* 4° is likely to be a good pamphlet and not the play.

James was now also studying the elements of physics, metaphysics, and the elements of physic; *Freigii questiones physicae* 8°; perhaps *Memorabilia Mizaldi* 8°; *Lapis metaphysicus* 8°; *Cardanus de genitura* 8°; *Arantius [Orontius] de foetu humano* 8°; *Enchiridion Z[wi]ngeri* 8°, which was *Petri Bayri . . . De medendis humani corporis malis Enchiridion*, edited by T. Zwinger.

On March 17, 1583, it was reported that a packet containing books which Young had ordered for James had been "spoiled" from a Scottish ship. The complete packet was valued at £70, but apparently there is no invoice of the books.<sup>33</sup>

A list of "Buikes brocht furth of Sterling to Halyrud House vpon the xi of Nouember 1583" is of interest because it is the working collection of books which James took along with him at seventeen. It still represents the same interests as are sketched in Young's account of his activities in 1576, and here still are many of the books he was using about that time. For Greek, he still had *Alphabetum graecum Bezae*, 8°; *Enchiridion graecae linguae*, 16°; *Antesignanus in Clenardum*, 4°; *Ἀριθμολογία ἡθικῆ*, gr. et lat., *Camerarii*; *Demosthenis Olynthiacae et Philippicae*, 8°. In addition we find *Grammatica graeca Bezae*, 8°; *Luciani opera*, gr. et lat., 8°, 4<sup>th</sup> voluminibus; *Homeri Ilias et Odyssea*, gr. et lat., 16°. James had advanced to Homer, the capstone of the Greek system, and had added a complete Lucian instead of

<sup>33</sup> *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. VI, p. 334.

selected dialogues, both in typical school form with parallel Latin translation. Beza's grammar had been added to his technical aids. Thus we have the complete progression of James in Greek.

For Roman history he had only *Commentarii Caesaris, fol., Lausannorum; Commentarii Caesaris, fol., Lugduni*. Of all the Roman historians, Caesar was most prominent and still holds primacy for James. For Scottish and modern history he had *Hectoris Boëthii historia Scotorum, fol., Paris; Tili commentarii rerum Gallicarum. Item, Lupani de Magistratibus Gallicis, fol.; De Republica Helvetiorum Simlerus, 8°; Historia Scotiae per Leslaeum, 4°; De Jure Regni Buchananus, 4°*. I suppose we might as well enter here *Jus orientale, gr. et lat., 8°*; and *Epistre d'Osorius à la Royne d'angleterre*; as also *Oraison du Cardinal de Lorraine a Poissy*. Most of these books had been printed later than the time of our previous lists. One misses Buchanan's Scottish history of the previous year, though two anecdotes show that James had read it (p. lxxiii). Perhaps it had not pleased James, as the friends of Buchanan had warned him it would not in spots.

In his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 1582, Buchanan tells James why he wrote this history.

It seemed to me absurd and shameful that you, who in this your tender age, have read the histories of all nations, and retain very many of them in your memory, should only be a stranger at home. Besides, an incurable distemper having made me unfit to discharge, in person, the care of your instruction, committed to me, I thought that sort of writing, which tends to the information of the mind, would best supply the want of my attendance and resolved to send you faithful counsellors from history, that you might make use of their advice in your deliberations and imitate their virtues in your actions.<sup>24</sup>

This good advice, including some of the phraseology, King James later reshaped for Prince Henry in the *Basilikon Doron* (1599), even while he reprobated the *Historia* itself.

And next the Lawes, I would haue you to be well versed in authentick histories, and in the Chronicles of all nations, but specially in our owne histories (*Ne sis peregrinus domi*) the example whereof most neerely concerns you: I meane not of such infamous inuectiues, as *Buchanans* or *Knoxes* Chronicles: and if any of these infamous libels remaine vntill your dayes, vse the Law vpon the keepers thereof. . . . And among al prophane histories, I must not omit most specially to recommend vnto you, the Commentaries of *Caesar*; both for the sweete flowing of the stile, as also

<sup>24</sup> George Buchanan; *Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies* 1906, p. 461.

for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe: For I haue euer beene of that opinion, that of all the Ethnick Emperors, or great Captaines that euer were, he hath farthest excelled, both in his practise, and in his precepts in martiall affaires. . . . I graunt it is meete yee haue some entrance, specially in the Mathematickes; for the knowledge of the arte militarie, in situation of Campes, ordering of battels, making Fortifications, placing of batteries, or such like.<sup>35</sup>

It will be noticed that James is recommending to his son exactly the program that had been used upon himself, including the emphasis upon Caesar along with some military mathematics. But while James approved of Buchanan's program even to the phraseology of it, yet by 1599 he most decidedly did not approve of Buchanan's *Historia*. Presumably he already disapproved by 1584 when parliament condemned both the *Historia* and the *De Jure Regni*. Still James had read the *Historia* carefully and on November 11, 1583, had included the *De Jure*<sup>36</sup> along with his Caesar, but not the *Historia*.

The *De Officiis* of Cicero still holds a place with *Riuii tabulae in officiis Ciceronis, fol.*, and James still had the English translation of the remainder of the volume of moral philosophy *Paradoxa Ciceronis in engliss, with Graftons Callender*. Of similar import is *Ethica Samuelis Heilandi ex Aristotele, 8°*. There were also a few works of religious or controversial nature; *The hurt of Seditioun; The true religion and poperie, 8°; La Legende du Cardinal de Lorraine; Cateles du canon de la Messe, 16°*. Perhaps we should place here also various pieces of heavily moralized modern literature; *La Franciade, 4°; 2 Tomes des poèmes de Ronsard, 4°; L'Oliue augmentée, 8°; Monomachie de Goliath et David, 4°; Jephthé en françois, avec le Franciscanus*. Since these were French, we may place with them *The Frenche tongue teacher, 8°*.

For Latin grammar and for rhetoric *Rudimenta grammaticae latinae, 4°; Terentii flores, 16°; Demetrius Phalereus de elocutione, gr. et lat.*, all from previous lists. Dialectic appears as *Dialectica Retorfortis, 4°*. The Latin poets, especially Virgil and Ovid, appear. James still had *Virgilii eclogae et Murrnellii tabulae, 8°*, the latter a work on metrics; *Vergilius cum commentario Guellii, fol.; Vergilius cum Graecis collatus ab Vrsino, 8°; Martialis castratus, 8°; Metamorphoses Ouidii per Sprengium illustratae, 8°; In Metamorphoses Ouidii*

<sup>35</sup> McIlwain, C. H., *The Political Works of James I*, p. 40; ed. of Edinburgh, 1603, pp. 92-94.

<sup>36</sup> In his dedication, Buchanan told James quite plainly why he had written *De Jure*. If Buchanan failed, it was not for want of plain speaking.

*Posthii Tetrasticha; Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée, avec les deuises heroiques de Paradin, 8°; Geographia poetica Danaei, 8°; Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius cum annotationibus Mureti.* James still took along his work on metrics, still had his castrated Martial and his Catullus, Tibullus, etc. in which to locate verse forms. For poetic stories, he still had *Giraldus de Diis gentium, fol.* He was evidently trained as a Virgilian, though Ovid was used as a support. Incidentally, Shakspeare seems also to have used some form of the illustrated Ovid.<sup>37</sup> For geography James took along only *Ptolomaei Tabulae per Gerardum Mercatorem, 4°.*

In all these lists, there is nothing frivolous; all is devoted to the sober earnest task of making a good man out of James, reformation style, not much tintured with renaissance. The reader will now see not only how well James was prepared to become the wisest fool in Christendom, but even to become the particular kind of wise fool he was.<sup>38</sup> Biographers of James and historians would do well to examine this educational conditioning of his mind.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> All copies of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid belonging to James were of the one illustrated type. It seems that Shakspeare also knew some form of these illustrations (Baldwin, T. W., "Perseus Purloins Pegasus," *Renaissance Studies In Honor of Hardin Craig*, pp. 169 ff.).

<sup>38</sup> It is conceivable that England may have escaped something when Edward VI died young—but his father's blood might have asserted itself.

<sup>39</sup> The education of James could, and should, be worked out in much greater detail.

## CHAPTER XXV

### LOWER GRAMMAR SCHOOL: SHAKSPERE'S GRAMMAR

AS WE HAVE NOW SEEN, the statement of Jonson would imply a practically complete grammar school training for Shakspeare, and Beeston's would imply the same. Further, the King's Free Grammar School at Stratford was a competent one, competently taught, with competent results. There is thus both presumption and credible contemporary witness to imply that Shakspeare had received at least a competent grammar school education. There is not a shred of evidence nor any just ground for suspicion that Shakspeare received that grammar school training elsewhere than at Stratford. Yet because of the general uniformity of curricula and methods at the time, the particular school in which Shakspeare received his training is not for our present purpose of great importance. It was the conscious purpose of the authorities so to regiment schools and texts that transfers in teachers and schools would not retard the progress of the pupils. Because of this regimentation, the curricula had a certain common denominator of uniformity. In this way it becomes possible to infer with some accuracy how far Shakspeare had gone in this curriculum by observing the knowledge of it which he displays.

Stratford was not on the Eton system, since the boys were not required to have any grammar before entrance. Neither was Stratford on the cathedral system, which had been modified from the Eton. Since it had both a master and an usher, it probably had six forms, though it may have had five or seven, or even eight. But the organization of its curriculum into forms is relatively unimportant. As a standard grammar school, it would have presented the conventional subjects and processes in conventional sequences; and those subjects, processes, and sequences are now known. Our problem is thus to see to what extent Shakspeare had been subjected to the processes of this known curriculum.

Shakspeare should have learned in some form of petty school the elements of reading, writing, and perhaps casting accounts.<sup>1</sup> Then when he was about seven in 1571, he should have entered the grammar school under the usher, and should have completed the lower

---

<sup>1</sup> See Baldwin, *Petty School*, 1943.

school, devoted to grammar proper, in three or four years. The key text on which the lower school was founded is Lily's Latin grammar. Shakspeare shows knowledge of both the *Shorte Introduction*, or the "accyden<sup>ce</sup>& princypalles of gramer" in English, and the *Brevissima Institutio*, or the grammar proper in Latin. The *Shorte Introduction* in English he should have mastered by the end of the first year in grammar school. The *Brevissima Institutio*, with exception of prosody and figures, he should have mastered by the end of the third year, with some review perhaps in the fourth. So by the end of 1575 at furthest Shakspeare should have had a thorough mastery of his Latin grammar.

The instructions prefixed to the Latin grammar<sup>3</sup> indicate the general methods by which it was to be taught. They provide that the boy first should master thoroughly the declensions and the conjugations in the *Shorte Introduction*. This should not take more than a quarter of a year, we are told. Then the boy must master the Concor<sup>d</sup>s, which follow in the *Shorte Introduction*. Stockwood very aptly puts the purpose of the rules of construction as

To teach which of these eight parts of speech may most aptly and fitly in making of Latin, or construing of Autors be ioined together, and agree the one with the other in some certaine properties, or else be gouerned and as it were ruled the one of the other.<sup>4</sup>

The boy first learned his parts, and must thenceforth be able to parse anything. Then he learned construction, both concords and rules of government, which enabled him to construe his Latin for translation into English, or to translate his English into Latin. Here are all the fundamental processes in their necessary relationships. So the instructions to the grammar provide that the boy shall continue to rehearse his grammar parts, "espe[cia]lly the daily declynyng of a verbe, and tournyng hym into[al] fashions." With parts mastered and Concor<sup>d</sup>s learned, the boy must begin making Latin to illustrate these his English rules. He will not then continue the same method in memorizing the rules of construction in the *Shorte Introduction* in English nor the *Brevissima Institutio*, the second part of the grammar, in Latin. Instead, he now begins making Latins, and memorizes each

<sup>3</sup> We may permit Minsheu, John, *The Guide Into Tongues* (1627, personal) to define "Accidence, or Introduction for Grammar, so called à Lat. *Accidentia*, quia in ea tractantur quaecunque *accidunt* Nomini, Pronomini, Verbo, Participio, & caeteris orationis partibus: vt Nomini *accidunt* Species, Figura, Numerus, Casus, Genus, Declinatio, Comparatio. Pronomini *accidunt* Species, Numerus, Casus, Genus, Declinatio, Persona, Figura. Verbo *accidunt*, Genus, Modus, Tempus, Figura, Species, Persona, Numerus, Conjugatio, &c. vocatur etiam *Introductio Grammaticae*." <sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 204-5.

<sup>4</sup> Stockwood, John, *A Plaine And Easie Laying open*, etc. (1590), p. B1r.

time the rule needed from the *Shorte Introduction*. For this purpose, the teacher selects "some prety book[e] wherin is conteyned not onely the eloquence of the tungue, b[ut] also a good playne lesson of honestee and godlynesse." He gives a sentence in English translation, which the boy turns into Latin, learning or repeating any rule of the grammar which may be required in the operation. When the boy has attained the exact phraseology of the original, he then takes the book to construe and parse his sentence. Thus the boy learns to write Latin and at the same time stores his mind with moral matters.

As a matter of fact, the rules themselves carry a minimum of illustration. Thus a possible procedure was that at Rotherham before Hoole's day. There the boys first merely read the *Accidence*. Then they memorized it. Finally, they learned to parse and construe upon the illustrations given in the rules of the *Shorte Introduction*. In that way, they first mastered the parts, then the construction, both con-cords and rules of government, after which they learned to apply their knowledge in construing and parsing. This furnished the minimum, which could then be supplemented as needed.

In 1590, John Stockwood, sometime schoolmaster at Tonbridge, in *A Plaine And Easie Laying open of the meaning and understanding of the Rules of Construction in the English Accidence* has given a very good idea of how contemporary schoolmasters proposed to impress the *Shorte Introduction* indelibly upon the minds of the boys through drill in applying their rules.

And I haue the rather made choise to deale with the English rules, because it is the first thing that the Accidentiaries do enter into, after they haue learned their eight parts of speech, and as it were the foundation of all the rest of the Grammar building, the which being well laid, they shall be the better able to proceed to the vnderstanding of Latin Authors.<sup>5</sup>

Stockwood emphasizes especially the use of the examples to make the rules clear, "nothing is omitted, that any way cōcerneth the fitting of euery example to euery rule throughout the whole rules of construction."<sup>6</sup> So drilled, the boy had not much chance to forget.

Hints on practice generally seem to indicate that the schoolmasters followed the method of Tonbridge under Stockwood and of Rotherham before Hoole in memorizing the whole of the *Shorte Introduction* and seeing that the boy knew how to apply the rules to the examples in the rules themselves. But whether the boy memorized the rules

<sup>5</sup> Stockwood, *Rules of Construction*, p. A3r.

<sup>6</sup> Stockwood, *Rules of Construction*, p. A3v.



systematically or only upon urgent and emergent occasion, yet he would eventually and necessarily have performed the same processes. He would have read the rules, he would have learned from the example each time how the rule was applied, and he would have constructed other examples in illustration of the rules.

These supplementary examples might be obtained in various ways. In the upper stages, the authors which the boys were reading furnished many examples. At the elementary stage, the grammar suggests a collection of *sententiae* which will elicit the rules haphazard, as in life, not as in the system of the grammar. Some of the *Vulgaria*, however, were arranged systematically for this purpose of illustrating the rules, Whittinton's, for instance. With such a systematized collection of *sententiae*, one could perform the operation demanded in the grammar, since the *sententiae*, being in order, would call for the rules in order. He would violate the spirit, however, since the grammar is following Erasmus and Colet, insisting that actual practice is the important thing, and the grammar only an explanatory handbook. This is well enough for individual teaching, but mass work calls for regimentation, and the schoolmasters frequently if not always regimented by systematic memorization and illustration of the elementary rules of the *Shorte Introduction*. But however they did it, the varying instructions show that the schoolmasters made the boys memorize their rules and write illustrative Latins in connection with them, which is the fundamental process recommended by the grammar itself. In some way, each time an English was devised to illustrate the rule. It was then turned into Latin and the approved form of both English and Latin was written down to be memorized.

This is the fundamental drill. But the boy must speak Latin as well as write it, and the grammar refers to this process. For the "making" of Latin, whether written or oral, is the important process, not translation into English. Hence the boys should have, not only *sententiae* to illustrate their rules, but also some English book to turn into Latin. Here the boy would be wholly free from all leading strings of the grammar and would be actually composing, catch as catch can. By constant repetition he must also be made to retain what he has once learned.

The boy usually continued systematically to memorize certain sections of the *Brevissima Institutio*, the parts and rules of the *Shorte Introduction* and this together occupying the first hour of the day for the first three or four years, and being sometimes reviewed through-

out grammar school. The sections drilled from the *Brevissima Institutio* were traditionally *Propria quae maribus*, *Quae genus*, and *As in praesenti*. On these, the schoolmasters took no chances. Brinsley's *Posing of the Parts* brings out clearly the whole process. The *Shorte Introduction* (the first part of the grammar, in English) is covered in detail, both the eight parts and the rules for construction. Then for the second part, which is the grammar proper, in Latin, the drill is on *Propria quae Maribus* (Genders), *Quae genus* (Heteroclites), *As in praesenti* (Verbs). These also are the parts of the Latin grammar covered by the construes, etc.<sup>7</sup> They are the nuclear parts out of which the authorized grammar had been assembled, and they were always emphasized by memory, drill, etc. We know, therefore, what to expect of a well-drilled grammarian.

That Shakspeare had been thoroughly drilled on Lily's grammar is demonstrated by the ways in which knowledge of it crops out in his writings. Shakspeare's most extended use of the grammar is in *Merry Wives*,<sup>8</sup> where Sir Hugh Evans poses Master William Page in his accidence. Mistress Page is about to escort her young man to school, who is thus evidently of tender age.

Ile but bring my yong-man here to Schoole: looke where his Master comes;  
'tis a playing day I see: how now Sir *Hugh*, no Schoole to day?

*Eua.* No: Master *Slender* is let the Boyes leaue to play.

*Qui.* 'Blessing of his heart.

Master Slender had exercised a privilege of which the boys and the Mistress Quicklys approved, "Blessing of his heart!"; but upon which founders uniformly looked askance, trying to limit it as narrowly as might be. They did not found schools to let boys play; in fact, invented all kinds of sinister devices to attempt to thwart that natural instinct. They were not troubled with the modern desire to teach boys to be boys; they wanted them taught to be men. But the Master Slenders and Mistress Quicklys simply would aid and abet the boys to indulge in their lamentable weakness.

Mistress Page continues,

Sir *Hugh*, my husband saies my sonne profits nothing in the world at his Booke: I pray you aske him some questions in his Accidence.

*Eu.* Come hither *William*; hold vp your head; come.

*Mist. Pag.* Come-on Sirha; hold vp your head; answeare your Master, be not afraid.

*Eua. William*, how many Numbers is in *Nownes*?

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 202-3.

<sup>8</sup> *Merry Wives*, IV, 1. I quote the First Folio.

*Will.* Two.

*Qui.* Truly, I thought there had bin one Number more, because they say od's-Nownes.

Mistress Quickly's reasoning was contrary to that of the Accidence, which says,

In Nounes be two numbers, the Singular & the Plurall. The Singular number speaketh but of one: as *Lapis*, a stone. The Plurall number speaketh of mo than one: as *Lapides*, stones.<sup>9</sup>

So Sir Hugh rebukes the ignorance of Mistress Quickly, and proceeds with the posing of Master William.

Peace, your tatlings. What is (*Faire*) *William*?

*Will.* *Pulcher*.

*Qu.* Powlcats? there are fairer things then Powlcats, sure.

This is from the preceding page, where the Accidence says,

Of Nounes, some be Substantiuies, and some be Adiectiuies. . . . A Nounie Adiectiue is that cannot stand by him selfe in reason or signification, but requireth to be ioined with an other word: as *Bonus*, Good [,] *Pulcher*, *Faire*.

But again Mistress Quickly breaks the thread of the examination by her misunderstanding of *pulcher* as *polecats*, which at least gives some idea of Master William's Latin pronunciation.<sup>10</sup>

Sir Hugh now returns to the rule of his first question.

*Eua.* You are a very simplicity o'man: I pray you peace. What is (*Lapis*) *William*?

*Will.* A Stone.

*Eua.* And what is a Stone (*William*)?

*Will.* A Peeble.

*Eua.* No; it is *Lapis*: I pray you remember in your praine.

*Will.* *Lapis*.

This is the illustration under the number of nouns, for which Sir Hugh had first called. As a matter of fact, Sir Hugh himself may in his first question have intended to call for the two sorts of nouns, which is the first distinction in the Accidence, instead of the two numbers, which is the second. He next calls for a subdistinction under the two sorts, and proceeds to the illustration under the two numbers.

<sup>9</sup> I quote from an edition of 1599 owned by the Library of the University of Illinois.

<sup>10</sup> Shakspeare also rhymes *benedicite* with me (*Romeo and Juliet*, II, 3, 31-32).

Having finally maneuvered Master William over this hurdle, Sir Hugh continues,

*Eua.* That is a good *William*: what is he (*William*) that do's lend Articles.

*Will.* Articles are borrowed of the Pronoun; and be thus declined.  
*Singulariter nominatio hic[,] haec, hoc.*

*Eua.* *Nominatio hig, hag, hog*: pray you marke: *genitiuo huius*: Well: what is your *Accusatiue-case*?

*Will.* *Accusatiuo hinc.*

*Eua.* I pray you haue your remembrance (*childe*) *Accusatiuo hing, hang, hog.*

*Qu.* Hang-hog, is latten for Bacon, I warrant you.

*Eua.* Leaue your prables (o'man) What is the *Focatiue case* (*William*)?

*Will.* O, *Vocatiuo*, O.

*Eua.* Remember *William*, *Focatiue*, is *caret*.

*Qu.* And that's a good roote.

*Eua.* O'man, forbear.

*Mist. Pag.* Peace.

Sir Hugh has skipped "Cases of Nounes," coming to the "Articles," where the Accidence says:

Articles are borrowed of the Pronoun, and be thus declined.

*Singulariter.* { *Nominatio, hic, haec, hoc.*  
*Genitiuo huius.*  
*Datiuo huic.*  
*Accusat. hunc, hanc, hoc.*  
*Vocatiuo caret,*  
*Ablatiuo hoc, hac, hoc.*

*Pluraliter.* { *Nomin. hi, hae, haec.*  
*Gen. horum, harum, horum.*  
*Datiuo his.*  
*Accus. hos, has, haec.*  
*Vocatiuo caret.*  
*Ablatiuo his.*

Sir Hugh with his Welsh and William with his poor memory manage to mangle this fearfully, and Mistress Quickly with her loquacious misunderstandings does not improve matters. When Sir Hugh calls for the vocative, William thinks of another rule in the preceding section of "Cases of Nounes," which Sir Hugh had skipped. It runs, "The Vocative case is knowne by calling or speaking to: as *O Magister, O Maister.*" Sir Hugh sets William right with the statement that, "*Focatiue is caret*," that is, the vocative is lacking, whereupon the irrepressibly loquacious Mistress Quickly thinks he has said *carrot* and so displays her wisdom.

But Mistress Quickly is doomed to yet more serious shock.

*Eua.* What is your *Genitiue case plurall* (*William*)?

*Will.* *Genitiue case?*

*Eua.* I.

*Will.* *Genitiue horum, harum, horum.*

*Qu.* 'Vengeance of Ginyes case; fie on her; neuer name her (childe) if she be a whore.

*Eua.* For shame o'man.

*Qu.* You doe ill to teach the childe such words: hee teaches him to hic, and to hac; which they'll doe fast enough of themselues, and to call *horum*; fie vpon you.

*Euans.* O'man, art thou Lunaties? Hast thou no vnderstandings for thy Cases, & the numbers of the Genders? Thou art as foolish Christian creatures, as I would desires.

*Mi. Page.* Pre'thee hold thy peace.

Grammar is corrupting the morals of youth by "Ginyes case," and Mistress Quickly will have none of it! No doubt many prejudices against grammar arose from misunderstandings no less absurd.

After the righteously indignant Mistress Quickly has been squelched once more, Sir Hugh proceeds from nouns to pronouns, the second part of Speech.

*Eu.* Shew me now (*William*) some declensions of your Pronounes.

*Will.* Forsooth, I haue forgot.

*Eu.* It is *Qui, que, quod*; if you forget your *Quies*, your *Ques*, and your *Quods*, you must be preeches: Goe your waies and play, go.

*M. Pag.* He is a better scholler then I thought he was.

*Eu.* He is a good sprag-memory: Farewel *Mis. Page*.

*Mis. Page.* Adieu good Sir *Hugh*: Get you home boy, Come we stay too long. *Exeunt*.

The situation out of which this examination grows reminds one of the schoolmaster's complaint quoted by Brinsley,

when Gentlemen or others come in and examine them, or their friends try them at home, in the things which they learned a quarter or halfe a yeere before; they are ordinarily found so rawe, and to haue so forgotten, that I doe receiue great reproach, as though I had taken no paines with them, or as they had profited nothing.<sup>11</sup>

It is clear that William Shakspeare had heard this complaint long before Brinsley records it, and we are afraid that Brinsley would not have been so well satisfied with Master William's progress as was the young man's mother—nor with the skill of Sir Hugh. One gathers that William Shakspeare was also fully aware of the amusing inefficiency of both master and pupil.

Some have seen William Shakspeare himself in the person of Master

<sup>11</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 90. I quote from the copy owned by the Library of the University of Illinois. Since Campagnac's is a fairly accurate page for page reprint of this edition, the references will serve for that edition also.

William Page, and his schoolmaster Thomas Jenkins in the Welsh Sir Hugh Evans.<sup>12</sup> Whether William Page be or be not William Shakspeare, at least here is a concrete illustration of how William Shakspeare and every other schoolboy was drilled in his Accidence.<sup>13</sup> It should be remembered also in this connection that William Shakspeare's son Hamnet should have begun this process at the age of seven in 1592, and should have mastered his grammar before his death in 1596. And it may be that Shakspeare's children contributed something to his own education, as is not unusual.

One might, for instance, like Shakspeare to provide himself with Stockwood's *A Plaine And Easie Laying open of the meaning and vnderstanding of the Rules of Construction in the English Accidence*, London, 1590, and show himself a "louing and carefull father" to Hamnet.

Yea euery louing and carefull father for the profit of his sonne, the which hath sometimes in his youth been a smatterer in Grammar, and now through continuance of time, and other busines almost cleane forgotten the same, by vsing this booke, and questioning at spare times with his childe, when he commeth from the Grammar schoole, may partly increase his forlorne knowledge, and partly helpe forward by his riper wit, the tender vnderstanding of his little childe," etc.<sup>14</sup>

But I am afraid the former "smatterer in Grammar" William Shakspeare had no great opportunity to "increase his forlorne knowledge" in such an idyllic schoolmastering upon Hamnet. He was too busy getting established in London—and one really cannot with Mr. Fripp permit him to lead a busy life in both Stratford and London at the same time.

The reader may be interested in seeing Brinsley's instructions in 1611 for posing the pupils on these parts. After the teacher has thoroughly explained the meaning of the parts to the pupils,

Then aske them questions according to the same, following the words o[f] the booke, in this manner or the like, as you thinke good.

<sup>12</sup> See above, pp. 479-480.

<sup>13</sup> Hart has misunderstood the current process. "For the speaking of Latin at school, see Ascham's *Scholemaster* (Arber, p. 28), who says it is 'the best and readiest waie, to learne the Latin tong.' He died in 1568. Judging from the school-scenes of this time (see *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Arden ed. pp. 160, 161), the plan was disused" (Hart, *Love's Labor's Lost*, p. 112). Brinsley states the rule, "Let all this examination be onely in pure Latine, from the very lowest fourmes, except the first or second at the most" (Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 146; cf. Watson, *Vives: On Education*, p. 111). The Accidence belonged to the first form, was in English, and hence was examined in English. But all later stages were supposed to be done in Latin.

<sup>14</sup> Stockwood, *Rules of Construction*, p. A3v.

Q. How many parts of speech haue you? Or how many parts are there in Speech?

A. Eight.

Q. Of these how many are declined, how many vndeclined? So, which are declined, which vndeclined?

Afterwards to aske the same questions backe againe, the last first. As which parts of speech are vndeclined? Or how many are vndeclined? So in the next.

Q. What is a Nowne?

A. A Nowne is the name of a thing.

Q. Of what thing?

A. Of such a thing as may be seene, felt, heard, or vnderstood.

Q. Giue me some good examples of some such things.

A. A hand, a house, goodnesse.

Q. What is the name of a hand in Latine? or what is Latine for a hand? what is Latine for a house? and so forth.

Then aske the questions as it were backward thus:

Q. What part of speech is that which is the name of a thing, which may be felt, heard, or vnderstood?

A. A Nowne, &c.

As they goe forward, strue to make them most perfect in these things specially:

1. In knowing a Nowne, and how to discern the Substantiue from the Adiectiue. After in the signes of the Cases.

Then in declining the Articles, *Hic, haec, hoc*; euery Article by it selfe: as *Nom. hic. Gen. huius. Dat. huic. Accus. hunc. Ablat. hoc. &c.* So in the Feminines. *Nom. haec. Accus. hanc. Abl. hac, &c.*

By being perfect in these articles thus, they shall both be able to decline any Nowne much sooner, and to know the right Gender for making Latine.<sup>15</sup>

Because of the unfortunate misapprehensions of Dame Quickly, the posing of Master William Page proceeded but little further than the Article, but it is clear that he and William Shakspeare were acquainted with the conventional modes of drill. If the reader is interested, he may pursue their further probable misadventures in grammar by reading Chapter VI of Brinsley, "How to make children perfect in the Accidence," and Chapter VII, "How to make Schollers perfect in the Grammar," though I must warn him that William Shakspeare gives much the more amusing picture of the processes involved. Brinsley gives the ideal of what should be, but I am afraid that Shakspeare comes nearer to giving the actual of what was. In-

<sup>15</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 56-57. Hoole in Chapter V of "The Vshers Duty" in his *New Discovery* gives in detail the kind of examination a boy ought to be able to pass on the grammar.

cidentally, Shakspeare elsewhere uses the correct technical term "pose" for such an examination.<sup>16</sup> It is clear enough that Shakspeare was familiar with the process.

It is also probably worth noting here that when by 1612 John Brinsley sought the perfect method of teaching the second part, being the grammar proper, he

chiefly followed the order of the Quest. of that ancient Schoolemaster, Master *Brunsword*, of Maxfield in Cheshire, so much commended for his order and Schollers; who, of all other, commeth therein the neerest vnto the marke.<sup>17</sup>

This ancient schoolmaster is John Brownsword, who taught at Stratford 1565-67, returning thence to Macclesfield, where he had previously been.<sup>18</sup> It is not likely that Brownsword was lax in grammar even while he was at Stratford. It will be remembered that Hoole, at beginning, inquired of the custom of his school. This was necessary in order to build on the foundations already laid. It is likely that Brownsword had set an example in grammar at Stratford which carried over some four years to William Shakspeare's day, and this may be part of the reason that Shakspeare and Brinsley so nicely supplement each other. At least, it will appear that William Shakspeare had been thoroughly drilled upon his grammar.

In a chance phrase, as Malone pointed out, Shakspeare shows familiarity with another of these processes connected with the grammar. Queen Margaret says to Queen Elizabeth,

I call'd thee then vain flourish of my fortune;  
I call'd thee then poor shadow, painted queen;  
The presentation of but what I was;  
The flattering index of a direful pageant;  
One heaved a-high, to be hurl'd down below;  
A mother only mock'd with two sweet babes;  
A dream of what thou wert, a breath, a bubble,  
A sign of dignity, a garish flag,  
To be the aim of every dangerous shot;  
A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.  
Where is thy husband now? where be thy brothers?  
Where are thy children? wherein dost thou joy?  
Who sues to thee and cries 'God save the queen'?  
Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee?  
Where be the thronging troops that follow'd thee?  
Decline all this, and see what now thou art.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Measure for Measure*, II, 4, 51.

<sup>17</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 87-88.

<sup>18</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *King Richard III*, IV, 4, 82-97.



Malone comments,

Decline all this,] i.e. run through all this from first to last. So, in *Troilus and Cressida*: "I'll *decline* the whole question." This phrase the poet borrowed from his grammar.<sup>20</sup>

William Page has already demonstrated the method of the process for us.

When Thersites says, "Patroclus is a fool positive," Malone comments, "The poet is still thinking of his grammar; the first degree of comparison being here in his thoughts."<sup>21</sup> Since this play is doubtful, the allusion may not be Shakspeare's.

I have a suspicion that the two preceding figures may just possibly be combined into one in a passage of *Antony and Cleopatra* (III, 13, 25-27) which has not appeared clear to some. Antony says of Caesar,

I dare him therefore  
To lay his gay comparisons apart,  
And answer me declined, sword against sword.

Shakspeare frequently uses "comparisons" in the plural in an unfavorable sense, as in "comparisons are odorous." But here there may be a figure that Antony shall be "declined" grammatically from the "comparative" superiority he now holds through fortune to the "positive" degree of sword to sword unaided. Such a grammatical sense of "declined" is not strictly correct; but it should be noticed that in the *Accidence* the section on comparison of nouns is tacked on at the end of declensions without any emphasized break; in the *Syntax*, the order is the same, but the break is emphasized. The fact of actual declension of fortune may then have caused Shakspeare to speak of the grammatical process also as a declension. At least, the contrast intended might readily be the grammatical one between the positive and the comparative.

There is still another reference to grammatical drill in the plays. Brinsley will serve to point the quotation,

See that your Scholler be very cunning in his *Accedence*, and *Grammar* as he goeth forward: and chiefly in *Nounes* and *Verbs*, to be able to giue each case of a *Noune*, and euery tense and person of a *Verbe*; both *Latine* to *English*, and *English* to *Latine*, as I wished you, and shewed the manner before; at least by the perfect knowledge of the terminations of them.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. XIX, p. 175.

<sup>21</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. VIII, p. 303.

<sup>22</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 149.

Cade accuses Lord Say,

Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school. . . . It will be proved to thy face that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear.<sup>23</sup>

Again, of course, it is doubtful that the whole play is Shakspeare's.

Shakspeare is echoing, though not exactly quoting, his grammar upon verbs when he has Margaret tell Benedick she cannot think "that you are in love or that you will be in love or that you can be in love."<sup>24</sup> She has conjugated love in the present, and future indicative, and in the present potential of the first conjugation, marking her intent with parallel structure. Lily's form would be "that you love or that you will love or that you can love" instead of Margaret's periphrastic construction. But Margaret is here clearly and consciously echoing Lily.

Again, King John says to King Philip,

If that the Dauphin there, thy princely son,  
Can in this book of beauty read, 'I love,'  
Her dowry shall weigh equal with a queen.<sup>25</sup>

The book is Lily's Grammar "*amo*, I love"; the beauty is Blanch.

Falstaff is punning on the voices of the same verb "love" when he says of Mistress Ford, "I can construe the action of her familiar style; and the hardest voice of her behaviour, to be Englished rightly, is, 'I am Sir John Falstaff's.'" <sup>26</sup> I suppose "action" is also intended as a glancing pun at "active," to go with "voice." Such subtlety of punning implies a thorough grasp of the process. This was not written with the tongue out and slowly pendulating to the painful scratching of an illiterate pen.

There are several other references to the *Shorte Introduction*. On the first page, the boy William had memorized, "A Noun Substantive is that standeth by himselfe, and requireth not another word to be ioined with him to shewe his signification: as *Homo*, a man," and the man Shakspeare, as Lort early noticed,<sup>27</sup> causes Gadshill to say, "'homo' is a common name to all men."<sup>28</sup> Gadshill had said to the Chamberlain, "Give me thy hand: thou shalt have a share in our purchase, as I am a true man," and the Chamberlain had answered,

<sup>23</sup> 2 *Henry VI*, IV, 7, 35-45.

<sup>26</sup> *King John*, II, 1, 484-486.

<sup>27</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. XVI, p. 244.

<sup>24</sup> *Much Ado About Nothing*, III, 4, 85-87.

<sup>28</sup> *Merry Wives*, I, 3, 50-53.

<sup>25</sup> 1 *Henry IV*, II, 1, 104-105.

"Nay, rather let me have it, as you are a false thief," whereupon Gadshill had answered as above. The man who concocted that pass of pate had a vivid grasp upon the Noun Substantive.

Moth makes a punning division upon the signs of the ablative case, by, in, and without.<sup>29</sup> Lily says, "Also In, with, through, for, from, by, & then after the cōparatiue degree, be signes of y<sup>e</sup> ablatiue case." In order to preserve triple division, Moth has selected only three of the seven, and one of those he has put in the negative.

Dr. Johnson in 1765 pointed out another borrowing from the Accidence.<sup>30</sup> On Interjections, the eighth part of speech, the Accidence had said, "An Interiection is a part of speach, which betokeneth a sudayne passion of the minde, vnder an vnperfect voyce. Some are of . . . Laughing: as *Ha ha he*." So when Claudio betokened the sudden passion of his mind by saying, "O what men dare do! what men may do! what men daily do!," Benedick commented, "How now! interiections? why then, some be of laughing, as *ha, ha, he*."<sup>31</sup> We may add that the Accidence says of interjections, "Some are of . . . Sorowe: as, *Heu, hei*." Macduff is thinking of these when he speaks of "Like syllable of dolour."<sup>32</sup>

Malone a few years later pointed out another borrowing.<sup>33</sup> A little further on in the *Shorte Introduction*, under the first concord, is the illustration, "*Diluculò surgere, saluberrimum est*, To arise betime in the morning, is the most wholesome thing in the world." It is Sir Toby and Sir Andrew who reflect this piece of wisdom.

*Sir To.* Approach, Sir Andrew: not to be a-bed after midnight is to be up betimes; and 'diluculo surgere,' thou know'st,—

*Sir And.* Nay, by my troth, I know not: but I know, to be up late is to be up late.

*Sir To.* A false conclusion: I hate it as an unfilled can. To be up after midnight and to go to bed then, is early: so that to go to bed after midnight is to go to bed betimes.<sup>34</sup>

Sir Toby is chopping logic on a grammar text, and echoes both the Latin and the translation. That Shakspeare is conscious of the source of his text is shown by the further turn of the conversation. Sir Toby asks, "Does not our life consist of the four elements?," and Sir

<sup>29</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, III, 1, 36-49.

<sup>30</sup> Johnson, *Shakspeare* (1765), Vol. III, p. 234.

<sup>31</sup> *Much Ado*, IV, 1, 19-23. I use the Folio version, which quotes the grammar accurately, and not the quarto, which substitutes "ah" for the first "ha."

<sup>32</sup> *Macbeth*, IV, 3, 8.

<sup>33</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. XI, p. 385.

<sup>34</sup> *Twelfth Night*, II, 3, 1-9. The same conceit is to be found in *Cymbeline*, II, 3, 37-38. The proverb is echoed in *Henry V*, IV, 1, 6-7, and perhaps in *Troilus and Cressida*, I, 2, 7-9.

Andrew replies, "Faith, so they say; but I think it rather consists of eating and drinking," winning thereby the commendation of Sir Toby, "Thour't a scholar: let us therefore eat and drink. Marian, I say! a stoup of wine!"<sup>35</sup> Sir Andrew was no "scholar" on his Latin grammar, even though Sir Toby later asserts that he "could speak three or four languages word for word without book";—which is a very apt description of the contemporary method of teaching—but he was expert on eating and drinking. Not only has Sir Toby posed his "scholar" Sir Andrew, but he has further pointed the process by using the school command, "Approach, Sir Andrew." Many a boy had quaked at that dread word, "approach," be it *ades*, *horsum tu*, or what not.

This skit would have been the more amusing to contemporary audiences because it was a parody of the regular grammar school exercise of grammatical disputation. The curricula, as we have seen, frequently require this exercise,<sup>36</sup> and Brinsley devotes Chapter XVII to a discussion, "Of Grammatical oppositions, how to dispute scholler-like of any Grammar question in good Latine." Brinsley recommended Stockwood's book on grammatical disputations for this purpose, suggesting among other things that the boys follow Stockwood's "witty conceits, which he vseth both in obiecting and answering."<sup>37</sup> It is not likely that Sir Toby got the suggestion of his "witty conceit" from Stockwood, though it is chronologically possible. It is clear, however, that Shakspeare was familiar with this exercise of the upper half of grammar school. And it is not unlikely that this "witty conceit" entered William's head while he was performing this exercise in the upper half of grammar school at Stratford and kept fresh in his mind both the Latin and the translation of this passage from the *Shorte Introduction* until Sir Toby later had need of it.

As Furness pointed out, Shakspeare also uses a quotation which occurs under the third concord, "Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur."<sup>38</sup> He probably memorized this first in the *Shorte Introduction*, but of its source he himself doubtless was not conscious, as he has been in preceding allusions. Equally unconscious may be an apparent echo of Lily's *Carmen de Moribus*, which was usually attached to the *Shorte Introduction*. Falstaff exhorts Hal, "Rob me the exchequer the first thing thou doest, and do it with unwashed hands too."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Twelfth Night*, II, 3, 9-14.

<sup>36</sup> See pp. 302, 308, 310, 343, etc.

<sup>37</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 205.

<sup>38</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 2, 82-83.

<sup>39</sup> *Henry IV*, III, 3, 205-206.

Steevens and others explain "do it immediately," without stopping to wash your hands. If this explanation be right, there is perhaps an allusion to the *Carmen de Moribus* in W. Lily's *Short Introduction to Grammar*:

Mane citius lectum fuge, mollem discute somnū:

Templa petas supplex et venerare Deum

Attamen in primis facies sit lota, manusque.<sup>40</sup>

"*Illotis manibus*" is explained at length by Erasmus as

pro eo quod est, irreuerenter atq; imparatè . . . prouerbum rectè usurpabitur in eos, qui uel audacius, uel parum instructi rebus his, quibus oportuit, negotium inuadunt: ueluti si quis principis munus capessat, nulla neq; uirtute, neq; sapientia, neq; rerū usu praeditus.<sup>41</sup>

This proverbial interpretation does not seem to fit Falstaff's allusion so well as does the passage in Lily.

It is clear from these passages scattered through the *Shorte Introduction* that Shakspeare had indelible memories of at least parts of that book. Clearly, he had received the regular drill on the *Shorte Introduction* itself, and could parody the still higher exercises of grammatical disputations.

As clearly, Shakspeare had been well drilled on the second part of grammar, the *Brevissima Institutio*, which was the grammar proper, written in Latin. From his grammar drill Shakspeare would be further impressed with the importance of orthography.<sup>42</sup> Lily had said of this first of the four parts of grammar

Orthographia, est rectè scribendi ratio, qua docemur, quibus quaeq; dictio sit formanda literis: vt lectio, non lexio: ab ὀρθος rectus: & γραφή scriptura.

Naturally, schoolmaster Holofernes is very impatient with the orthographical aberrations of Don Adriano de Armado.

I abhor such fanatical phantasimes, such insociable and point-devise companions; such rackers of orthography, as to speak dout, fine, when he should say doubt; det, when he should pronounce debt,—d,e,b,t, not d,e,t: he clepeth a calf cauf; half, hauf; neighbour vocatur nebour; neigh abbreviated ne. This is abhominable,—which he would call abominable: it insinuateth me of insanie: anne intellegis, domine? to make frantic, lunatic.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cowl, R. P. and Morgan, A. E. (Arden ed., p. 141).

<sup>41</sup> Erasmus, D., *Adagiorum Chiliades Quatuor* (Basle, 1574, personal), p. 246. The proverbial passage, however, might also be interpreted as "in a hurry; at once." Cf. "qui praecipitato studio & illotis (vt aiunt) manibus ad aliquam disciplinam accedunt" (Hunnaeus, A., *Logices prima rudimenta* (Antwerp, 1569, personal), p. 110).

<sup>42</sup> For more details concerning Shakspeare and orthography, and of the "peeves" of Holofernes in particular, see Baldwin, *Petty School*, index, under orthography.

<sup>43</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 19-29.

Shakspeare knew what orthography was and how meticulously schoolmasters insisted upon it.

Lily quite early informs the boys that points or punctuation is a very important part of orthography. This is an important section for Shakspeare, as has not previously been noticed. For here is Shakspeare's long-sought system of punctuation. Cunningham puts us on the trail with a note upon Jonson's *Grammar*, though his note also has been overlooked—or perhaps merely ignored! Cunningham remarks,

When the commentators were burying Shakspeare under their notes, it is curious that this passage of Jonson should have escaped them as an illustration of the line in *Hamlet*—

“And stand a *comma* 'tween their amities.”<sup>44</sup>

He then quotes the following passage from the Folio of 1640.

These distinctions are either of a *perfect* or *imperfect* sentence. The distinctions of an *imperfect* sentence are two, a *comma*, and a *semicolon*.

A *comma* is a mean breathing, when the word serveth indifferently, both to the parts of the sentence going before and following after, and is marked thus (,).

Gifford had silently altered this passage in Jonson's *Grammar* to make it conform to the practice of his own time. Even the learned Doctor Samuel Johnson, writing some half century before Gifford, had failed to catch the point, as had also been true of his predecessors. Of Shakspeare's *comma* Warburton (from Theobald) had made a *commere* and Hanmer *cement*, whereupon Doctor Johnson smugly sets the gentlemen right and himself mostly wrong.

The expression of our authour is, like many of his phrases, sufficiently constrained and affected, but it is not incapable of explanation. The *Comma* is the note of *connection* and continuity of sentences; the *Period* is the note of *abruption* and disjunction. *Shakspeare* had it perhaps in his mind to write, That unless *England* complied with the mandate, *war should put a period to their amity*; he altered his mode of diction, and thought that, in an opposite sense, he might put, That *Peace should stand a Comma between their amities*. This is not an easy style; but is it not the style of *Shakspeare*?<sup>45</sup>

To this concluding question we answer, No; it is the style of Doctor Johnson's learned and labored explanations.

All these gentlemen, probably including even Colonel Cunningham, should have remembered the section on punctuation in Lily,

<sup>44</sup> Cunningham, F., *The Works of Ben Jonson* (1892), Vol. III, p. 458.

<sup>45</sup> Johnson, *Shakspeare* (1765), Vol. VIII, pp. 293-294.

which still stood unchanged in the grammar they were supposed to have mastered in very early youth.<sup>46</sup> Ben Jonson's definition of comma already quoted, which set Colonel Cunningham right as to the meaning, is close kin to the definition in Lily.<sup>47</sup> Lily says,

Puncta ergò siue notae, quibus in scribendo vtuntur eruditi, Latinis dicuntur, Subdistinctio, Media distinctio, Plena ac perfecta distinctio. Græcis, Comma, Colon, Periodus.

Subdistinctio seu Comma, est silentij nota, seu potius respirandi locus, vtpote qua pronuntiationis terminus, sensu manente, ita suspenditur, vt quod sequitur, continuò succedere debeat. Notatur autem puncto deorsum caudato, ad hunc modum,<sup>48</sup>

It seems, however, that even by the seventeenth century boys no longer were forced to memorize this section, "Of the Points of Sentences." In *An English Grammar* (1641), R. R., Master in Arts, marks this section as one of those, "which commonly are not committed to memory." His translation of the section upon the comma runs

A subdistinction or *Comma*, is a note of silence, or rather a place of breathing; as whereby the term of pronounciation, the sence still remaining, is so suspended: as that that which followeth ought presently to succeed.<sup>49</sup>

Hamlet is saying that by this imposed condition Peace "ita suspenditur, vt quod sequitur, continuò succedere debeat." If the King of England observes the condition which now suspends Peace, then Peace shall be only a comma continuing to join their amities as before. Shakspere was thinking in the very phraseology of Lily, which he had been forced to master, and which any learned grammarian of his time should have understood. What a solemn farce would the pages of comment which have been expended on his comma appear to him! Could he conceive of people so ignorant and unlearned in the most elementary principles? And our ignorance we charge upon him!

<sup>46</sup> Those, however, who used the Eton grammar produced in 1758, would not have found this section, which had been omitted, presumably because in practice it was no longer used.

<sup>47</sup> A similar system of "distinctions" is to be found in Mulcaster's *Elementaris*.

<sup>48</sup> This passage is explained in English in *Certain grammar questions for the exercise of young Scholars in the learning of the Accidence* (? 1602), pp. A4v-B1r. Another explanation in English for pupils will be found in Hart, John, *An Orthographie* (1569, microfilm belonging to the University of Illinois Library, from Newberry Library), M1r ff., also in Clement, F., *The Petite Schole* (1587, photographic copy in University of Illinois Library from Huntington copy), pp. 25 ff., including how to punctuate a translation, as also in Coote, etc.

<sup>49</sup> R. R., *An English Grammar* (1641, copy in University of Illinois Library), pp. 4-5.

There is no question, then, about Shakspeare's "system" of punctuation.<sup>50</sup> It was clearly that of Lily. Like every other Elizabethan schoolboy, Shakspeare would have been forced to master this system of punctuation at the very beginning of his Latin grammar, in Latin, about the beginning of his second year in grammar school. Many years later, he remembers accurately the phraseology of his comma rule—and expects everybody else to do so too. Here is the fundamental system of punctuation, known to all Elizabethans who had attained to the second year of grammar school. All sensible discussions of the subject, therefore, must take their origins from this body of rules, which Shakspeare shows that he knew. Professor Simpson and his followers—of whom I am distantly one—can get a little, but not too much, aid and comfort here. The beauty of this system is that it permitted people to do almost as they pleased—and the Elizabethans did.

The first authority on *apostrophe* for Elizabethans would be Lily's Latin grammar. Since we know that Lily furnished Shakspeare's system of punctuation, it is legitimate to assume that Shakspeare would use *apostrophe* in the sense defined by Lily, which was in fact the regular sense. In the section on punctuation at the beginning of the syntax, Lily writes, "Apostrophvs, qua extrema alicuius dictionis vocalis eliditur: ['] vt, *tanton'*, pro *tantone*."<sup>51</sup> Later, under prosody, the term is defined again; and it is in this connection that Holofernes uses it. It will be remembered that Holofernes criticizes Sir Nathaniel's reading of Biron's poem, "You find not the apostraphas, and so miss the accent." Lily defines, "Prosodia, est quae rectam vocum pronunciationem tradit, Latine Accentus dicitur."<sup>52</sup> . . .

Huc addatur etiam Apostrophus, quam suprà, vbi rectè scribendi ratio docetur, attigimus. Ea verò est quaedam circuli pars in summo literae apposita, quā sic pinges [']. Hac nota vltima dictionis vocalis deesse osten[d]itur: vt,

—*tanton' me crimine dignum Dixisti? pro tantóne*.<sup>53</sup>

It will be seen that Holofernes is criticizing in terms of this passage. He has found Sir Nathaniel capable of such a crime as missing the

<sup>50</sup> For a bibliography of the discussions on Shakspeare's punctuation, see Chambers, *Shakspeare*, Vol. I, p. 169. Shakspeare also uses a stock similitude which occurs under *colon*, but he appears to use it according to the modified interpretation which had grown up around Horace. See Vol. II, pp. 500 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Brevissima Institutio*, 1557 (Prelvm Ascensianvm, 8<sup>o</sup>, Huntington copy), p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Whittinton had spoken of "accentum (hoc est pulcreq; pronunciandi peritiam)" (*Secunda grammaticae pars* (1524), p. lv).

<sup>53</sup> *Brevissima Institutio* (1557), pp. 109-110.



apostraphas and so of upsetting the *prosodia* or *accentus* of the verse. It is in this Latin sense that *accent* is here used. Cooper defines the Latin *accentus* thus, "An accent: a tune: the rysynge or fallynge of the voyce."<sup>64</sup> Sir Nathaniel did not find the apostraphas, and so missed the tune of the verses, and Holofernes is echoing the very terms of the Latin grammar. William Shakspeare certainly knew and remembered this passage. It would have been his first official instruction in the art of making verses.

In the particular edition from which I am here quoting, the apostrophe is still further emphasized by a note in English from the printer to the reader at the beginning of the *Shorte Introduction*, and by its use in the text.

To th'intent that nether the learned, for want of vse shulde maruell, nor th'vnlearned thugh ignorance doubt, why we vse this bowing marke [''] called of the Grekes, Apostrophos, and signifying the taking awaie of a vowell from th'end of a worde: vnderstande, that we were moued therto, aswell by naturall reason, and exāple of sundrie cōmune languages, (beside the Greke and Latin) as also to reteine, if it maie be, the necessarie distinction of wordes, confounded by such as be taken for the purest writers of our tonge at this present. Take in worthe therefore, gentle Reader, and vse to thy profite this our labour, wherbie thou maist not onlie, learne, howe to write trulie, and without confounding of diuers wordes, (the which is one of the principall partes of Grammar) but also by accustoming thy selfe therunto in writing or other wise, muche ease thy peines in other toges, wher with her after God maie indue thee.<sup>65</sup>

This note is after Holofernes' own heart.

The *New English Dictionary* suggests that Shakspeare's *apostraphas* should be *apostrophus*. If any emendation is needed, it is probably more likely that both a's should be o's, and that Shakspeare wrote the Greek form *apostrophos* as in the English note to this edition of Lily. But Florio uses the form *apostrapha*, as well as *apostraphe* and *apostrophe*, with the plural as *apostraphes*.<sup>66</sup> Shakspeare's form may thus be either singular or plural. There is, therefore, at some place or places in this poem an elision or elisions which Sir Nathaniel failed to catch and the printer has not marked for us.<sup>67</sup> I see no way of guessing where Sir Nathaniel missed the apostrophos, since there are various things he might have done.

<sup>64</sup> Cooper defines *Prosodia* itself as, "The arte of accentynge."

<sup>65</sup> *Brevissima Institutio* (1557), verso of first leaf.

<sup>66</sup> Florio, J., *A necessarie Induction to the Italian tongue* (1578), p. 112r and ff.

<sup>67</sup> See Herford and Simpson's *Jonson*, Vol. IV, pp. 338 ff.

It was also pretty certainly from the *Brevissima Institutio* that Shakspeare got the name and spelling Egeon for *The Comedy of Errors*. Under *Nomen, Secunda regula specialis*, Greek words in *ωv*, Lily wrote: "Quaedam variant: vt Orion, Edon, Egeon, ônis & onis. Caetera sunt tertię rêgulæ." Egeon was one word Shakspeare learned to spell consistently, though the printer once substitutes *a* for *o*. Just a few pages before this rule, Lily had insisted on *orthographia*, and one will remember how absurdly meticulous Holofernes is about both *orthographia* and *orthoepia*, which stand at the gateway of the *Brevissima Institutio*. It is a safe guess that Shakspeare learned the correct way to spell Egeon in school from Lily's grammar under the insistent tutelage of the usher, and that he never forgot the lesson. For even by Shakspeare's time this was not the ordinary spelling of the name. Cooper, for instance, gives approximately the now established spelling, Aegaeon, and vouchsafes the information that this person was "An huge and moste cruell and terrible Gygante, sonne of *Titan* and *Terra*," who had some difficulties with Jupiter and got bound "to the rockes of the sea *Aegaeum*." Clearly, Shakspeare's Egeon is not directly derived from this giant. It is evidently the Aegean sea, over which Egeon wandered that suggested the name—that and possibly the myth of how the sea came to be named for Aegeus, which even Cooper tells at some length. Shakspeare doubtless met this story quite early in his school career, long before he found it in North's Plutarch, where also the name of the father of Theseus is spelled Aegeus. It may originally have been Shakspeare's favorite *Metamorphoses* that by the mention of Aegeon set William looking up this background network of information,<sup>58</sup> much of which is likely to be found in some edition of Ovid used by him. But pretty clearly Shakspeare remembered his spelling of the name Egeon from Lily.

Dr. Johnson located another quotation from the Latin grammar. In *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, 1, 166-167), Tranio says to his master Lucentio:

If love have touch'd you, nought remains but so,  
'Redime te captum quam queas minimo.'

The Latin quotation is eventually from the *Eunuchus* (I, 1, 30) of Terence, where it reads, "Quid agas? nisi ut te redimas captum quam

<sup>58</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 122.

queas Minimo." Udall in his *Floures of Terence* in 1534 had given the passage as,

*Redimas te captum quàm queas minimo.* Redeme or raunsome thy selfe, beynge taken prisoner, as good chepe as thou mayste, or, if you be in any daunger come oute agayne as well as you may.<sup>59</sup>

Cooper then took Udall's version over into his first revision of Sir Thomas Elyot's dictionary in 1548,

*Redimas te captum quam queas minimo,* redeeme or raunsome thy selfe beyng taken prisoner, as good cheape as thou canst.

Cooper eventually returns to the original and translates as,

*te redimas captum quàm queas Minimo. Terent.* Raūsome or deliuer thy selfe beyng taken in loue snares as good cheape as thou canst.

His translation is apparently influenced by that of Udall. Udall changed the word order slightly, but Lily's grammar changes the construction of the verb as, "*Redime te captum quàm queas minimo*,"<sup>60</sup> and this is the form in *The Shrew*. It looks suspiciously, too, as if the author of *The Shrew* knew Cooper's final translation of the passage, as well he might, since Cooper's was the standard dictionary of his youth. Since it is not certain, however, that Shakspeare wrote all of *The Shrew*, the present passage may not be his.

But another quotation must have been Shakspeare's. Holofernes says of Armado to Sir Nathaniel, "*Novi hominem tanquam te.*"<sup>61</sup> As Cruickshank<sup>62</sup> pointed out, this is an illustration in the syntax of adverbs under, "*Quibus verborum modis, quae congruant aduerbia,*" which is toward the end of the grammar proper. In the same play (V, 1, 81), Costard's "ad dunghill" for *ad unguem* probably derives from the grammar, too, as Cruickshank also noted.

Another direct reference to the grammar is from a doubtful play. In *Titus Andronicus*, Demetrius reads a scroll,

'Integer vitae, scelerisque purus,  
Non eget Mauri jaculis, nec arcu'<sup>63</sup>

and Chiron comments,

"O, 'tis a verse in Horace; I know it well:  
I read it in the grammar long ago."

<sup>59</sup> Udall, *Floures* (1534), p. 36v. Cf. Erasmus, D., *De Duplici Copia*, etc. (1566, personal), p. 185.

<sup>60</sup> Under "Ablativvs Post Verbum."

<sup>61</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 10.

<sup>62</sup> Cruickshank, A. H., "The Classical Attainments of Shakspeare," *Noctes Shaksperianae*, p. 48.

<sup>63</sup> *Titus Andronicus*, IV, 2, 20-23.

The couplet appears twice in the grammar, but it is only once there attributed to Horace. In this case, it is in the section of *Prosodia*, under *De Generibus Carminum*, being an illustration of *Sapphicum*. Thus the author of this section of *Titus Andronicus* had memorized his *Prosodia* in the upper school as a guide to writing poetry. We shall later see, at least, that Shakspeare had been taught this process, so that the quotation might as easily be his as another's.

Shakspeare's quotations from the second part of Lily, the *Brevissima Institutio*, are from scattered sections of the work. Yet they are not mere scraps selected at random, but each quotation is especially fitted to its context. Nor are they usually from the sections on which the boys were constantly drilled. This can only mean that Shakspeare, like every other schoolboy, had eventually memorized his grammar, and so selected from memory the passages best suited to his needs. Were it not for the fact that play-printing Elizabethan printers seem to have had a special genius for mangling Latin, I should suppose that some of the errors in spelling, etc. were due to Shakspeare's faulty memory. The grammar proper was supposed to be mastered by the end of the third form, with some further drill in the fourth. Shakspeare's knowledge of Lily thus passes him through the first three forms at least, ready to leave the usher's domain for the province of the master.

The quotation in *Titus Andronicus* from Horace, which is admittedly from the grammar, would put the author of that play into the fourth or fifth form, for, as we have seen, while the passage is twice quoted in Lily, it occurs in the version referred to only in the section on prosody, which was usually begun in the fourth form, when the boys memorized the prosody and began to write "poetry" by its rules. It is not quite certain, however, that this passage comes from Shakspeare's own memory, since it is justly doubted that Shakspeare wrote the whole play. Yet we shall see later that Shakspeare did have his prosody. Incidentally, it should also be noted here that the fact that Shakspeare tends to quote his Latin classics in the form he had memorized in Lily gives no indication whatever that he had not later read those classics in the original. With even the best trained Elizabethans one always suspects Lily's grammar first, because his work was so stamped upon memory that for ordinary quotation from memory its form of the given quotation is almost certain to take precedence. About this tendency there is no mystery at all. And obviously it does not mean that one's knowledge of these classics

either certainly or probably was confined to the quotations from Lily.

We have also seen that Shakspeare knew the device of grammatical disputation, which belonged to the upper school. Thus this exercise, and the quotation from the *Prosodia* both raise the suspicion that Shakspeare had progressed as far as the upper school, though neither is in itself conclusive. But it is clear that Shakspeare had mastered the sections of the grammar which were required in the lower school. His knowledge of the grammar alone will thus pass him through the lower school, and bespeaks the handiwork of an efficient usher, whoever he was, Gilbert, Jenkins, or some other.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### LOWER GRAMMAR SCHOOL: SHAKSPERE'S CONSTRUCTIONS; *SENTENTIAE PUERILES*, AND *CATO*

BESIDES THE GRAMMAR ITSELF, Shakspeare also shows knowledge of several other conventional books and processes which accompanied it in the lower forms. As Kempe would say, the grammar furnished the precepts. The second step, examples, would be found in the accompanying Latin authors, who were studied for "constructions." By query and answer, Stockwood brings out this the proper sequence.

What is next to be done, after that you haue once perfectly learned the eight parts of speech set downe in your Accidence?

*Answer.* We do then commonly, and for the most part vse to enter into the rules of construction, that we may be able to learne some easy Autor in the Latin toong, meetest for the capacitie and vnderstanding of yong beginners.<sup>1</sup>

This is, of course, the order prescribed in the preface to the grammar itself.

So Brinsley also speaks of "construction, which is the first thing that our children enter into, after their Accedence, and Rules";<sup>2</sup> and the curricula show that his statement is correct. Brinsley sought to procure

the perfect knowledge of their Accedence and Grammar rules first, and then the practice of that golden rule of construing, together with Grammaticall Translations of the first ordinary schoole Authours, framed according to the same rule, if they be translated rightly in propriety of words, phrase and sense.<sup>3</sup>

Brinsley has himself sketched the genesis and evolution of his own solution as embodied in the golden rule and grammatical translations, tracing it from Ascham, "*Master Askams Schoolmaster* whom I principally esteeme and propound."<sup>4</sup> He then sums up Ascham's system of double translation as derived from Cicero's *De Oratore*,<sup>5</sup> and claims that his own grammatical translations perform the same things for ordinary schools more surely and speedily. Ascham in-

<sup>1</sup> Stockwood, *Rules of Construction* (1590), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Brinsley, *Consolation*, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Ascham also alleges the authority of Pliny the Younger (Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), pp. 34r and v).

stanced Whitney as an illustration of his system; Brinsley adds the statement of "Maister Tovey" that this was the system he had used on Sir John Harington. Heartened by Tovey, Brinsley had set himself to adapt this system, practiced by Ascham and Tovey, for the use of grammar schools, where individual tutoring could not be given.

Thus trying sundrie waies, which were ouer-long to recite, and amongst others, hauing seene in a chiefe Schoole in *London*, good vse of verball translations; amongst some other things, I began to thinke, that by the meanes of translations of the first Authors which Scholars learne, this translating might be practised in each lower Forme continually. But there were yet two maine difficulties, which had formerly hindred me from any such vse of them. First, that our vsuall translations did direct the young Scholars vncertainly, and sometimes amisse, being oft rather to expresse the sense, then the words in anie right order of Grammar; and that the learners must go by memorie, and as it were by rote, more then by anie certaintie of Rule, vnlesse they were of better iudgement. And secondly, that for this and other inconueniences, translations were generally in disgrace in Schooles. Therefore, this then I thought necessarie to be my first labour, to finde out some certaine rule to follow, according to which to frame these translations, and which might be the guide of all.

And herein I, vnder Iesus Christ, acknowledge my selfe behol den for the rule of construing and translating, in the beginning of my Schoole labours, now aboue 30. yeares ago [i.e., about the time he took his M.A. in 1588], first to Maister *Crusius*: since to the reuerend and ancient Schoole-maister, Maister *Leech*. Thirdly, after them to that painefull, Maister *Coote*, of *Hunsden* in *Essex*, now with the Lord. And fourthly, to that learned *Goclenius*, and to some other of my acquaintance, who had likewise taken paines in this rule, which they willingly imparted vnto me.<sup>6</sup>

A "chiefe Schoole in *London*" where Brinsley had seen "good vse of verball translations" was that of Merchant Taylors' under William Hayne, who had prepared his construe of Lily's grammar in the early 'nineties, and had published a verbal translation of some of Cicero's *Epistles* in 1611, with a long list of many other works of his. In this Hayne explains,

Besides, Maister *Brinsly*, in the yeare one thousand sixe hundred and fve, (vpon a report made by certaine very learned and reuerend Ministers,) cōming from his Schoole in *Lecester-shire*, to *London*, of purpose, as he saide, to know this course of teaching: vnto whome, as vnto my old acquaintance and good friend, I freely related, and ingenuously imparted, whatsoeuer therin I eyther knew or had, as an assured testimony of my loue, giuing vnto him *Lucians* Dialogues verbally translated into English

<sup>6</sup> Brinsley, *Consolation* (1622), pp. 36-37, misnumbered 44-45.

alone: he, I say, hath since that time laboured very much in this kinde, and purposeth very shortly to publish what he hath further added, and (I doubt not) done more exactly in this course.<sup>7</sup>

We have already had occasion to notice that Brinsley adapts the Merchant Taylors' system.<sup>8</sup> From all these sources, Brinsley had developed his own solution of double-translation guided by the golden rule. If the reader will compare Hayne's introductory sketch of his system and his construes with the similar work of Brinsley, he will see that in fact Brinsley has built on Hayne's foundation. Brinsley was only one of several schoolmasters working along similar lines. He had visited the others, had garnered their ideas, and from these had formulated his own system. Brinsley's work is the systematized result of researches extending over many years, and embodying the results of others along similar lines. It is not mere arid theorizing uncontrolled by experience.

But Shakspeare would have been like Spoudeus, who says to Philoponus,

For the golden rule of construing, and the Grammaticall translations which you mention, I know not what you meane: Neither haue I euer heard of any such. Haue you any other rule of construing, then our Grammar teacheth?<sup>9</sup>

Philoponus explains,

howsoever this rule be vnknowne of most, who neuer heard of any such particular rule of construing, but only of such directions, as may be gathered here and there, out of our Accedence and Grammar, where they are dispersed thorow all, very hardly to be discerned; yet it is set downe by sundry learned Grammarians.<sup>10</sup>

While Shakspeare would probably have had to content himself with the less compact instructions of the rules under constructions in the authorized grammar, yet it may be well to quote Brinsley's version of Leech's statement of the "golden rule" of construing.

Q. What order will you obserue in construing of a sentence?

A. If there be a Vocatiue case, I must take that first: then I must seek out the principall Verbe & his Nominatiue case, and construe first the Nominatiue case: and if there be an Adiectiue or Participle with him, then I must English them next, and such words as they gouerne; then the Verbe: and if there follow an Infinitiue moode, I must take that next; then the

<sup>7</sup> Hayne, *Certaine Epistles of Tully* (1611), [G8]r.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 403.

<sup>9</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 91-92.

<sup>10</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 92.



Aduerbe; then the case which the Verbe properly gouerneth: and lastly, all the other cases in their order; first the Genitiue, secondly the Datiue, &c.

Q. What if there be not all these words?

A. Then I must take so many of them as be in the sentence, and in this order.

Q. Is this order euer to be obserued?

A. No: it may be altered by Interrogatiues, Relatiues, Infinitiuues, Genitiues of partition, and Coniunctions.

Q. What speciall things must bee obserued in construing?

A. That the Nominatiue case be set before the Verbe, the Accusatiue case after the Verbe, the Infinitiuue moode after another moode: the Substantiuue and the Adiectiuue must be construed together; except the Adiectiuue do passe ouer his signification vnto some other word, which it gouerneth.

The Accusatiue, before an Infinitiuue moode, must haue the word (that) ioyned with it.

The Preposition must be ioyned with his case.<sup>11</sup>

As an example of proper construing Brinsley gives,

*Scipio* δ *Scipio*, & and, *Laeli* δ *Lelius*, *artes* arts, *exercitationesq;* and exercises, *virtutum* of vertues, *sunt* are, *omnino* altogether, *arma aptissima* the fittest weapons, *senectutis* of old age: *quae* which, *cultae* being exercised [or vsed] *in aetate omni* in euery age, [or in all our life] *afferunt* do bring, *fructus mirificos* maruellous fruits, *cum* when, *vixeris* you haue liued, *multum* much, *diuq;* and long, &c.<sup>12</sup>

Brinsley then shows how to parse the passage.

*Scipio*] is the first word to be parsed, because it is the first in construing; for that we begin commonly of a Vocatiue case, if there be one. It is the Vocatiue case, knowne by speaking to, & by the Interiection *O* vnderstood; gouerned of the Interiection *O*, by the rule *O Exclamantis Nominatiuo, Accusatiuo, & Vocatiuo iungitur*. In English, Certaine a Vocatiue, &c.<sup>13</sup>

Brinsley's pet hobby was grammatical translation. By giving the boy a translation in this grammatical order, he thought it would be easy for the boy to learn to construe correctly with very little help from the master.

The reader will notice the powerful shaping effect that this method of construing would have upon the pupil's idea of sentence structure. For Brinsley's method, as he himself points out, is only a more perfect stage in a long evolution. How early the process began I do not know, but the reader may find an early instance of it in the commentary of Guido Iuuenalis upon Terence, first published in 1492, and to be found in almost any of the variorum editions of Terence in the

<sup>11</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 92-93.

<sup>12</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 101.

<sup>13</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 101.

fifteenth or sixteenth century. Guido is already conscious of a problem in the reading of Latin, especially poetry, the solution of which was to prove, I have no doubt, the strongest shaping influence on the sentence structure of modern vernaculars. These vernaculars had come to depend upon order rather than upon case endings. Latin poetry especially is thus likely to prove difficult to master. Guido, therefore, indicated by paraphrase a prose order. An English owner of a copy of Terence which I now possess proceeded by or before the middle of the sixteenth century to mark with a bold "Ordo" in the margin the beginning each time of this section of Guido's commentary. It was evidently to him the most important item in it.

Eventually, the critics became aware that this order which they were seeking is not that of the Latin, but what they considered to be the "natural" order; that is, fundamentally, the order of the critic's own vernacular. This order the critics reduced to rules. One was instructed as a first step to look for the noun, the verb, the various modifiers, and to place them in a certain order. Then one could translate, and perform the other required operations. There were also rules for the reverse process of returning to the "artificial" or Latin order. One was thus forced to reduce his own language to its simplest order before he could transpose into or from the Latin. The influence of the teaching of Latin upon the vernacular would, therefore, be double and opposite. On the one hand, in its simplest and fundamental form it would reduce the vernacular to its simplest and most direct order. This was the schoolboy stage. But as one grew in facility with the Latin or "artificial" order, he would consciously or unconsciously imitate it in his vernacular. We thus have the divergent tendencies, already strongly marked in seventeenth century England, toward native simplicity of structure on the one hand, and Latin complication on the other.

The theorists of the sixteenth century had been busy on the problem, and by the beginning of the seventeenth had attained essential agreement. Schoolbooks frequently printed this "ordo" in the margin. It was the first and fundamental step,<sup>14</sup> which Brinsley calls the "Golden Rule of Construing." Brinsley, however, is merely repeating in English what the sixteenth century critics had developed in Latin, and so gives them as his authority.

These refinements and helps in the exact form as systematized by

<sup>14</sup> For a brief indication of the situation by the seventeenth century, see Watson, *Grammar Schools*, Chapter XXI.

Brinsley Shakspeare would not have had, but he would have learned from his grammar rules to construe and parse after this general fashion. The curriculum at Sandwich in 1580 explains the operation as then required.

Everie lesson shal be said without booke and construed into Englishe by everie Scholler reading that author: *the wordes shall first be Englished severallie as the Grammaticall construccion lieth, and afterwards the hole sentence or lesson rehersed in English as it lieth together.*<sup>15</sup>

The process contemplated is that the master shall first give the pupil a "lecture" on his author; that is, the teacher himself first performs the technical operations of construing and parsing. In construing, the teacher follows "the Grammaticall construccion," not the printed word order. The final result is summed up as a translation into English. The pupil then was supposed to memorize this lecture and later repeat it without book to the master. It was to facilitate this process that Brinsley constructed his grammatical translations. For, or course, the boy could not memorize the whole of the lecture as it was being given, and had only his Latin text as the basis of reconstruction for memorization, unless he had attempted to write down the lectures. In that case, we could guess what would happen, even if Corderius had not told us in so many words.<sup>16</sup> Brinsley would supply a printed translation in the so-called grammatical order to facilitate the process of memorization. Without such help, the boy's only recourse when in doubt was to keep "pestering" the teacher. Worse still, the boy probably did not even have doubts; how should he suspect that he was wrong? Schoolmasters are still overlooking this fundamental fact. The process of construing thus amounted in Shakspeare's time to memorization of any text which was being studied, as the Sandwich statutes direct and Brinsley assumes. Brinsley hoped that his grammatical translations would,

saue all the labour of learning most Authours without booke, as all Authors in prose; which labour in many schooles, is one of the greatest tortures to the poore schollers, and cause of impatience and too much seuerity to the Masters, though with very little good for most part: to be able as it were by playing, onely reading their Authors out of the English ouer and ouer, at meet times, to haue them much better for all true vse and each good purpose, then by all saying without booke; to trouble the memory only with getting rules of Grammars and the like, and such other of most necessary vse, as the Poets: which also are exceedingly furthered hereby.

<sup>15</sup> Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, Vol. I, pp. 605-606.

<sup>16</sup> See below, pp. 599ff.

13 To helpe to proceed as well in our English tongue as in the Latine, for reading, and writing true orthography; to attaine variety and copy of English words, to expresse their mindes easily, and vtter any matter belonging to their Authors. And so in time, to come to propriety, choise, and purity, as well in our English as in the Latine.<sup>17</sup>

Any text one had read either with or without Brinsley's particular devices was pretty certain to stay with him.

It is important to notice also that this detailed grammatical analysis would give one a grasp on both English and Latin construction, as Brinsley claimed it would. This is doubtless the point to Dr. Johnson's remark concerning Shakspeare, "I always said Shakspeare had Latin enough to grammaticise his English."<sup>18</sup> Dr. Johnson knew where Shakspeare had acquired his grammar. It should be remembered in this connection that William Bullokar thought his *Bref Grammar for English* (1586) "the first grammar for Englishe that euer waz, except my grammar at large" (1580).<sup>19</sup> Since there was no English grammar available at the time Shakspeare was in school, the basis, if not all, of Shakspeare's technical knowledge of grammar doubtless derives either directly or ultimately from Lily.

Dr. Johnson's sensible remark implies considerable proficiency on Shakspeare's part in this process of construing. Now Shakspeare gives us a mock "construe." Since it occurs in a play which may not be wholly his, we can not be certain that he was originally responsible for its insertion; but if not, he at least must be held guilty of its retention. At any rate, it is a very elementary process with which Shakspeare was certainly familiar. Lucentio in *The Taming of the Shrew* is pretending to be a pedant in order to get access to Bianca, and Hortensio is playing the music master for the same purpose. They begin quarreling as to whether the pedant shall first read his lecture, or the music master teach music. Bianca decides for the lecture.

*Bian.* Why, gentlemen, you do me double wrong,  
To strive for that which resteth in my choice:  
I am no breeching scholar in the schools;  
I'll not be tied to hours nor 'pointed times,  
But learn my lessons as I please myself.  
And, to cut off all strife, here sit we down:  
Take you your instrument, play you the whiles;  
His lecture will be done ere you have tuned.

<sup>17</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 106-107.

<sup>18</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. I, p. 368 n.

<sup>19</sup> Warton, *English Poetry* (1871), Vol. IV, p. 250.

*Hor.* You'll leave his lecture when I am in tune?

*Luc.* That will be never: tune your instrument.

*Bian.* Where left we last?

*Luc.* Here, madam:

'Hic ibat Simois; hic est Sigeia tellus;  
Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.'

*Bian.* Construe them.

*Luc.* 'Hic ibat,' as I told you before, 'Simois,' I am Lucentio, 'hic est,' son unto Vincentio of Pisa, 'Sigeia tellus,' disguised thus to get your love; 'Hic steterat,' and that Lucentio that comes a-wooing, 'Priami,' is my man Tranio, 'regia,' bearing my port, 'celsa senis,' that we might beguile the old pantaloon.

*Hor.* Madam, my instrument's in tune.

*Bian.* Let's hear. O fie! the treble jars.

*Luc.* Spit in the hole, man, and tune again.

*Bian.* Now let me see if I can construe it:  
'Hic ibat Simois,' I know you not, 'hic est Sigeia tellus,' I trust you not; 'Hic steterat Priami,' take heed he hear us not, 'regia,' presume not, 'celsa senis,' despair not.<sup>20</sup>

Here is regular sixteenth century procedure. Kempe had said,  
The Maister shall first reade sensibly a competent Lecture, then declare the argument and scope of the Author, afterward english it either word for word, or phrase for phrase, as the propertie of both languages will permit. Last of all teach, or cause another to teach the diuers sorts of the words, their properties and syntaxes of speach. And about three or foure houres after, the Schollar shall be diligently in euery point examined, and tryed how he can referre the examples of his Lecture to the rules of Art.<sup>21</sup>

The schoolmaster first reads his lecture in construing the passage. Then the pupil repeats the lecture. Incidentally, there has been some ludicrous criticism of the sixteenth century lecture system through understanding it in terms of the twentieth century American lecture system. The sixteenth century lecture was merely the master's first reading (lecturing) the lesson to his pupil. So Lucentio first himself construes the passage as a schoolmaster was supposed to do. Here again is good sixteenth century grammar school procedure. Being, as

<sup>20</sup> *Taming of the Shrew*, III, 1, 16-45.

<sup>21</sup> Kempe, *Education of children*, p. [F4] r.

it is, a mock construe, we get no idea of the author's ability in the actual process. It is thus not significant that the author does not seek the grammatical construction, but takes the words in their printed order; and that he does not sum the whole as a translation. Incidentally, the text is from the *Heroides*, which at Eton in 1528 belonged to the fifth and sixth forms. So Bianca is about a fifth or sixth form girl.

The learned Touchstone furnishes another mock construe, but from courtly language into the vulgar. He is formally lecturing the unlearned William.

Therefore, you clown, abandon,—which is in the vulgar leave,—the society,—which in the boorish is company,—of this female,—which in the common is woman; which together is, abandon the society of this female.<sup>22</sup>

He has construed separately and summed up as a translation. Shakspeare knew the routine quite well.

Shakspeare has elsewhere made use of this process figuratively. In *Macbeth* (I, 4, 11-12), Duncan says of Cawdor:

There's no art  
To find the mind's construction in the face.

Malone comments,

Dr. Johnson seems to have understood the word *construction* in this place, in the sense of *frame* or *structure*; but the school-term was, I believe, intended by Shakspeare. The meaning is—"We cannot *construe* or discover the disposition of the mind by the lineaments of the face." So, in King Henry IV. Part II.:

"*Construe* the times to their necessities."

In Hamlet we meet with a kindred phrase:

"... These profound heaves  
You must *translate*; 'tis fit we understand them."

Our author again alludes to his grammar, in *Troilus and Cressida*:

"I'll *decline* the whole question."<sup>23</sup>

The source of Duncan's sentiment about the mind's construction shows that Malone is correct in his interpretation. That eventual source was the opening of Cicero's *In L. Calpurnium Pisonem*.

Iámne vides, bellua, iámne sentis, quae sit hominum querela frontis tuae? nemo queritur, Syrum, nescio quem, de grege nouitiorum, factum esse consulem, non enim nos color iste seruilis, non pilosae genae, non dentes putridi deceperunt: oculi, supercilia, frons, vultus denique totus, qui sermo quidam tacitus mentis est, hic in errorem homines impulit: hic eos, quibus erat ignotus, decépit, fefellit, in fraudem induxit.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *As You Like It*, V, 1, 52-56.

<sup>23</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. XI, p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> Lambinus, D., *M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1572), pp. 2364-2365.

The *sententia* itself was usually indexed and quoted approximately as it appears in Nizolius as "Vultus qui sermo quidam tacitus mentis est." So Duncan had found Cawdor to be like Piso, and denies that the mind can be construed in its *sermo tacitus* the face.<sup>25</sup> It is not certain that Shakspeare is using the original directly, even though the settings of the *sententia* do coincide so nicely.

It is this same figure from construction which gives Iago's statement a peculiar force when he says Othello's

unbookish jealousy must construe  
Poor Cassio's smiles, gestures and light behaviour,  
Quite in the wrong.<sup>26</sup>

Consciousness of the figure has caused Shakspeare to apply the adjective "unbookish" to Othello's jealousy. Again, Shakspeare elaborates the figure consciously when Falstaff says of Ford's wife,

I can construe the action of her familiar style; and the hardest voice of her behaviour, to be Englished rightly, is, 'I am Sir John Falstaff's,'

on which statement Pistol comments,

He hath studied her will, and translated her will, out of honesty into English.<sup>27</sup>

Shakspeare has used the figure more or less consciously in too many other instances to call for further record. In some way, construction had been well impressed upon him.

Necessarily, the boys were expected to learn to construe parts of their Latin grammar itself, as well as to memorize them. Because the grammar is not particularly easy Latin, it was found desirable by 1591 to provide a third part, "Lily's Rules Construed." The first paragraph of "Propria quae maribus construed" in this construe will give concrete illustration of how the operation was performed. Lily's rule runs "Propria quae maribus tribuuntur, mascula dicas: Vt sunt diuorū, Mars," etc. The *ordo* of the sentence was first determined according to the set of rules for construction, and the whole construed. The "construe" of the quoted section runs as follows,

Dicas thou mayest call propria proper names quae which tribuuntur are attributed maribus to the male kind mascula masculine: ut as sunt be divorum the names of the heathenish gods, Mars the god of battel,<sup>28</sup> etc.

This construe is incidental to getting the Latin grammar, and so

<sup>25</sup> For the further literary connections of Shakspeare's passage, see below, p. 650 and Vol. II, p. 541.      <sup>26</sup> *Othello*, IV, 1, 102-104.      <sup>27</sup> *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I, 3, 50-55.

<sup>28</sup> Hayne, *Lilies Rules Construed* (1678), p. 1.

would be begun in the second year. But, as we have seen, the boys would already have learned to parse and construe in connection with their English rules in their first year. Besides the examples in their rules, they were to find other examples from moral *sententiae*. Brinsley thought that the *Sententiae Pueriles* by Leonhardus Culmannus (did he beget Shakspeare's Leonhardus?) ought to be the first regular subject for construction. Malone long ago suggested that Shakspeare had used this collection.<sup>29</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps expands Malone's suggestion as follows,

The *Sententiae Pueriles* was, in all probability, the little manual by the aid of which he first learned to construe Latin, for in one place, at least, he all but literally translates a brief passage, and there are in his plays several adaptations of its sentiments. It was then sold for a penny, equivalent to about our present shilling, and contains a large collection of brief sentences collected from a variety of authors, with a distinct selection of moral and religious paragraphs, the latter intended for the use of boys on Saints' Days.<sup>30</sup>

Halliwell had at least examined the book. Anders presents the results of his own examination, which he considers interesting, though hardly conclusive.

I cannot say exactly what the 'brief passage' is, which Halliwell-Phillipps refers to. The following are some sentences which have a resemblance to passages in Shakespeare. But they are so general in character, that we can scarcely infer anything definite from them.

*Belli exitus incertus.* Compare Coriol., V, iii, 140:

"Thou know'st, great son,  
The end of war's uncertain."

*Doloris medicus tempus.* Comp. Gent. of Ver., III, ii, 15: "A little time, my lord, will kill that grief." Comp, too, Act III, i, 243; and Cymbeline III, v, 37: "The cure whereof, my lord, 'Tis time must do."

*Varia et mutabilis semper foemina.* Compare 1. Henry IV., Act II, iii, 111: "constant you are, But yet a woman."

*Somnus mortis imago.* Compare Cymb., II, ii, 31: "O sleep, thou ape of death;" or Macbeth, II, iii, 81: "sleep, death's counterfeit."<sup>31</sup>

Besides these, Shakspeare could have found in *Sententiae Pueriles*, *Comparatio omnis odiosa*. Dogberry's famous rendering of this is, "comparisons are odorous."<sup>32</sup> Again, *Arbor ex fructibus cognoscitur*, which is Biblical. Not only the sentiment but even the form of this

<sup>29</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. II, p. 104.

<sup>30</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines* (1887), Vol. I, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>32</sup> *Much Ado*, III, 5, 18. Tilley, M. P., *Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's Euphues and in Pettie's Petite Pallace*, p. 106.



seems to be echoed in, "If then the tree may be known by the fruit, as the fruit by the tree."<sup>33</sup> We might add *Pinguis venter non gignit sensum tenuem* to parallel Shakspeare's, "Fat paunches have lean pates,"<sup>34</sup> and *Amicitia omnibus rebus anteposenda* to accompany Sir Nathaniel's sentiment, "Society, saith the text, is the happiness of life,"<sup>35</sup> though there is nothing to show that Shakspeare is using either. The difficulty is that these *sentences* are so general and so widely spread throughout the writings of the time. But, at least, it is clear that Shakspeare was familiar with these sentences from the collections, and may very well have learned them first in the *Sententiae Pueriles*. I have not, however, found any reference to this collection in the curricula of the sixteenth century, though that fact is not necessarily of any significance in the case of such a work as this.

It is doubtless much more significant that it was so well known, at least by title, to so many of Shakspeare's contemporaries. The Latin version was entered S. R. in 1569-70, and is again referred to in 1584.<sup>36</sup> No English-printed copies survive for the sixteenth century, and copies of any kind for that period are scarce. The British Museum has one copy, printed at Leipzig in 1544. I found no sixteenth century copies in either the Bodleian, or the University Library at Cambridge, though my search was not exhaustive. The Library of the University of Illinois has two copies, one printed at Nuremberg in 1540, the other at Augsburg in 1548.<sup>36a</sup> Being but flimsy pamphlets of a few leaves, not many copies have survived. Malone pointed out references to the work by Drayton and Peele.<sup>37</sup> The reference by Drayton is significant,

And when that once Pueriles I had read,  
And newly had my Cato construed.

Drayton's master agreed with Brinsley as to the proper order of these works.

The reference in Peele is amusing as well as instructive. As Anders points out,

A curious difficulty in connexion with the *Sententiae Pueriles* is presented by the following passage in George Peele's 'Edward I': 'Tis an old said saying, I remember I read it in Cato's *Pueriles*, that *Cantabit vacuus coram*

<sup>33</sup> 1 Henry IV, II, 4, 470-472. Tilley, *Proverb Lore*, p. 310. Tilley has still other general parallels which I have not repeated.

<sup>34</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, I, 1, 26.

<sup>35</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 2, 167-168.

<sup>36</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, Vol. I, p. 418; Vol. II, p. 789.

<sup>36a</sup> It has also a copy of Hoole's edition, London, 1669.

<sup>37</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. II, p. 104.

*latrone viator*; a man's purse-penniless may sing before a thief.' Now, this quotation occurs neither in Cato's *Disticha de Moribus* nor in the *Sententiae Pueriles*. But it occurs in Lily's Grammar (Part II., Syntax of Adverbs), where Juvenal is mentioned as the author of the phrase. Peele, therefore, seems to have suffered a *lapsus calami*.<sup>38</sup>

Now, if Shakspeare had done that—!!! Since Peele put this blunder in the mouth of his Farmer, he no doubt planned that it should be a ludicrous one. He never dreamed how many learned men would display their ignorance over his little joke, which any second-former should have caught. It has been suggested that the reference here might be to the *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae* of Evaldus Gallus, but the Farmer would hardly have spoken of *reading* this, and would surely not have confused it with Cato. The sentiment quoted is of the kind found in *Sententiae Pueriles* and the Cato collection, but has no connection with *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae*. After all, was Peele merely doubtful of his source, and so rather than check up, did he create the humorous Cato's *Pueriles*, which Malone queries, but Bullen accepts with the gravest authority? If so, Peele missed his guess even then. But what of it?

There is a probable reference to this collection in Lyly, as Bond notes.<sup>39</sup> Martin is told,

Thou art well seen in tales, & preacheest *Aesops fables*. Tush, Ile bring in *Pueriles*, and *Stans puer ad mensam*, for such vnmanerlie knaues as Martin, must bee set againe to their A.B.C. and learne to spell *Our Father* in a Horne booke.

The *Pueriles* is so elementary as to belong with the very first things studied in grammar school. The description might possibly apply to the *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae*, but much more likely refers to the *Sententiae Pueriles*, which is of similar moral import to the other works mentioned. Nashe carries on the reference in *An Almond for a Parrot*, as Dr. McKerrow has noted.<sup>40</sup> It is clear that the *Sententiae Pueriles* was very widely used in Shakspeare's time, and he may very well have memorized the collection.

Brinsley had made a grammatical translation of this collection and explains how it should be examined. The object is, "How to appose so as the children may get both the matter, words, and phrase of each Lecture." So Brinsley explains,

<sup>38</sup> Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 48.

<sup>39</sup> Bond, R. W., *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, Vol. III, pp. 404, 582.

<sup>40</sup> McKerrow, *Nashe*, Vol. III, p. 366; IV, p. 472; cf. Vol. III, p. 124, IV, p. 363.

For example; Take a sentence or two in the beginning of that little booke, called *Sententiae Pueriles*.<sup>41</sup> which is well worthy to be read first vnto children, because it hath been gathered with much care and aduice to enter yonger schollers, for Latine and matter euery way meet for them: but of it and others, what I finde best to be read, I shall shew you my experience in another place. Out of it you may examine thus, for making vse, as in these first sentences of it:

*Amicis opitulare.*

*Alienis abstine.*

*Arcanum cela.*

*Affabilis esto, &c.*

If you will, you may aske them by a question of the contrary, Must you not helpe your friends? The child answereth, Yes. Then bid him giue you a sentence to proue it; he answereth, *Amicis opitulare*.

Or aske by a distribution thus; Whether must you helpe or forsake your friends? The child answereth, I must helpe them. Then bid him to giue you a sentence; he answereth, *Amicis opitulare*.

Or thus by Comparison; Whether ought you to helpe your friends, or others first? or friends or enemies, &c. When the child hath answered, euer bid him to giue his sentence. So on in the rest.

The more plainly you can propound your question, that the child may vnderstand it, and may answer in the very words of his Lecture, the better it is: so to examine the words seuerally: How say you Helpe? he answereth *Opitulare*. Friends, *Amicis*. But of this more after.

After the child hath been a while thus practised, then vse to examine both in English and Latine together: I meane propounding the questions first in English, then in Latine; and so let him answer, that the matter and English may bring the Latine with them: which they will certainly doe. The manner I shewed in examining in the Latine rules: I will set downe one other example, in the sentences of three words; *Amor vincit omnia*.

Out of this sentence I examine thus:

Q. What is that, that will ouercome all things?

A. Loue.

Then bid him giue the sentence.

A. *Amor vincit omnia*.

Or thus: Is there any thing that can ouercome all things?

A. Yes; Loue.

Or thus more particularly, to put delight and vnderstanding into them.

Q. What is that which wil ouercome learning, and make it our owne?

A. Loue of learning, or louing our bookes.

Q. Giue me a sentence to proue it.

A. *Amor vincit omnia, &c.*

<sup>41</sup> "The Book Boys begin with in many Schools is *Sententiae Pueriles*; but it may very justly be questioned, whether a Book, consisting wholly of a Parcel of dry, moral Sayings, be altogether so convenient for the Use of Children, as old Men. Upon which Account, I think, it might more properly be called *Sententiae Seniles*, than *Pueriles*, as being better suited to the Reading of those of that Age, than young Boys, who have no Apprehensions, or Relish for such kind of things" (Clarke, *Essay* (1720), pp. 86-87).

Then examine in Latine the very same things; but vttering them in Latine and English together, as thus:

*Quid vincet omnia?* what will ouercome all things?

*R. Amor.*

Or thus: *Est ne aliquid quod potest omnia vincere?* Is there any thing that can ouercome all things? *R. Imò.*

*Q. Quid est?* What is it?

*R. Amor.*

*Q. Da sententiam.*

*R. Amor vincit omnia.*

*Q. Or thus: Quid vincit amor?* What wil loue ouercome?

*R. Omnia, All things.*<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps this passage will give the reader a fair idea of what the schoolmasters sought by this and similar collections to impress on youthful minds. From some source, Shakspeare had gathered a considerable stock of the sentential wisdom which is to be found in this collection.

A work of similar import is almost universally required for construction in the second form, being occasionally required in the first. This was the collection which went under the name of Cato. The form used in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that prepared by Erasmus. I give the *Contenta* from my copy published at Lyons in 1538.

CATONIS Disticha moralia, cum scholijs Des. Erasmi Roterodami.

EADEM Disticha Graecè à Maximo Planude è Latino uersa.

Apophthegmata Graeciae sapientum, interprete Erasmo.

Eadem per Ausonium cum scholijs Erasmi.

Mimi Publani, cum eiusdem scholijs, recogniti.

Institutum hominis Christiani carmine per eundem Eras.

Isocratis Paraenesis ad Demonicum.

Additis aliquot sapientum dictis.

As a matter of fact, the *Isocrates*, and the *Institutum* which Erasmus wrote for Paul's are not included in this particular copy, though there is a note showing that the *Institutum* might be attached at the end. But an edition published at Antwerp in 1531 does contain these items also.<sup>43</sup> An edition by Wynkyn de Worde in London, 1532, advertizes the same contents, except the Greek version,<sup>44</sup> but does not

<sup>42</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 142-144.

<sup>43</sup> I have also a copy printed by Badius in 1527, with the same items as the edition at Antwerp in 1531, but adding the notes of Badius, and the *Epistola Paraenetica* of Eucherius (see Renouard, Ph., *Bibliographie Des Impressions Et Des Oeuvres De Josse Badius Ascensius*, Vol. II, p. 266 for the makeup of the book).

<sup>44</sup> Huth copy, now in B. M.; Palmer, H. E., *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641*, p. 21.

have the final item. There had been still earlier editions in England, including the *Distichs* with the annotations of Erasmus in 1514 (Herbert). The Cato with the scholia of Erasmus was also published in London in 1572. This edition has the Greek, but neither has nor claims to have the final item. Robinson printed the Cato of Erasmus in 1592, but without the Greek, the *Institutum*, the Isocrates, and the "Additis." I have London-printed copies of 1657, 1676, and 1695 which are of this form, except that they include the Isocrates. When Cato is mentioned, the reference is regularly to this collection, but the statutes sometimes refer specifically to the *Mimi*, and the *Isocrates*.<sup>45</sup> Failure to mention these specifically does not mean that they were not required to be used along with the Cato.

The Renaissance inherited this collection from the Middle Ages.

"Cato" was *par excellence* the first of schoolbooks, and the fundamental elementary moral treatise of the Middle Ages. Boys learned from Cato the application of rules of syntax, profiting at the same time by his wise moral maxims. So popular was it that it was expanded by the addition of many maxims, and then the expanded form was made the subject of selection, then arranged and divided into books, and provided with an outline. In time the work, thus edited and transformed, was translated into nearly every "vulgar tongue" in Europe, first as a means to assist in the understanding of the original, and then in prose, amplifying and elaborating the original, or in verse, emulating the Latin in a modern language. Its marvelous popularity is attested by the existence of such versions or *rifacimenti* in a dozen vernaculars.<sup>46</sup>

Professor Lathrop has presented the facts concerning the versions of Cato in English, to whose work the reader is referred for details. Caxton had printed Benedict Burgh's paraphrase of the *Disticha* in verse about 1477-78, and a version of Premierfait's paraphrase about 1483. According to Lathrop, Burgh was twice reprinted by Caxton and once by Copland; but the *Short Title Catalogue* would apparently add one more edition for each printer.

In 1540, Richard Taverner published an adapted form of the Cato of Erasmus, but with his own annotations in English. This collection contains three of the eight items from the complete Erasmus collection. First is the Cato. Second is the "Additis aliquot sapientum dictis," under the heading

<sup>45</sup> Where Isocrates was to be used in the Greek sequence, this item would not be needed with the Cato, and so would tend to be omitted from the volume.

<sup>46</sup> Lathrop, H. B., *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman 1477-1620*, pp. 16-17; basing upon Schanz, M., *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Munich, 1896, pt. iii, p. 32 *et seq.*, where Max Förster treats the topic in detail.

Aliqvot Sententiarvm Flores Ex Variis Collecti Scriptoribus per Deside. Erasmum, Roterodamum, vna cum interpretatione Richardi Tauerneri Serenissimo Regi Angliae ab annulo Signatorio.

Third is the *Mimi*. In this work, Taverner is properly solicitous for the "tender youth of Englande."

The cause, gentle Chyldren, that hathe impelled me to take these paynes in thys booke, is youre weale and commoditie. I perceyued, that thys boke which is intituled and whiche commonlye we call Cato, as it is in dede very apte and accommodate for youre education in vertue and learnynge: so it is also verye muche frequented and borne in youre handes. But agayne I perceyued, that of the most part it is rather borne in the handes, then imprynted and fixed in the memorie. The cause hereof, I coulde coniecture to be nothyng els, but that the moste parte of thys boke is composed not in solute oration, but in metre, which to y<sup>e</sup> rude chyld must nedes be obscure and full of difficultie, and consequentlye vnpleasaunt and vnsauerye. For the redresse therfore of thys inconuenience, I beyng moued, good chyldren, with the loue that I beare vnto you, haue not disdayned to playe as it were the chylde agayne, attempering my selfe to youre tender wyttes and capacities. I haue not translated the boke worde for worde, for then I shuld haue taken awaye the office of youre schole maister, and also occasion you to be [the] more negligent and slacke in youre studie vpon truste of the translation therof. But I haue with brief scholies onely illustrated and opened the sense of the verses, in whiche thyng I haue chieflye folowed the great Clerke of mooste happye memorye Erasmus [*sic*] of Rotterdamme, whiche before me hath done the same in the Latine tongue. Nowe it shalbe your partes (swete children) so to embrace thys booke, and to beare it hence forth, not onely in hande, but also in mynde, as I maye thyncke my labour well employed vppon you (Ed. 1553).<sup>44a</sup>

As a matter of fact, it is the explanatory scholia in which Taverner is here interested. For instance,

*Itaq; Deo supplica.*

*Cognatos cole.*

*Parentes ama.*

*Magistrum metue.*

The fyrst reuerence is to God, the next to the father and mother, the thyrd to the rest of thy kynsolke. We make supplication vnto God with our prayers and sacrifices. We loue oure Parentes whyle we obserue and obey them. We embrace oure kynsolke with offices of humanitie and with vsynge their companye. And after all these, the chylde muste feare and stande in awe of hys mayster vnto whose correction he is committed (Ed. 1553, A3 r and v).

As Taverner himself points out, he is here merely adapting the scholia of Erasmus into English so that the good morals might be better understood and enforced. In the teaching of the Latin itself,

<sup>44a</sup> The ed. of 1540 is reproduced in U. M. \*203 from B. M. 1460. a. 32; S. T. C. 4843.

he is not now interested; so gives neither construe nor translation.

The *Mimi* Taverner has treated as he did the Cato. In the *Aliquot Sententiarum Flores*, however, Taverner gives a free translation of each *sententia*, omitting a few of the less edifying and warping others in the interest of greater moral effect. These were also published separately as

*Flores Aliquot Sententiarum Ex Variis collecti scriptoribus.*

*The Flowers Of Sencies gathered out of sundry wryters by Erasmus in Latine, and Englished by Richard Tauerner.*

*Huic libello non male cōnuenient Mimi illi Publiani nuper ab eodem Richardo uersi.*<sup>46b</sup>

Of this, Lathrop finds five editions from 1540 to 1574.<sup>47</sup> Thus Taverner apparently had prepared the *Mimi* as a separate publication, before he prepared these *Flores*, also as a separate publication, and apparently before the Cato collection was formed in 1540. The title-page of his *Proverbes or adagies . . . of Erasmus* in 1539, also promises this work, "Hereunto be also added Mimi Publiani," and these are added in the Huntington copy, but not in that at B. M.

Taverner, however, was not the first to put parts of this collection into English.

In 1525 or 1526 . . . Berthelet printed his volume entitled *Dicta sapientū. The sayenges of the Wyse mē of Grece in Latin with the Englysshe folowyng . . . enterpretate and truely castigate by . . . Erasmus*, a copy of which, probably unique, is in the Huntington Library. Though the selections from the sayings of the sages—less than six pages—gave the volume its title, most of the space is taken up with a reprint of *Mimi Publiani*, each adage followed by an English translation of Erasmus' paraphrase or comment. There are prefatory Latin verses by John Rightwise and William Dynham commending Berthelet's translation.<sup>48</sup>

In 1553, Robert Barrant published a translation of "the *Distichs*, the *Mimi*, and the *Sage Sayings*. Barrant translated into roughly rhyming distichs, and added his own amplification in imitation of Erasmus, the amplification being in general a mere lot of redundancy, explaining the obvious."<sup>49</sup> For the *Sage Sayings*, Barrant uses the "*Dicta Sapientum ex Ausonio, carmine.*" He preserves these as

<sup>46b</sup> U. M. \*1064 from Cambridge Library Syn. 8. 84. 208(3); S. T. C. 10445.

<sup>47</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 71.

<sup>48</sup> Baskervill, C. R., "Taverner's *Garden of Wisdom* and the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus," *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XXIX, p. 152n.

<sup>49</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, pp. 72, 312; Lathrop gives both 1545 and 1555 as dates of first publication. The first edition I have seen is 1553.

distichs, and adds commentary to be uniform with the Cato and *Mimi*. Barrant's *Sage Sayings* are thus quite different from those presented by Taverner, though both are from the Cato collection. Lathrop's strictures apply more fully to the Cato and the *Sayings* than to the *Mimi*, though Erasmus also underlies the Cato. Of this collection by Barrant, there were reprints in 1560, and 1622.

Another version,

Cato construed, Or A familiar and easie interpretation vpon Catos morall Verses. First doen in Laten and Frenche by *Maturinus Corderius*, and now newly englished, to the comforte of all young Schollers

arrived in 1584, though it was entered S. R. and possibly first printed in 1577, too late to comfort Shakspeare. But Corderius, writing in 1534 in France, tells us some interesting and valuable things about Cato in school, and what "beginners in letters" did to him there.

I saw this little book customarily everywhere put into the hands of beginners at the very outset of their studies. And so far as I am concerned I do not think this custom deserves to be wholly condemned, especially since the little work has always been approved by the judgment of the learned. And I used to hope it would turn out to be enough at least in our school to have dictated it once for all, and for the boys themselves, as they went on up the grades, to receive it from each other, as it were passed on to them. But it has turned out to be the case that by being written down over and over nearly everything has got wrong, for some of the boys not knowing how to write, and others writing negligently, they have left scarcely a single word accurately written, so that when we come to [the lecture], it takes more trouble to correct than to dictate. So I thought I should save no little labor if I should revise the whole systematically,

and have it printed.<sup>60</sup>

In my little commentary I have followed the learned notes of Erasmus very closely, very seldom departing from their sense . . . I have prefixed as it were epitomes to a number of distichs, not to add a summary to the poem, than which nothing is more succinct, but to make it easier for the boys to grasp the sense immediately. I have not added them everywhere, as I judged some distichs to be unchristian, or inferior, or too difficult for childish minds [not the Latin, but the idea too difficult]. At the end I have added some brief sayings of the wise, as being as worthy to be known as the Cato, and of the same type.<sup>61</sup>

The English printer in 1584 sums up these reasons by Corderius and recommends such a construe for the same reasons that actuated

<sup>60</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, pp. 226-227.

<sup>61</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 227.



Brinsley more than a quarter of a century later. Brinsley was merely advocating a special and more perfect form of construe. The English printer says,

But peradventure some will saie, if the scholler haue his Lesson construed, and Englished to hym in his Booke, what shall he doe at Schoole? To them I aunswere, (who I thinke are afraied that scholers should haue too muche for their money) that after he hath learned perfectly *ad vnguē* his construction, then he shall pars it as perfectly, whiche I am of opinion, he will not be able to doe at the first, without this helpe. For firste, to a yong Scholler, the readyng of the Latine tongue is harde, construyng harder, and parsyng hardest, so that by this helpe, the yong Scholer shalbe able to reade, interprete, construe, and pars his Lesson well, whereas the moste parte of Scholers (I meane in the first Booke thei learne) dooe neither read well, construe a right, nor be able to pars one worde of their Lesson.

The printer assumes that Cato will be the first book for construction, and that this construe will help the boy to learn to read, construe, and parse correctly, these being the regular processes.

A couple of short selections will doubtless serve the reader as sufficient illustration of the process involved in construing.

*Igitur mea praecepta ita lēgito, vt intelligas, Lēgere enim, & non intelligere, negligere est.*

Igitur] *ergo*, therefore.

Constr.

Lēgito] *Sub. tu* Read thou.

Mea praecepta] My lessons and instructions.

Ita] *sic*, in suche sort,

Vt] *sub tu* intelligas] *intelligere possis (sub. ea)* that thou maiest vnderstande them.

Lēgere enim] *sub. (aliquid)* Because to reade any thyng,

Et non intelligere] *sub. illud* and not to vnderstande thesame.

Est negligere] *quasi non curare*, is as muche as not to regard it.<sup>82</sup>

Again,

#### EPITOME.

*Pura mente colendus est Deus.* God must be serued with a pure Spirite, that is to saie, with an affection voyd of filthinesse and sinne.

*Si Deus est animus, nobis vt carmina dicunt:*

*Hic tibi praecipuē sit pura mente colendus.*

#### ORDO ET DECLARATIO CARMINIS.

Si] *quoniam*, Because or seeyng that

Deus est animus] God is a spirituall thyng

Vt] *sicut*, euen as

Carmina] *uaticinia*, Prophecies

<sup>82</sup> *Cato Construed* (1584), pp. A4r and v.

Dicunt nobis] *testantur nobis*, do specific vnto vs.

Hic] *pro is*, scz. *Deus*. He (that is to wit) God.

Sit colendus] *pro est colendus: id est, coli debet*. Must be honoured, worshipped and serued

Tibi] *pro à te*, of thee,

Praecipue, chiefly

Pura mente] *Puritate mentis*, with sinceritie and purenesse of the soule and Spirite.<sup>55</sup>

It will be noticed that the construe is taken up in its proper *ordo*.

Naturally Bullokar also rode his hobby on Cato, publishing him in 1585, "with tru Ortōgraphy and Grammar-nótz." Bullokar had exerted care in his translation of Aesop and Cato

to keep it somewhat near the Latin phrase, that the English learner of Latin reading ouer these Autors in both languages might the easilier confer them together in their sense, and the better vnderstand the one by the other.<sup>56</sup>

Then Brinsley applied his special method of grammatical translation to Cato in 1612. As Lathrop points out,

Corderius's plan of helping pupils by giving them in print the detailed construing and parsing of elementary texts had already been introduced into English by a version of his construing of Cicero's<sup>57</sup> *Letters* (1575) and of Cato's *Distichs* (1577,<sup>58</sup> 1584). A certain Simon Sturtevant applied the system in his work entitled, "The Etymologist of Aesop's Fables, etc." (1602) to the construing of Aesop and Phaedrus word by word, thus going further than Corderius. He defends his system against the obvious objections that *viva voce* assistance is more effectual, that the system will make the pupil lazy, and that the book will be used as a trot in class; and maintains that the use of his book will correct faulty pronunciation, inaccurate interpretation, and misconstruing, and will assist the pupils' memory.<sup>59</sup>

Finally, John Brinsley the elder put forth a great body of laborious translations for the use of schools. His purpose was to make it easy to apply generally the method of studying the classics urged by Ascham in the *Schoolmaster*. This method, suggested to Ascham by a passage in the first book of Cicero's *De Oratore*, was to translate a passage from a foreign author into English, and then to translate the English version back into the original, keeping up the practice until the student became able to write fluently in the foreign language. (It was by similar practice in first taking to pieces papers from the *Spectator* and then recreating them that Franklin formed his English style.) As Brinsley says, the double translation though well suited to private instruction, "is very hard to be performed in the common

<sup>55</sup> *Cato Construed* (1584), p. B3r.

<sup>56</sup> Bullokar's Cato has been reprinted by Plessow in *Palaestra*, Vol. LII. I have not kept the "tru Ortōgraphy" in my quotations.

<sup>57</sup> Phrases only from the epistles in *Principia*, etc.

<sup>58</sup> S. R. 1577; first edition in S. T. C. 1584.

<sup>59</sup> The printer of the Cato by Corderius in 1584 used the same arguments; cf. above, p. 600.

schooles, especially for lacke of time to trie and compare euery schollars' translation." His plan was to provide pupils with a translation of their Latin arranged after a standard "grammatical or natural" order. With each passage studied the pupils went through five steps: (1) they recast the Latin in the natural order; (2) they construed the passage word by word; (3) they parsed it similarly; (4) they turned the English back into Latin word by word; (5) they compared their version with the original, rearranging their material, and thus gradually learning the principles of the Latin order. The practical use of the book was to make it possible for a pupil-teacher to keep a check on the pupil's work, and for the pupil to learn his lessons without continual recourse to the master. The translation is not interlinear, but separate from the text, to avoid idleness and deceit, and the recitations test the pupils and keep them to their work. The ultimate purpose is to give the pupils the ability to [read,] write and speak Latin, getting moral good by the way from the text studied.<sup>58</sup>

Brinsley's method has a long evolution behind it, but the sketch here quoted will be sufficient for our immediate purpose.

As we have seen, Taverner included the *Mimi* along with his Cato in 1540 and Barrant had done the same in 1545. Brinsley had put this and the *Isocrates* into his series in 1622.<sup>59</sup> Both Taverner and Barrant had also included some form of *Sage Sayings*. The *Isocrates Paraenesis ad Demonicum*, however, did not get translated till 1558, when John Bury attached his translation to the old translation of Cato made by Benedict Burgh. Bury is high in praise of this oration.

For in this *parenesis* we may learne howe to behaue our selues to all degrees, and howe in all tymes and tempestes also to dispose vs. How to god, howe to our prince, how to our parentes & kyndred: how to our frendes, howe to our enemies, how in prosperite & howe in aduersite, howe in peace and how in warre: nothing perdie wanteth in this oration which may lerne vs to liue either wysely or vertuously; nothyng almoste conteyned in the huige and ample volumes of morall philosophie, whiche here is not brefely touched. The stile is principall, the beauty singular, the lessons so vniuersall, so pithie, so sententious, and so ful of matter: that not any one of *Isocrates* orations in my opinion, is vnto it any whit comparable.<sup>60</sup>

This oration had also another center of dissemination besides the Cato. Where Greek was taught, the orations of Isocrates in the parallel Latin translation of Hieronymus Wolfius was frequently used along with Cicero's orations to teach the boys to write orations.<sup>61</sup> Thomas Forrest, basing on Wolfius, printed a translation with commentary of three of these, including the *Ad Demonicum*,

<sup>58</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, pp. 293-294.

<sup>59</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 45.

<sup>60</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 296.

<sup>61</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 649-650.

in 1580.<sup>62</sup> In 1585, Robert Nuttall also published *Ad Demonicum*,<sup>63</sup> and as we have seen, Brinsley followed suit in 1622. For the most part, therefore, Isocrates in English is this one oration, which owes its prominence to having been included by Erasmus in his collection.

Our survey shows that it is clearly the collection of Erasmus which was "Cato" for Englishmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If Shakspeare had Cato at all, it would have been in some form of this collection. The Latin original may have been a continental edition almost as easily as one of those published in England. Shakspeare might also have had either Taverner's or Barrant's translation of the *Cato*, *Sayings*, and *Mimi*. He is not so likely to have had access to Burgh's translations of the *Cato*, either with or without the *Ad Demonicum*.

Shakspeare shows knowledge ultimately derived from parts of this collection. Curiously enough, only one parallel, so far as I have observed, has been noted with Cato proper.<sup>64</sup> Cruickshank notes,

The only thing in the plays like the *Moralia* of Cato is *All's Well*, V, iii, 39:—  
"Let's take the instant by the forward top,"  
with which compare *Moralia*, Book II:

"rem tibi quam nosis aptam dimittere noli:  
fronte capillata est, posthaec occasio calva."<sup>65</sup>

We should add a passage in *Othello* (III, i, 52–53)

To take the safest occasion by the front  
To bring you in again.

Also, "to take the present time by the top."<sup>66</sup>

There are, however, several parallels with Publius<sup>67</sup> Syrus. In *As You Like It* (II, 7, 18–19), Jaques reports this conversation with the learned fool Touchstone, who was railing on lady Fortune "in good set terms."

'Good morrow, fool,' quoth I. 'No, sir,' quoth he,  
'Call me not fool till heaven hath sent me fortune.'

Malone commented, "Alluding to the common saying, that *fools are Fortune's favourites*." But Reed adds, "*Fortuna favet fatuis*, is, as Mr. Upton observes, the saying here alluded to; or, as in Publius Syrus:

<sup>62</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 206.

<sup>63</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 206.

<sup>64</sup> There is a modern translation into English of Cato proper by Wayland Johnson Chase, "The Distichs of Cato," *University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, Number 7, 1922.

<sup>65</sup> Cruickshank, *Noctes Shaksperianae*, p. 47.

<sup>66</sup> *Much Ado*, I, 2, 15–16.

<sup>67</sup> I use this form rather than Publius because it was the accepted form till recent times.

*Fortuna, nimium quem fovet, stultum facit.*<sup>68</sup>

As Taverner interprets it, "Whome Fortune ouermuch cockereth, she maketh a foole. With great felicitie is for the moste parte coupled folye and pryde," which is the interpretation of Erasmus. Ben Jonson also alludes to this proverb at least twice, and it must have been universally known.

Malone pointed out another parallel in *Troilus and Cressida* (III, 2, 163-164). There we are told,

fof to be wise and love  
Exceeds man's might; that dwells with gods above.

Malone comments, "This thought originally belongs to Publius Syrus, among whose sentences we find this:

Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur"<sup>69</sup>

Dr. Johnson had failed to recognize the proverb and wanted to emend the text. Since the play may not be wholly Shakspeare's, this ultimate echo of Publius Syrus may not be his.

Malone pointed to another parallel in *Lucrece*:

Those that much covet are with gain so fond,  
For what they have not, that which they possess  
They scatter and unloose it from their bond,  
And so, by hoping more, they have but less;  
Or, gaining more, the profit of excess  
Is but to surfeit, and such griefs sustain,  
That they prove bankrupt in this poor-rich gain.

On this passage, Malone rightly points out, " 'Tam avaro deest quod habet, quam quod non habet,' is one of the sentences of Publius Syrus."<sup>70</sup> Professor Tilley points out that Publius Syrus says, *Aut amat, aut odit mulier: nihil est tertium*. Shakspeare in *Much Ado* says, "if she did not hate him deadly, she would love him dearly" (V, 1, 178-179).<sup>71</sup> Some of Shakspeare's sentential wisdom thus derives ultimately from Publius Syrus.

The same is true of the *Ad Demonium* of Isocrates. As Lathrop points out,

<sup>68</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. VI, p. 401.

<sup>69</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. VIII, p. 332. Christopher Johnson gave the Winchester boys a dictate on this theme (60v).

<sup>70</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. XX, p. 110; Charles Gildon in Rowe's *Shakespear*, Vol. VII, p. 457.

<sup>71</sup> Tilley, *Proverb Lore*, p. 333. Professor Tilley notes several other parallels with Shakspeare, but these were not in the school collection, since they had not at the time Erasmus prepared that collection been allocated to Publius Syrus.

It is the epistle to Demonicus, so seriously and so widely accepted, that is the ultimate source of Polonius's advice to Laertes:

Be gentell and plesaunt to all men: be familiar but only with y<sup>e</sup> good.

Become sloly a frende, but after you haue professed amite endeouour so to continue . . . Trie your friendes by such aduersities as happeneth in this present lyfe . . . be to your familiars compayghniabie, and not haughty . . . Be neate and clenly in your apparell: but not braue and sumptuous . . . Do your vter endeauor to lyue in safetie. But if it fortune you to come in perill, so defende yourselfe by batayle and force of armes, that it may redounde to your renoume. [A viii *verso* to Bii *verso*.]

Isocrates suggests also some principles of courtly wisdom and manners, which Polonius applied:

Neyther proue your frendes with your annoyance: nor yet be ignorant of their condicions. And this you may do, if you fayne to haue nede of them when you haue no nede at all: and committe vnto them for great secretes, matters which may without danger be discouered. For albeit contrary to your expectation they bewraye you, yet shall you not be endamaged thereby; and if they satisfie the truste and confidense you hadde in them, then haue you a better tryall of their maners . . . Imitate the manners of kynges, and followe their wayes and trade of liuinge, (so shal you both seme to approue their doinges, and also to loue and folowe them).<sup>73</sup>

This collection surrounding Cato was made for moral ends and was taught accordingly. Brinsley's instructions for posing Cato bring this out as clearly as do the other facts we have already presented.

So in *Cato*, to aske, as in the first verses,

Q. What thing ought to be chiefe vnto us?

A. The worship of God.

Q. *Da sententiam.*

R. *Cultus Dei praecipuus.*

Q. *Da carmen.*

R. *Si Deus est animus nobis, &c.*

Then to examine the Verses by parts if you will: as *Si Deus est animus, &c.* Aske,

*Qualis est Deus?* What is God, or what a one?

A. *Animus*, A spirit, or spirituall nature or being.

Q. *Qui ita nobis dicunt? vel, Quae nobis ita dicunt?* Who or what things tell vs so?

R. *Carmina*, Verses, or Poets who write Verses.

Q. *Quomodo tum colendus est?* R. *Pura mente.*

Q. *Da carmen.*

R. *Si Deus est animus, &c.*

Thus throughout, onely where they vnderstand not, to propound the question, as well in English, as in Latine, and so to answer.

Also you may examine thus: What Verses in *Cato* haue you, to proue that

<sup>73</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, pp. 45-46.

the worship of God must be chiefly regarded? *A. Si Deus est animus.*

What against sleepinesse and idlenesse?

*A. Plus vigila semper, &c.*<sup>73</sup>

The parallels adduced between Shakspeare and the collection which went under the name of Cato do not perhaps give any necessary indication of themselves that Shakspeare used the collection. But when we know that this was almost universally the construe of the second form, it becomes apparent, at least, that Shakspeare ought early to have met these pieces of sentential wisdom in this collection; and even Dr. Farmer, without any evidence at all, apparently permits Shakspeare to have had Cato.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 144.

<sup>74</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. I, p. 364.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### LOWER GRAMMAR SCHOOL: SHAKSPERE'S CONSTRUCTIONS; *AESOP*

BRINSLEY AND THE CURRICULA agree that Aesop was almost universally the next subject for construction after Cato. Aesop was usually also reached in the second form, but was occasionally continued in the third. In three instances, the work is prescribed for the third form alone. Thus Aesop followed Cato, was regularly reached in the second form, and was not infrequently continued in the third, but was seldom begun so late. Following those on Cato, came Brinsley's instructions on Aesop.

So in *Esops* Fables, besides the examining every piece of a sentence in the Lectures, as thus:

*Gallus Gallinaceus, dum vertit stercorarium, offendit gemmam, &c.*

*Q. Quid offendeat Gallus, dum vertit stercorarium?*

*R. Offendit gemmam, &c.*

Cause the children to tell you, what every Fable is about or against, or what it teacheth, in a word or two. For example, thus:

*Q. What Fable haue you against the foolish contempt of learning and vertue, and preferring play or pleasure before it?*

*A. The Fable of the Cocke, scratching in the dung-hill.*

O[r] after this manner:

*Q. What Fable haue you against the foolish neglect of learning?*

*A. The Fable of the Cocke, scratching in the dung-hill.*

2. Cause them to make a good and pithy report of the Fable; first in English, then in Latine: and that either in the words of the Author, or of themselves as they can; and as they did in English. For, this practice in English to make a good report of a Fable, is of singular vse, to cause them to vtter their mindes well in English; and would neuer be omitted for that and like purposes.<sup>1</sup>

Brinsley insists on the moral interpretation and application of the fables as well as the examination upon the Latin. Aesop's jewel must be learning, even if that interpretation does make but a dunghill of the school for the poor scratching boys!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, Brinsley is only making the application to be found in the regular edition, translated by Bullokar thus, "Understand art and wisdom by the precious stone. Understand a foolish man, or one given to pleasure, by the cock. Neither do fools love liberal arts, when they know not the use of them: nor one given to pleasure, for-why, whom only pleasure can please."



This mode of interpretation was, of course, the traditional one. In 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot had given Aesop the same fundamental position and functions in training his "Prince." After the boy had the merest smattering of Latin, Sir Thomas would have him turn to Greek and use Aesop as his first Greek author.

Nowe to folowe my purpose: after a fewe and quicke rules of grāmer/immediately or interlasyng hit therwith / wolde be redde to the childe / Esopes fables in greke: in whiche argumēt childrē moche do delite. And surely it is a moche pleasant lesson / & also profitable / as well for that it is elegāt & brefe (& nat withstanding it hath moche varietie in wordes / and therwith moche helpeth to the vnderstandinge of greke) as also in those fables is included moche morall and politike wisdomē. Wherefore in the teachinge of them the maister diligently must gader to gyther those fables / whiche may be most accōmodate to the aduancement of some vertue / wherto he perceiue the childe inclined: or to the rebuke of some vice / wherto he findeth his nature disposed. And therein the master ought to exercise his witte / as wel to make the childe plainly to vnderstande the fable / as also declarynge the signification therof compendiously / and to the purpose. fore sene alway / that as well this lesson as all other autours / whiche the childe shall lerne / either greke or latine / verse or prose / be perfectly had without the boke: wherby he shall nat only attaine plentie of the tonges called Copie / but also encrease and nourisse remembrāce wonderfully.<sup>8</sup>

Sir Thomas and Brinsley agree that the fables of Aesop must be emphasized as morality.

Both Sir Thomas and Brinsley are only following the tradition, as does Erasmus also. Besides the chance-allusions we have noticed or shall notice, he discusses in the *Christian Prince* the matter in some detail. He says of the teacher,

While his pupil is still a little child, he can bring in his teachings through pretty stories, pleasing fables, clever parables. When he is bigger, he can teach the same things directly.

When the little fellow has listened with pleasure to Aesop's fable of the lion and the mouse or of the dove and the ant, and when he has finished his laugh, then the teacher should point out the *new* moral: the first fable teaches the prince to despise no one, but to seek zealously to win to himself by kindnesses the heart of even the lowest peasant (*plebs*), for no one is so weak but that on occasion he may be a friend to help you, or an enemy to harm you, even though you be the most powerful. When he has had his fun out of the eagle, queen of the birds, that was almost completely done for by the beetle, the teacher should again point out the meaning: not even the most powerful prince can afford to provoke or overlook even the humblest enemy. Often those who can inflict no harm by physical strength can do

<sup>8</sup> Elyot, *Gouverneur* (1531), fol. 30v; Croft, Vol. I, pp. 55-57.

much by the machinations of their minds. When he has learned with pleasure the story of Phaeton, the teacher should show that he represents a prince, who while still headstrong with the ardor of youth, but with no supporting wisdom, seized the reins of government and turned everything into ruin for himself and the whole world. When he has finished the story of the Cyclops who was blinded by Ulysses, the teacher should say in conclusion that the prince who has great strength of body, but not of mind, is like Polyphemus.

Who has not heard with interest of the government of the bees and ants? When temptations begin to descend into the youthful heart of the prince, then his tutor should point out such of these stories as belong in his education. He should tell him that the king never flies far away, has wings smaller in proportion to the size of its body than the others, and that he alone has no sting. From this the tutor should point out that it is the part of a good prince always to remain within the limits of his realm; his reputation for clemency should be his special form of praise. The same idea should be carried on throughout. It is not the province of this treatise to supply a long list of examples, but merely to point out the theory and the way. If there are any [traits] that seem too coarse, the teacher should polish and smooth them over with a winning manner of speech.<sup>4</sup>

So Erasmus directs that not only Æsop, but also moralizable stories from Ovid and Virgil be treated in this same fashion.

It may be worth noting here that Martin Luther also approved Cato and Æsop highly when so treated. He says,

It is a special Grace of God, that *Cato's* little book and the Fables of *Esop* have been preserved in Scholes; for they are both natural and excellent books. *Cato* hath good words and fine precepts which are very profitable in this life. But *Esop* hath excelling sweet *res & picturas*, i.e. matter and the pictures or representations of things . . . So far as I am able to understand, next unto the Bible, wee have no better books then *Catonis scripta, & fabulas Æsopi*, the Works of *Cato*, and the Fables of *Esop* . . . for their writings are better then all the tattered sentences of the Philosophers and Lawyers.<sup>5</sup>

Next to the Bible itself! This method of moralizing was a general method, to be applied to all the early grammar school authors until the boy was old enough to undertake a systematic study of the principles of religion and philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> Born, *Christian Prince*, pp. 146-148. The rendering is not very exact, but will serve the present purpose. The last sentence unemended is a complete misunderstanding of Erasmus, who was speaking of smoothing out flaws in the character of the boy (see Elyot's statement above), not of coarse stories—they did not trouble Erasmus very much.

<sup>5</sup> Luther, *Colloquia Mensalia* (London, 1652, personal), p. 532; Coleridge's marked copy—he blue-pencilled this passage—which he thought to be a better translation than his copy of 1791, which is now in B. M., C. 45. i. 16. For one use of Æsop's fables, the adages, and similes about 1549, see *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, Vol. III, pp. 53-54.

It is clear that Shakspeare uses several of Aesop's fables from this moral point of view. Of these uses Anders has made by far the best collection.<sup>6</sup> He finds that Shakspeare refers to seven fables, (1) The Countryman and a Snake, (2) The Crow and the Borrowed Feathers, (3) The Ass in a Lion's Skin, (4) The Wolf in a Sheep's Skin, (5) The Fox and the Grapes, (6) The Hunter and the Bear, (7) The Oak and the Reed. Of these seven, Green had already connected the first, second, fifth, and seventh with the emblem books, and thus more or less directly with Aesop.<sup>7</sup> To the seven instances collected by Anders, Plessow added an eighth, the fable of the ant, alluded to in *King Lear* (II, 4, 68).<sup>8</sup> Green had also noted the connection of the passage with the emblem books. Besides these eight instances, two others have been indicated by Green, (1) The Wind, the Sun, and the Traveller, and (2) Arion and the Dolphin, which regularly occur in sixteenth century collections of Aesop. While some of the instances alleged for these ten fables, being in doubtful plays, may not belong to Shakspeare, yet enough are clearly his to show that from some source he had considerable knowledge of Aesop.

The Greek originals of some of the fables are at once ruled out as Shakspeare's source. Apparently, the Greek Aesop would have been available to Shakspeare only in some form of the Planudes collection.<sup>9</sup> Some of Shakspeare's fables are not in this collection, and others are not from this form.

Nor have the English translations of Aesop left any direct trace on Shakspeare. Caxton had published "in 1484 a translation of Machault's French version, made from Steinhöwel's German translation, of the late Latin form of Aesop's *Fables*."<sup>10</sup>

The fables of "Aesop" stood forth like Cato, as a work of moral doctrine, suitable for the discipline of youth. The fables, or some of them, had been used as material for elementary exercises in composition in the Greek schools of rhetoric, and had continued without interruption to be employed in the same way in Roman schools and then in the Christian schools of all Europe during the whole period of time intervening right down to Caxton's day. The book of fables, like Cato's distichs, had been so much modified, now added to from popular sources, now excerpted, now rearranged, that the "Aesop" of the late middle ages, like the Cato, is indeed no classical work,

<sup>6</sup> Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, pp. 17-20.

<sup>7</sup> Green, H., *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*. Number 3 had been pointed out by Theobald.

<sup>8</sup> Plessow, Max, "Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis Zu John Gay (1726)," *Palæstra*, Vol. LII, p. lxxviii.

<sup>9</sup> Jacobs, Joseph, *The Fables of Aesop* (1889), Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 16.

but a creation of the medieval period itself, though resting upon a solid ancient basis. Caxton's English is from a French version of a German version of a Latin recension.<sup>11</sup>

Apparently, Caxton's translation into English was still the only one in Shakspeare's youth.<sup>12</sup> But it is clear that the Caxton translation is not Shakspeare's source. This collection does not have some of the fables alluded to by Shakspeare, and some of those which are included show that they are not Shakspeare's source. For instance, the snake tries to strangle his benefactor instead of stinging him to death in his bosom; the fox tries to get raisins, not grapes; etc.

Robert Henryson had elaborated a few of these fables, of which an English edition was made in 1577;<sup>13</sup> but no one of the seven fables which Anders finds in Shakspeare is included in this collection.

In 1569 and 1572, Thomas Blage of Queen's College, Cambridge, published *A schole of wise Conceytes . . . Translated out of diuers Greke and Latine Wryters*.<sup>14</sup> This is a collection of fables from some twenty avowed sources, including those in the Aesop collections. In a dialogue, the author persuades the printer that his work is not merely another englishing of Aesop, and consequently that it deserves printing. But Aesop is, of course, heavily represented. Yet while Blage tells most of the fables used by Shakspeare, there are characteristic differences which show that he was not Shakspeare's source.

In 1585, William Bullokar published along with Cato a translation of Aesop "in tru Ortography with Grammar-nótz."<sup>15</sup>

The Aesop is as ample a collection of all the current fables as he found in his authorities, including the additions to the traditional fables made by Abstemius, Valla, Rimicius, and Poggio. Its exact source has not been determined, but coincides with Thomas March's Latin collection printed in 1580, and is in the line of descent from the Strassburg Collection of 1515. The Aesop is in prose; the Cato in crude verse.<sup>16</sup>

Though all of Shakspeare's fables, some of them two or three times repeated, are in Bullokar's Aesop, yet this is not Shakspeare's source. For instance, the countryman warms the snake at the fire, not in his bosom, and consequently is not injured by the attempted malice

<sup>11</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>12</sup> This has been reprinted by Jacobs, *Aesop* (London, 1889), etc.

<sup>13</sup> Wood, H. H., *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson Schoolmaster of Dunfermline* (1933), pp. xx ff.

<sup>14a</sup> Ed. of 1569 in U. M. \*11023 from Bodleian 8°. L. 533. BS.; S. T. C. 3114.

<sup>15</sup> Reprinted by Plessow, as above. <sup>16</sup> Lathrop, *Translations*, p. 229.

of the serpent. Nor are there any ants in Bullokar, only emots. Aesop's crow is here a jay decked in peacocks' feathers, though a summary is also given of Horace's story of a crow and other birds, this latter being Shakspeare's version. Bullokar was too late to aid Shakspeare in grammar school, and evidently did not prove necessary in later life.

In 1596, was published *Aesopi Phrigis Fabulae, Versibus Descriptae, exque Horatio partim decerptae, partim per Alanum expressae, recensque auctae, atq; emendatae per Humf. Roydonnum φιλιτρον Art. Magistrum*.<sup>12a</sup> There are forty-four stories so treated. Virgil, Ovid, and others have been levied upon for good Latin lines, as the margins themselves indicate. This collection is too late for Shakspeare, and besides does not contain all of Shakspeare's Aesop, nor his forms of many of the stories that it does contain.

We may also add here the later translations of Aesop made during Shakspeare's lifetime. In 1602, Richard Field printed for Robert Dexter "Cvm Privilegio" *The Etymologist of Aesops Fables, Containing The construing of his Latine fables into English . . . Compiled by Simon Sturtevant*. As we have seen above, Dexter had entered *Cato Construed* on November 2, 1590, as also *Propria Quae Maribus* and *As in Praesenti* construed, on December 30, 1591. Sturtevant has now added Aesop and Phaedrus to Dexter's list of construes, and refers to the efforts of his predecessors. He defends himself in case any should object,

that I do but *actum agere*, because that both *Corderius* of old, and maister *Heane* of late haue gone before me in the same method in translating of *Cato*, and some of *Tully* his familiar *Epistles*, and *Lilies* verses," etc. (p. 93).

The work of Corderius referred to is the *Cato Construed*. The other two works referred to are by William Hayne, head-master of Merchant Taylors' School 1599-1624. As we have seen, Dexter had entered the *Propria Quae Maribus* and *As In Praesenti* construed in 1591. We now learn that these were the famous construe of Hayne. Sturtevant tells us, "But as for maister *Haines*, the many editions of his bookes purchase both credit to him selfe, as likewise demonstrate the vtility and profit thereof" (p. 94). Though Hayne's construe was doubtless many times printed from 1591, yet there is no copy of it recorded S. T. C. Of Hayne's other work, *Certaine Epistles*

<sup>12a</sup> U. M. \*10430 from Huntington; S. T. C. 172.

of *Tolly Verbally Translated*, a single copy of 1611 survives in the Bodleian. And this despite the "many editions" of Hayne's works printed before 1602. Probably but a small fraction of the editions of schoolbooks is known to us.

Sturtevant sums up the advantages of his construe, and incidentally gives a hint both at the ideal and the actual for repetitions: the scholler hereby may run ouer by himselfe the direct construing of his competent lesson aboue fortie times in one houre, which is very much: whereas vsually he is not construed by his maister aboue thrise at the most, and that not in the same forme of english words: the reiteration whereof is left to the captaines of the forme, which how rawly and disorderly it is performed of them, daily experience doth declare: so that in the deliuerie of their lecture, if the english should be sequestred and examined from the latine, the sense will prooue either defectiue, redundant, or dismembred, or at the least without any congruitie at all.<sup>16</sup>

Again, he says,

they ought to reiterate the construing of their lesson not foure or fiue times for a flourish superficially, but fortie or fiftie times, more or lesse, as their appointed time will serue: which taske of manifold repetitions must precisely be exacted of them by their maister.<sup>17</sup>

The lecture itself and the official repetition before the master were supposed to be only a small part of the drill. In between, the pupil was supposed by incessant repetition to have stamped the lesson indelibly upon memory. Consequently, the stamp must in the first place be the correct one. Hayne a few years later gives us his idea of the proper proportion between lecture and study. He thinks that, one houres Lecture requireth the practise of sixe houres at the least, for the applying of the same unto all manner of use, for writing and speaking.<sup>18</sup>

Hence the curricula provided always for periods of "getting" to come between lectures and repetitions. Sturtevant, Hayne, Brinsley, and others were attempting to see that the boys used this time of "getting" to fullest advantage.

But to return to Sturtevant's *Aesop*, it did not please Brinsley, though he approved with reservations Hayne's construe of the grammar,<sup>19</sup> wishing only that it might be redone according to his own type of "grammatical" translations. But Brinsley has not even partial approval for Sturtevant's efforts on *Aesop*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Sturtevant, S., *The Etymologist of Aesops Fables* (1602), p. A3v.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. A4r.

<sup>18</sup> Hayne, *Certaine Epistles of Tolly* (1611), p. A5r.

<sup>19</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 71-72.

<sup>20</sup> He couples with Sturtevant's *Aesop* Grimald's translation of *De Officiis*.

*Dum* whilst, *Gallinaceus* the dunghill, *Gallus* Cocke, *Vertit* scratched, *Stercorarium* in the dunghill . . . Trie in any one of these, whether a child can construe one sentence right and surely, according to the Grammar, or in any certainty of the propriety of the words, or be able to parse or make Latine, or the rest: though some of these Translators were learned, and gaue the sense; yet you may perceiue that they aimed not at these ends here mentioned, or few of them.<sup>21</sup>

Consequently, Brinsley himself prepared and published a grammatical translation from Aesop according to his own magic formula.

It should be apparent that the English translations of Aesop are for the most part aimed directly at pedagogical ends. Aesop in the England of Shakspeare's time is a grammar school text. Consequently, John Bretchgirdle in Stratford left a copy of Aesop's fables by his will, but gives no clue whether in the original Greek of some of them, or the Greek with parallel Latin translation, or the Latin translation, or Caxton's English translation. Marshall, near Stratford, had an English translation of Aesop, but there is no indication whether Caxton's, Bullokar's, or Sturtevant's. He also had an Aesop unspecified, so presumably either or both Greek and Latin. But curiously enough neither Bretchgirdle nor Marshall appears to list a Cato. There had been a few Latin editions of Aesop in England before 1535, but no other known editions till after Shakspeare's schooldays. If, therefore, Shakspeare studied Aesop in grammar school, he almost certainly used a text printed abroad, but gives no hint of having been aided by Caxton's translation in mastering the Latin, even though the number of editions of Caxton's translation shows that it was heavily used for some purpose, and Brinsley assumes that some such help is likely to be used with these elementary authors, he being consequently chiefly concerned that the translations be of his own particular variety.

We are thus thrown back upon some Latin translation, not of the Planudes variety, for Shakspeare's source. In these Latin translations, there were so many individual variations that it ought to be possible to locate Shakspeare's exact text. Bullokar warns us of this in 1585, and Plessow has demonstrated the fact sufficiently in seeking Bullokar's source. Bullokar says, in modernized orthography,

And because you should not be deceived nor I misjudged, ye must understand that there be diuers impressions of Aesop's fables in Latin, whereof some vary or disagree from other, some time in phrase, and some time in sentence or word.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 116.

<sup>22</sup> *Palaestra*, Vol. LII, p. 7.

Bullokar had followed some copy which he lost. So he gives references to an edition published in Latin by Thomas Marshe in London, 1580, and to another

imprinted at Lyons by the heirs of James Junta 1571. The said Fables imprinted by Thomas Marsh is nearest to this translation that I can guess of, having lost the book that I chiefly followed in my translation.<sup>23</sup>

This edition of 1580 Plessow could not find; but the next earlier known English edition, that of 1535 by Wynkyn de Worde, is an ancestor of Bullokar's work. That is, Marshe's edition was probably ultimately from that of Wynkyn de Worde, and Bullokar had used originally still another edition of this type, printed either in England or abroad. Thus Bullokar's translation is based on the type last known to have been printed in England before Shakspeare completed grammar school, or for some time later. Further, since Shakspeare disagrees with Bullokar and his original, it is clear that Shakspeare did not use an original of the type known to have been printed in England.

I have not been able to be certain that I have examined all current types of Aesop at the time, but Plessow has indicated the makeup of numerous editions,<sup>24</sup> and Anders has also made some search. Anders has located a type which contains all the fables identified by him in the form that Shakspeare knew them. My copy of the latest revision of this type before Shakspeare's grammar school days is *Fabellae Aesopicae Quaedam Notiores, et in Scholis Usitatae, Partim excerptae de priori editione, partim nunc primum compositae A Ioachimo Camerario . . . Lipsiae*, August, 1573.<sup>25</sup> I have seen record of at least nineteen editions of the Aesop by Camerarius before this one, and the collection was steadily reprinted to the middle of the eighteenth century. It will be noticed that this is a form compiled and finally compressed for school use by Camerarius. Camerarius in this revision has compressed and revised or rewritten the regular Latin collection of fables, using Aesop (nearly all), Abstemius (a little more than half), Valla (less than half), and Rimicius (less than half). The English editions—that by Wynkyn de Worde in 1535, that of

<sup>23</sup> *Palaestra*, Vol. LII, p. 194.

<sup>24</sup> *Palaestra*, Vol. LII, p. lxiii. Plessow jumps from the edition of Strassburg, 1519, to that at Venice in 1534, which is true of the copies in the British Museum. But I have a copy printed at Strassburg by Iohannes Cnoblochus in 1523 which has the same makeup as the Venice 1534. The University of Illinois has a copy of 1524 of the same content.

<sup>25</sup> I have also a copy printed "Tvbingae Apud Vlricum Morhardum. Anno M. D. XLII," another "Lvgdvni, Apud Ioan. Tornaesivm," 1571.



Marshe in 1580, and Bullokar's translation in 1585—have the same authors in the same order, but add Poggius.<sup>26</sup> Camerarius does not use Poggius, but adds at the end other fables from various sources. Camerarius has thrown out most of the numerous doublets in these collections, as well as the rather numerous fables of the later collections which he evidently considered—and that justly—unsuitable for youth. He also substitutes, compresses, retouches, and in various ways neatens the fables which he retains. The result is a form much superior to others for grammar school purposes; and the number of editions shows that it met a deserved popularity.

Camerarius in his *Elementa Rhetoricae* has himself fitted fables into his pedagogical philosophy, and has discussed at length the uses of them. He devotes his first twenty pages to a declaration of his educational faith as a background for his rhetorical practice. After he has philosophized the order and types of study in grammar school, he sums up thus,

Sed nunc superiora repetentes, in ordinem quendam redigamus Narrationum species, nam excerceri (*sic*) in omnibus studiosos oportet. Princeps igitur habebitur Fabula, quae dicitur Aesopica. Secundum locum tenebit, expositio rerum positarum in communi vita, & cotidianis moribus: quales sunt Comoediarum & Mimorum. In hac & Colloquia, & quos Graeci Dialogos vocant, includemus. Nam in his maxime spectatur ea narratio, quae in personas est sparsa. Tertia erit poetica fabula, aut similis huic narratiuncula. Quarta, historica expositio. Quinta, vera narratio caussae.<sup>27</sup>

Aesop's *Fables* thus come first, and consequently should be presented as rhetorically pure as possible. Evidently many schoolmasters appreciated his endeavors.

We may now examine Shakspeare's use of Aesop, adding a few more examples to the ten already discovered. But first we may quote Anders on a direct reference to Aesop in Shakspeare.

Gloucester's hint, in 3. Henry VI., Act V, v, 23, that the masculine queen, Margaret, should have always "worn the petticoat, And ne'er have stol'n the breech from Lancaster," is met by the young Prince with the following caustic retort, containing an allusion to Gloucester's figure crooked like that of Aesop:

Let *Aesop fable* in a winter's night;  
His currish riddles sort not with this place.

Strange to say, Henry Green infers from this passage that Shakespeare had

<sup>26</sup> *Palaestra*, Vol. LII, p. lxiü.

<sup>27</sup> Camerarius, J., *Elementa Rhetoricae* (Lipsiae, 1564), p. 21. Library of University of Illinois.

a low estimate of Aesop's fables. But the expression "His currish [= malicious] riddles" in no wise warrants this inference. The words must be taken *cum grano salis* as referring to what Gloucester had just remarked, and not as derogatory from Aesop. The apt illustrations which Shakespeare drew from the famous fables leave no doubt that the poet had no mean opinion of them.<sup>28</sup>

The allusion, however, being in a doubtful play, may not be Shakspeare's.

To turn to the fables themselves, the first of Shakspeare's uses which we meet in the revised Camerarius is the fable of the countryman and the snake, of which Anders points out three instances.

I fear me you but warm the starved snake,  
Who, cherish'd in your breasts, will sting your hearts.<sup>29</sup>

*K. Rich.* O villains, vipers, damn'd without redemption! . . .  
Snakes, in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting my heart!<sup>30</sup>

Forget to pity him, lest thy pity prove  
A serpent that will sting thee to the heart.<sup>31</sup>

To these three instances another may be added. Lear says that Goneril,

struck me with her tongue,  
Most serpent-like, upon the very heart.<sup>32</sup>

Besides the three instances taken over by Anders, Green also notes that Hermia starting from her sleep calls upon Lysander,

do thy best  
To pluck this crawling serpent from my breast! . . .  
Methought a serpent eat my heart away,  
And you sat smiling at his cruel prey.<sup>33</sup>

This fable had impressed itself strongly upon Shakspeare. Camerarius tells it thus:

Agricola & Anguis.

REPERTVM ANGVEM FRIGORE pene mortuum, Agricola misericordia motus, fouere sinu, & subter alas recondere. Anguis recreatus calore, vires recepit, ac confirmatus, agricolae pro merito ipsius summo, letale vulnus infligit.

Fabula demonstrat eam mercedem, quam rependere beneficijs mali consequere.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> *Richard II*, III, 2, 129-131.

<sup>30</sup> *Lear*, II, 4, 162-163.

<sup>31</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573, personal), p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> *2 Henry VI*, III, 1, 343-344.

<sup>33</sup> *Richard II*, V, 3, 57-58.

<sup>34</sup> *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 2, 145-150.

In the usual form of the fable, and so in Caxton and Bullokar, the snake was thawed before the fire and merely attempted to injure the countryman. For this form of the fable Camerarius has substituted that attributed in the Planudes collection to Gabrias.<sup>35</sup>

Agricola quidam in sinu fouit serpentem  
Frigoribus: ubi autem calorem sensit,  
Percussit eum qui fouit, atq; occidit statim.

Affabulatio.

Sic mali tractant benefactores.<sup>36</sup>

A variant of this form gets into the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. CLXXIV. Shakspeare has regularly given the fable its proper moral application.

The second fable to be echoed is apparently that of the lion and the mouse. It is said of Angelo,

He—to give fear to use and liberty,  
Which have for long run by the hideous law,  
As mice by lions—hath pick'd out an act,  
Under whose heavy sense your brother's life  
Falls into forfeit.<sup>37</sup>

This statement borrows some phraseology as well as the situation from Camerarius.

#### Leo & Musculus.

Lascive Discvrrentes circum leonem dormientem musculi, vnum ita agitauere incursione sua, vt in dorsum bestiae deferretur. Qui à leone captus, deprecari vitam suam, & excusari imprudentiam facti. Leo etsi erat commotus, ignouit tamen musculo, & tam contemptum animalculum inuiolatum dimisit. Paulo post incautius praedam vestigans, in laqueos incidit, quibus astrictus rugitum maximum edidit, ad quem procurrens musculus, cernensq; in vinculis eum, qui sibi dudum vitam petenti concessisset, gratiam pro beneficio relaturus, accedit ad laqueos & illis corrosis, leonem omni periculo liberat.

Docet fabula, & nullius exiguitatem atq; impotentiam spernendam, & gratiam beneficijs referendam esse.<sup>38</sup>

The significant sentence here is, "Lascive Discvrrentes circum

<sup>35</sup> In his first edition, Camerarius had begun by translating and adapting the Planudes collection.

<sup>36</sup> *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graecae et Latinae . . . Tobingae . . . M.D.XLVI* (personal), pp. 321-323.

<sup>37</sup> *Measure for Measure*, I, 4, 62-66. Theobald, William, *The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays*, p. 292 has also noticed this fable.

<sup>38</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 9-10.

leonem dormientem musculi,"<sup>39</sup> with which compare Shakspeare's phraseology that use and liberty have,

long run by the hideous law,  
As mice by lions.

The regular form of this fable begins,

Leo aestu cursuq; defessus, sub umbra fronde sup uiridi quiescebat. Murum aut grege tergum eius percurrente, expectatus. unū è multis comprehendit.<sup>40</sup>

Bullokar translates this faithfully. Gabrias of the Planudes collection presents the situation in much the same way,

Leone dormiente, per mediam ceruicem  
Percurrit mus.<sup>41</sup>

Only Caxton has some leanings toward the version of Camerarius, Esope reherceth to vs suche a fable Of a lyon whiche slepte in a forest and the rats desported and playd aboute hym.<sup>42</sup>

But in Caxton rats disport and play, while in Camerarius and Shakspeare mice run by. Thus Shakspeare is either using Camerarius or someone who has very similar phraseology.

The third of Shakspeare's fables is that of the crow with borrowed feathers, noted by Green. Anders quotes the following instances.

*King* . . . Our kinsman Gloucester is as innocent  
From meaning treason to our royal person  
As is the sucking lamb or harmless dove . . .  
*Queen* . . . Seems he a dove? his feathers are but borrow'd,  
For he's disposed as the hateful raven:  
Is he a lamb? etc.<sup>43</sup>

I do fear,  
When every feather sticks in his own wing,  
Lord Timon will be left a naked gull,  
Which flashes now a phoenix.<sup>44</sup>

Since both of these passages are in doubtful plays, it may be that neither allusion belongs to Shakspeare. Green had added to these two an alleged instance from *Julius Caesar*, which Anders rightly rejects

<sup>39</sup> My copy of 1542 reads, "Lasciuientes iuxta leonem dormientem musculi."

<sup>40</sup> *Fabularum Quae Hoc libro continentur, etc.*, (Argentorati, 1523, personal), p. 4v.

<sup>41</sup> *Fabulae* (1546), p. 301.

<sup>42</sup> Jacobs, *Aesop*, Vol. II, p. 26. I suppose this connection between Caxton and Camerarius is due at least ultimately to the influence of Steinhöwel.

<sup>43</sup> *2 Henry VI*, III, 1, 69-77.

<sup>44</sup> *Timon of Athens*, II, 1, 29-32.

for this fable, though, as we shall see, it does refer to another similar fable. One suspects that Shakspeare would have lost any love for this fable which he may previously have had when Robert Greene in September 1592 labeled him as, "an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers;" at least, Polonius later considered "beautified" to be "an ill phrase, a vile phrase; 'beautified' is a vile phrase,"<sup>45</sup> though Shakspeare had thought it a good enough phrase in *Two Gentlemen*. These instances are "before" and "after."

Camerarius tells the fable thus:

De Cornice superbiente aliarum auium pennis.

Cornicula collectas pennas de reliquis auibus sibi accommodauerat, & superba varietate illa, reliquas omnes prae se auiculas contemnebat. Cum, forte hirundo notata sua penna, aduolans illam aufert, quo facto & reliquae postea aues quaeq; suam ademere cornici, ita illa risum mouit omnibus, furtiuus nudata coloribus, vt ait Horatius.

Significat fabula, commendatam speciem neq; diu durare, & perleui momento dissolui.<sup>46</sup>

Here is the version of Greene and Shakspeare, but this is not the version of the regular collections, which is of the jay and the peacock, though the usual collection adds that Horace tells the story of a crow, giving a brief resume. Bullokar translates this emended version faithfully; Caxton gives the original only. But Gabrias in the Planudes collection,<sup>47</sup> like Horace, tells the story concerning a crow. With Gabrias and Horace, Camerarius, Greene, and Shakspeare—if these allusions are his—agree.

The fourth allusion is to the ant, as Plessow pointed out, though Green had already noted the connection. The Fool says to Kent,

We'll set thee to school to an ant, to teach thee there's no labouring i' the winter.<sup>48</sup>

Apparently, the reference is to the last sentence in the fable of the fly and the ant as told by Camerarius.

Musca & Formica.

Praeferens se formicae musca, illam abijcere verbis, & se extollere. Vide enim, inquit, quanta sit humilitas tua. Caua loca terrarum incolis, & perpetuo humi reptas, magno cum labore tenuem victum quaerens. At me alae in sublime ferunt, & accipiunt mensae regiae: auro & argento ego eadem bibo, delicatissimis cibus uescor, purpurae incubo: Quinetiam molissimas saepe genas formosarum deosculor. Fastidiosae & inflatae opinione felici-

<sup>45</sup> *Hamlet*, II, 2, 111-112.

<sup>46</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 17-18.

<sup>47</sup> *Fabulae* (1546), pp. 312-315.

<sup>48</sup> *Lear*, II, 4, 68-69.

tatis respondit formica: Etiam hoc adde, improbitatem tuam inuisam & odiosam esse omnibus, contra te flabella & venena parari. Idemq; hoc, modica anni parte durare hanc beatam vitam tuam, dum sol feruet, hyeme & frigoribus statim occidere. At ego aestate mediocri labore exerceor, vt hyeme quietam & securam vitam possim degere.

Fabula hoc ait: Qui quae vult dicit, ea quae non vult audit. Et hoc: Non esse in paruis commodis, sed sine magnis incommodis vitam beatam.<sup>49</sup>

Notice the advice of the ant to the fly, ending "At ego aestate mediocri labore exerceor, vt hyeme quietam & securam vitam possim degere." The ant lectures the fly to the effect that summer, not winter, is the time for labor. Later, Camerarius tells the now more familiar form of the story concerning the grasshopper and the ant.<sup>50</sup> In this form of the story, it will be remembered, the grasshopper tells the ant that he spent his summer singing, and receives the somewhat priggish advice that then he should spend the winter dancing. While the moral tendency of this form is much the same as that of the preceding, yet it is not pointed so clearly in the way that Shakspeare applies it. I believe the reader will see also how the story of the fly and the ant fits Kent's case rather better than that of the grasshopper and the ant.

One should notice too that in Camerarius the advice of the ant is delivered to the fly in the first person, as is implied in *Lear*. But the regular form uses indirect discourse throughout. So we are told, "Formicam hyemis memorem, alimēta reponere, muscā in diem uiuere, hyeme aut esurituram, aut certe morituram."<sup>51</sup> The ant does not here try to teach the fly anything, as she does in the version of Camerarius. Bullokar translates the regular version, only he always has emots, never ants. Caxton's is also the regular version, "Of the ante or formyce," though his moral pointing of the story is still further away from that of Camerarius and Shakspeare. I do not find this version of the story in the Planudes collection.

For the companion story of the ant and the grasshopper, Camerarius has given the moral more pointed statement. In the usual version, twice given, the ant denies the grasshopper, merely saying that she worked while the grasshopper sang. So Bullokar's version is essentially the same. But in Caxton's version the ant already tells the sygale, "And yf thow hast songe alle the somer / danse now in wynter."<sup>52</sup> This is the conclusion of Gabrias in the Planudes collec-

<sup>49</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 18.

<sup>50</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 45.

<sup>51</sup> *Fabularum* (1523), p. 8v.

<sup>52</sup> Jacobs, *Aesop*, Vol. II, p. 123.

tion,<sup>53</sup> which Caxton and Camerarius have adapted. It is also the conclusion in the form of the story attributed to Rimicius.<sup>54</sup> In Camerarius, the ants answer, "Si cecinisti aestate, inquirunt, hyeme saltato."<sup>55</sup> I believe, therefore, that the reference of the Fool is to the fable of the ant and the fly, not to that of the ant and the grasshopper, and that Shakspeare agrees again more closely with Camerarius than with the other versions.

The fifth allusion is the famous parable of the belly as related in *Coriolanus*, I, 1, 100 ff. Camerarius tells it thus.

Venter & Membra.

Inquivnt qvodam tempore membra: Nosne te venter ita semper ociosum alemus ministerio nostro? Non saciemus. Sed dum ventri cibus subtrahitur, totum corpus debilitatur, & membra sero poenitere cepit invidiae.

Fabula narratur contra seditionem & contra societatis violationem, exposita eleganter à Liuiο.<sup>56</sup>

Camerarius later gives the story in full from Livy's speech of Menenius Agrippa (pp. 132-133), and also as an apologue from Pliny (p. 144). It was a choice moral, and thus was emphasized by repetition. We need not, however, examine the different versions of this fable, since we know that in *Coriolanus* Shakspeare was using the speech of Menenius Agrippa as given in North's Plutarch. But the story would have been an old acquaintance of Shakspeare's when he met it yet again in the source of *Coriolanus*. His Aesop would have impressed its moral upon him in grammar school. That was the Elizabethan idea of a course in good citizenship.

There is a sixth allusion in *Measure for Measure*. The Duke says,

We have strict statutes and most biting laws,  
The needful bits and curbs to headstrong weeds,  
Which for this nineteen years we have let slip;  
Even like an o'ergrown lion in a cave,  
That goes not out to prey.<sup>57</sup>

The story of the aged lion in his cave, who went not out to prey, is thus told by Camerarius.

<sup>53</sup> *Fabulae* (1546), p. 321.

<sup>54</sup> *Fabularum* (1523), p. 90r.

<sup>55</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 45.

<sup>56</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 23. This form of the fable is not in my edition of 1542, nor in that of 1571.

<sup>57</sup> *Measure for Measure*, I, 3, 19-23. Theobald, *Classical Element*, p. 66 has also noticed this allusion.

Leo & Vulpes.

Leo senio confectus cum vires non suppetent ad victum parandum, callidum coepit consilium sustentandi vitam. Itaque in antro, quasi periculoso morbo correptus decumbens, quod ad ipsum viscendum passim animantes reliquae aduenerint, prehensas illas deuorabat. Atque ita magna bestiarum multitudine à leone absumpta, accedit tandem & vulpecula ad antrum, & ante illud subsistit, haesitans atque circumspectans. Tum leo, quid cesset? cur non adeat ad se, rogat. At illa id, quod Horatius versibus retulit, respondisse fertur:

Quia me vestigia terrent:

Omnia te aduersum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

Fabula docet, prudentes ante pericula cauere sibi, & ea signa, quibus mala portendantur, notare, & haec effugere.<sup>58</sup>

It will be noticed that the lion in Camerarius is, "senio confectus." In the usual version, the lion being sick was visited by all the animals except the fox, to whom the lion sent a letter of invitation. The fox replied that steps of animals all entered the lion's den, but none came out again, Horace's version of the fable then being added. Bullokar translates this expanded form. Caxton's version is more direct, since the animals come to call on the sick lion, but the foxes do not enter because of the suspicious tracks. This is the version of Gabrias in the Planudes collection,<sup>59</sup> which Caxton and Camerarius use. It is also the version told by Rimicius.<sup>60</sup> Again, therefore, Shakspeare agrees with Camerarius, Gabrias, Rimicius, and Caxton against the regular version. I see nothing, however, to indicate which of these he used.

There is probably a seventh allusion in *Timon*, when Alcibiades says,

If there be  
Such valour in the bearing, what make we  
Abroad? why then, women are more valiant  
That stay at home, if bearing carry it,  
And the ass more captain than the lion.<sup>61</sup>

Though the idea of bearing needs no literary source, yet the opposition of the ass to the lion as captain is probably a reminiscence of the well known story which Camerarius tells thus.

<sup>58</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 25.

<sup>59</sup> *Fabulae* (1546), pp. 286-289.

<sup>60</sup> *Fabularum* (1523), p. 80v.

<sup>61</sup> *Timon of Athens*, III, 5, 45-49.



## Leo, Asinus, Vulpes.

Amicitiam quodam tempore iunxere inter se, leo, asinus, vulpes, atq; ita communiter venatum exiere. Copiosa autem praeda parta, iubet asinum leo illam diuidere. Qui simpliciter in tres aequales partes distribuens, sorte putabat decerni oportere, quam quisq; deberet sumere. Ob haec leo ira commotus, in asinum irruit, & dilacerat, atq; deuorat miserum. Tum vulpem diuidere iubet. At illa in vnum aceruum congestis vniuersis, sibi exemit paruulam protiuunculam, atq; hanc iustam diuisionem esse dixit, vt leoni, cuius non solum auspicijs, sed etiam laboribus omnia essent quaesita, plurima extra quidem sortem cederent. Cui leo: Quis te, inquit, optima vulpecula tam scite partiri docuit? Asini, respondit vulpes, mi leo fortissime, asini socij nostri casus.

Docet fabula, solere aliorum calamitate & malis prudentiores reddi homines.<sup>62</sup>

But the reminiscence, being in a doubtful play, may not be Shakspeare's. Nor do I see anything about it to indicate its exact source more clearly.

For an eighth allusion, Green notices that Shakspeare refers to the fable of the wind, the sun, and the traveller, or as it was known in the sixteenth century, of the sun and the northwind. Philip, the Bastard, alluding to the political disturbances which will follow Prince Arthur's death, says,

Now happy he whose cloak and cincture can  
Hold out this tempest.<sup>63</sup>

The chance addition of "cincture" to "cloak" shows pretty clearly that Shakspeare was thinking of Aesop's fable, and the man's fastening his cloak more tightly. Camerarius tells the fable thus.

## Sol &amp; Aquilo.

Solem et aequilonem de robore viribusq; quondam disceptasse ferunt, conuenisseq; inter eos, vt vter viatori vestem eriperet facilius, is validior haberetur. Priores igitur sortitus Aquilo ventus acer & vehemens, omnem vim flatus sui in conspectum forte viatorem immisit, verum ille quo magis ventus in se ferebatur, hoc arctius vestimenta continere, circumq; se conuolueret. At Sol aestus & calorem effundens, facile effecit, vt viator se vestibus nudaret, non solum pallio posito, sed etiam refibulata tunica.

Fabula dicit, cedere robur ingenio, secundum Sophocleam sententiam:

Non pectore amplo qui sunt humerisq; arduis,  
Sese tuentur proteguntq; maxime:  
Sed consilij sapientia superat omnia.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 41.

<sup>63</sup> *King John*, IV, 3, 155-156.

<sup>64</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 47-48.

In the regular version, when the wind blew, the man "non desistit amictum gradiendo duplicans,"<sup>66</sup> which Bullokar renders, "he leaveth not off from going, doubling his clothing or garment." I do not find the story in Caxton or the Planudes collection. I believe it is clear that Shakspeare was thinking of the traveller's action as reported by Camerarius, and not as in the regular version.

Anders points out, as he considers, a ninth allusion in *King John*.

*Bast* . . . I'll smoke your skin-coat, an I catch you right . . .

*Blanch*. O, well did he become that lion's robe

That did disrobe the lion of that robe!

*Bast*. It lies as sightly on the back of him

As great Alcides' shows upon an ass:

But, ass, I'll take that burthen from your back,

Or lay on that shall make your shoulders crack.<sup>66</sup>

When Antipholus of Ephesus says, "Thou art sensible in nothing but blows, and so is an ass," Dromio of Ephesus admits, "I am an ass, indeed; you may prove it by my long ears,"<sup>67</sup> which may just possibly be another allusion to Aesop's fables rather than directly to life. The story of the ass in the lion's skin is told thus by Camera-rius.

#### De Asino induto Leonina pelle.

Pelle leonina indutus asinus territabat homines & bestias, tanquam leo esset. Forte autem conspectae aures eminentes & longae indicarunt stolide superbientem asinum, ita in pristinum abactus, poenas dedit temeritatis & petulantiae suae.

Fabula innuit, honores indignis collatos, ad ignominiam plaerunq; recidere. Diciturq; contra simulationem stultorum & gloriosorum.<sup>68</sup>

A variant of the story as told by Erasmus is also given on pp. 129-130. The regular form, which was translated by Bullokar, does not have the catastrophe of a beating for the ass in its first version, but does a little later in its second, which is the version quoted by Camerarius from Erasmus as his second form of the story. Also, the ass is regularly discovered by his ears. So inevitable and commonplace are the features of the story mentioned by Shakspeare that there would be no way of discriminating the version from which his reference comes. But the reference to Alcides shows that Shakspeare was thinking of the story as it was told by Erasmus in his *Adagia*.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Fabularum* (1523), p. 21r.

<sup>66</sup> *King John*, II, 1, 139-146.

<sup>67</sup> *Comedy of Errors*, IV, 4, 28-31.

<sup>68</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 48.

<sup>69</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), p. 97 B. See Vol. II, pp. 346 ff.

A possible tenth allusion is in *The Comedy of Errors*. Dromio of Syracuse says to the Courtesan, who is demanding either a golden chain or a ring,

'Fly pride,' says the peacock: mistress, that you know.<sup>70</sup>

Camerarius tells the story of the peacock thus.

Grus & Pauo.

Pavo contra grvem assistens, explicatis pennis suis: Quanta est, inquit, formositas mea & deformitas tua? At grus subuolans: Quanta est inquit, leuitas mea & tua tarditas?

Monet fabula, non esse ob aliquod bonum naturale superbiendum, neq; contemnendum alterum, cui fortasse multò maiora collata sint.<sup>71</sup>

The story itself is much the same in the various versions, but the moral is more directly pointed in the version of Camerarius after Dromio's fashion. The regular version of the moral as translated by Bullokar runs thus, "No man should despise another. Everyone hath his gift, everyone hath his virtue. He that lacketh thy virtue, peradventure hath that that thou lackest." Caxton's version is much the same as Bullokar's in its moralizing, and I do not find the story in the Planudes collection. The statement of Camerarius that, "Monet fabula, non esse ob aliquod bonum naturale superbiendum" is a closer parallel verbally to Dromio's "'Fly pride,' says the peacock" than is the moral in these other versions. The peacock, however, was everywhere the symbol of pride.<sup>72</sup>

Anders, following Green, finds an eleventh allusion in *Cymbeline*.

To thee the reed is as the oak.<sup>73</sup>

Again, in *Love's Labor's Lost*,

Those thoughts to me were oaks, to thee like osiers bow'd.<sup>74</sup>

Besides these, Green notices two other parallels rather than allusions, which Anders does not include. Camerarius tells the story of the reed and the oak thus.

Arundo & Oleta.

Disceptabant de fortitudine: robore & constantia olea seu quercus,<sup>75</sup> (nihil enim refert) & arundo. Cum autem olea siue quercus arundini exprobraret mobilitatem, & quod ad quamuis illa exiguam auram tremeret, tacuit arundo. Non ita diu post, ingruentibus ventis, & resistente flatibus ipsorum

<sup>70</sup> *Comedy of Errors*, IV, 3, 81.

<sup>71</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 51-52.

<sup>72</sup> See, for instance, the second Homily in the first edition; but the peacock soon disappeared from this sermon.

<sup>73</sup> *Cymbeline*, IV, 2, 267.

<sup>74</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 2, 112.

<sup>75</sup> The edition of 1542 has only *olea*, not *quercus*.

olea vel quercu, ab horum illa vi eruta & dissipata fuit, arundo autem submissione sua integritatem conseruauit.

Fabula ostendit, laudandos eos magis esse, qui tempori seruire sciant, & se non apponant valentioribus, quàm eos qui cum praestantioribus se & potentioribus rixentur atq; contendant.

Singificatur & hoc, quod Herodotus scripsit: Numinis hunc esse morem, vt ardua conuellat.<sup>76</sup>

Camerarius points out that the tree is sometimes an olive and sometimes an oak. Shakspeare naturally prefers the English oak. Caxton had simply said tree and reed, but Bullokar in the two tellings of the story makes it oak and reed, as does the regular Latin form of these fables. The regular collection and Bullokar also tell the story twice of the olive tree and the reed, and once of an elm and a willow. This story and its moral of "time-serving" was evidently a very popular one, even though it does not get into the Planudes collection. By his reference to the oak and osier, Shakspeare may be betraying a knowledge also of the story as applied to the elm and willow, which is not in Camerarius. If so, his reference is confused, and shows that the story of the oak and reed was the predominant one with him. Caxton and the Planudes collection are ruled out as sources, but I see no way of distinguishing between the others.

A twelfth allusion is apparently to the hawk and dove. This story is regularly used by Shakspeare to illustrate reversal of nature. As Helena pursues Demetrius, she says,

Run when you will, the story shall be changed:  
Apollo flies, and Daphne holds the chase;  
The dove pursues the griffin; the mild hind  
Makes speed to catch the tiger; bootless speed,  
When cowardice pursues and valour flies.<sup>77</sup>

The story of the dove and hawk has been changed. Again, Enobarbus says of Antony,

To be furious,  
Is to be frighted out of fear; and in that mood  
The dove will peck the estridge.<sup>78</sup>

Coriolanus boasts,

If you have writ your annals true, 'tis there,  
That, like an eagle in a dove-cote, I  
Flutter'd your Volscians in Corioli:  
Alone I did it.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 52.

<sup>77</sup> *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 230-234.

<sup>78</sup> *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, 13, 195-197.

<sup>79</sup> *Coriolanus*, V, 6, 114-117.

Even if actual observation should underly these figures, yet in one, at least, the author confesses that he is changing a story, and that story is Aesop's of the hawk and dove, told by Camerarius thus.

Accipiter & Columba.

Concitatissimo impetu columbam insequens accipiter, intra villam vnâ cum fugiente aue defertur, & capitur à villico. Hunc orat, vt se demittere velit: Neq; enim te, inquit, laesi vnquam. Cui respondet villicus: Neq; vt opinor mei te vnquam laesere, atq; fracta illum gula interemit.

Fabula docet, vindicandas à principibus non minus subditorum iniurias, quam si sibijsps allatae essent.<sup>80</sup>

This story is in neither the Planudes collection nor Caxton, being in the collection by Abstemius. Bullokar translates it as, "Of the gos-hawk chasing a culver," the Latin title being "De Accipitre Columbam insequente." Shakspeare is thus not thinking of Bullokar's translation as culver, but of the regular English translation of *columba* as dove. The dove's pursuer is doubtless each time selected to fit the occasion.

A thirteenth allusion is apparently to the idea that still waters run deep. Suffolk says,

Smooth runs the water where the brook is deep.<sup>81</sup>

Camerarius tells the story thus.

Amnium silentia.

Rvsticvs transitvrvs flumen vadum vestigabat. Ac primum quadam parte se reperturum sperabat, qua defluebat illud placide, & cum silentio, sed à tentante reperitur magna ibi profunditas. Facit igitur alibi periculum vbi quidem reperit vadum, aqua vero cum strepitu & impetu decurrebat. Tum ille haec secum: Non, vt video inquit, amnium murmura & fremitus, sed silentium & leues sibili metuendi sunt.

Non esse periculum fabula docet, à clamatoribus & minacibus, sed à mussitantibus & taciturnis. Caesarem etiam dicere solitum accepimus, non metui à se Antonium & Dolobellum corpulentos & rubicundos, sed Cassij & Bruti maciem & pallorem.<sup>82</sup>

The reader will also notice here Caesar's saying concerning the lean and hungry look of Cassius, a point which Shakspeare uses from Plutarch. The story is not in either Caxton or the Planudes collection, being in the collection by Abstemius. Bullokar translates it as,

<sup>80</sup> Camerarius, *Fabulae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 68-69.

<sup>81</sup> 2 *Henry VI*, III, 1, 53. Theobald, *Classical Element*, p. 58 has also noticed this.

<sup>82</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 69.

"Of a country-man about to go over a river," though neither he nor his source has any mention of Caesar and Cassius. This allusion to still water, however, is in a play which may not be wholly Shakspeare's.

As Anders points out, a fourteenth allusion is to the hunter and the bear. King Henry V says,

Bid them achieve me and then sell my bones.  
Good God! why should they mock poor fellows thus?  
The man that once did sell the lion's skin  
While the beast lived, was killed with hunting him.<sup>82</sup>

Camerarius tells the story thus.

#### Venator & Cerdo.

Cerdo ad Venatorem quodam tempore deuenisse dicitur, & petijisse ab eo, sibi vrsi pellem vt venderet. Venator sibi illo tempore vrsi pellem non esse respondit, sed si vellet pecuniam numerare, curaturum se post dies paucos vt haberet, cum vrsus cepisset, cuius lustrum iam sibi exploratum esset. Itane, inquit cerdo, facile est vrsus capere? Mihi quidem, inquit venator, nequaquam difficile hoc fuerit, inter feras & in siluis pene a puero versato. Licet ne, inquit cerdo, te comitari? nam mihi libet spectatorem esse talis venationis. Licet, inquit venator, mecum perendie in siluam abeas. Quo cum esset ventum, apparuit statim vrsus, bellua ingens & horribilis. Cerdo tum celeriter arborem conscendit. Venator adortus feram fortiter, cum tamen haec excussisset ictum, recordans quod audijisset, non solere vrsos cadauera morsu attingere, in terram se, quasi mortuus esset, abiecit. Vrsus autem naribus ad os & aures illius admotis captare anhelitum, & tentare an spiraret. Sed illo animam continente, vrsus mox discessit. Tum igitur & venator se erexit, & cerdo de arbore descendit, atq; iam animis receptis, inter alios sermones percontari cerdo de venatore, quid in aures ipsius fera insuurrasset? Cui venator respondet: Monuisse illam diligenter, ne posthac vnquam vrsi pellem nondum capto & confecto ipso, vendendam existimaret.

Fabula hoc, quod Graecum prouerbum: Non esse ante victoriam exultandum, admonet, ne securitate & temerarijs animis dubia pro certis habeamus.<sup>84</sup>

King Henry is applying the fable exactly according to the moral as given by Camerarius. The better known story of the bear and the two friends is told on pp. 49-50.

The story of the hunted bear is not in either Caxton or the Plaudes collection. Bullokar translates it from Abstemius as, "Of a tanner buying a bear's skin, of a hunter, not yet taken." In Bullokar, the moral runs, "This fable sheweth, that uncertain things are not

<sup>82</sup> Henry V, IV, 3, 91-94.

<sup>84</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 75-76.

to be accounted for sure things." Shakspeare's moral application is specifically that of Camerarius, and only very generally that of Bullokar and the regular collection.

A fifteenth allusion apparently derives from another of these fables. Helena says,

The ambition in my love thus plagues itself:  
The hind that would be mated by the lion  
Must die for love.<sup>85</sup>

It was this same ambition in love which destroyed the mouse. Camerarius tells the story thus.

#### Leo & Mus.

Leo captvs Laqueo, orat murem, se vt corrosis plagis liberet de impēdente interitu, promittitq; se accepti beneficij nunquam esse obliturum. Mus facile, quod leo flagitarat, cum effecisset, petijt ab illo, vt filiam sibi collocaret in matrimonium suam. Leo, quamvis res ea sibi videretur indigna & absurda, noluit tamen auctori vitae & salutis suae, quod postulauerat, denegare. Spondet igitur filiam, sed hoc tamen monet, cogitet musculus, vix fieri posse in tanta inaequalitatae, nuptiae vt felices sint. Sed mus in sententia permansit. Cum igitur noua nupta leaena iuuenula & ferox ad maritum deduceretur, obuium eum, non visum neq; animaduersum, pede conculcatum obtruiit.

Fabula ostendit amicitias potentum esse periculosas, etiam non raro damnosas humilibus, & paruorum sodalium esse expetendum vsum paruus. Sed & hoc monet, quod prouerbium Graecum, translatus de turbinis ludo, Agitandum aptum & conuenientem. Vnde hoc factum:

Quae cupis egregie nubere, nube pari.<sup>86</sup>

Shakspeare has juggled his animals slightly to preserve the decorum of his moral application. This story is in neither Caxton nor the Planudes collection, but is translated by Bullokar from Abstemius.

A sixteenth allusion appears to be verbal.

*Clo.* Come, I'll to my chamber. Would there had been some hurt done!

*Sec. Lord. [Aside]* I wish not so; unless it had been the fall of an ass, which is no great hurt.<sup>87</sup>

The title of one of the fables in Camerarius is, "The fall of an ass," "Asini lapsus,"<sup>88</sup> The fable itself has no connection with the comment in Shakspeare. The story is in neither Caxton nor the Planudes collection, but is translated by Bullokar from Abstemius, though under a different title. If there is any allusion, it is thus most likely to Camerarius.

<sup>85</sup> *All's Well*, I, 1, 101-103.

<sup>87</sup> *Cymbeline*, I, 2, 36-39.

<sup>86</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 76-77.

<sup>88</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 82.

Anders points out a possible seventeenth allusion.

Is he a lamb? His skin is surely lent him,  
For he's inclined as is the ravenous wolf.  
Who cannot steal a shape that means deceit?<sup>89</sup>

While this allusion, being in a doubtful play, may not be Shakspeare's, yet the same story reversed is elsewhere alluded to in the "wolvish-ravens lamb."<sup>90</sup> Camerarius tells the story thus.

Lupus.

Indverat pellem ovis lupus, atque cum ita ignoraretur, aliquantis per impune in gregem fuit grassatus. Sed pastor mox animaduversa fraude, necatum hunc de arbore suspendit. Hoc qui pelle decipiebantur admirantibus: Pellis quidem est, pastor inquit, ouis, sed sub hac lupus latebat.

Habitus & vultus indicia non habenda pro certis fabula docet, ideoque facta & rem spectari oportere.<sup>91</sup>

Anders comments, "But perhaps it is better to suppose that Shakspeare had in mind Matthew VII, 15."<sup>92</sup> I doubt this, because Shakspeare is thinking of the lamb, as elsewhere in Aesop, and not of a sheep as in the Bible. The story of the wolf in sheep's skin is in neither Caxton nor the Planudes collection, but Bullokar translates it from Abstemius.

Miss Yoder<sup>93</sup> adds as an eighteenth allusion the story of the lion as suitor. About to be ravished, Lavinia pleads with Chiron.

The lion moved with pity did endure  
To have his princely paws pared all away.<sup>94</sup>

Camerarius tells the story thus.<sup>95</sup>

Leo procus.

Leonem mirifico amore erga virginem forte conspectam exarsisse ferūt. Venit igitur ad patrem, & nuptias petit filiae ipsius. Huic ille: Egone tuis, inquit, istis dentibus & vnguibus committam teneram virgunculam filiam meam? At absq; his foret, equidem felicem me arbitrarer, si talis gener contingere posset. Nunc vero non ausim facere, tibi illam vt tradam. At leo amoris impatiens, postulante homine, & vngues praecidi, & dentes effringi patitur. Ibi inermem homo facile vincit atq; interimit.

Fabula ostendit calliditatem & maliciam, fortibus imprimis, voluptatibus inescatis, decus atque robur detrahare, & postea libere illis insultare. Hac

<sup>89</sup> 2 Henry VI, III, 1, 77-79.

<sup>90</sup> Romeo and Juliet, III, 2, 76.

<sup>91</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 85.

<sup>92</sup> Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 19.

<sup>93</sup> Yoder, Audrey Elizabeth, *Shakspeare and Esop*, an unpublished master's thesis (University of Illinois, 1937) done under my direction. Miss Yoder has added numerous details which I have not inserted.

<sup>94</sup> *Titus Andronicus*, II, 3, 151-152.

<sup>95</sup> Not in the edition of 1542.



fabula apud exercitum Eumenem vsum aliquando fuisse scripsit Diodorus, lib. 19. hoc sensu, quod similiter & Antigonus omnia policeri non dubitaret, dum potiretur copijs, tum vero in duces ipsorum animaduersurum hunc esse pro arbitrio suo.<sup>66</sup>

It is in fact for love and not pity that Aesop's lion submitted to having not only his claws pared but even his teeth broken. Yet the allusion is clear. The story is not in the Planudes collection nor Caxton, but is translated by Bullokar from the regular collection. Bullokar has the teeth and nails "beat and plucked out," while in *Titus Andronicus* the nails are "pared all away," which is nearer the statement of Camerarius, "vngues praecidi." Since, however, *Titus Andronicus* is a doubtful play, we cannot be certain that this allusion is Shakspeare's.

A nineteenth allusion is to the well known story of the fox and the grapes, as Anders, following Green, notes. Lafeu asks,

Will you be cured of your infirmity?

*King.* No.

*Laf.* O, will you eat no grapes, my royal fox?

Yes, but you will my noble grapes, an if

My royal fox could reach them.<sup>67</sup>

Camerarius tells the story thus.

#### De Vulpe & Vua.

Vulpes svblimem vvam dependentem de vite conspicata, ad illam subsilijt iterum atq; iterum, omnes vires corporis adhibens, si forte attingere posset. Tandem defatigata inani labore discedens ipsa sese quasi consolans: At enim acerbae nunc etiam, inquit, vuae sunt, & ista inprimis austera, neq; si in via reperiatur, videtur tollenda esse.

De ijs fabula dicitur, qui necessitati obsequuntur, & libenter abstinere ab ijs, quae obtinere non possint.<sup>68</sup>

The story is in Caxton, but of raisins, not grapes; is in Gabrias of the Planudes collection, and is translated by Bullokar from Rimicius in the regular collection. The moral in Camerarius is perhaps a little more aptly stated for Shakspeare's case than in any of the others, though the regular form as translated by Bullokar is almost, if not quite, equally apt,

The fable meaneth, that it is the point of a wise man to feign that he will not have those things which he knoweth he cannot get.

<sup>66</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 112.

<sup>67</sup> *All's Well*, II, 1, 71-75.

<sup>68</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 115.

A twentieth instance was attributed by Green to the story of the crow in borrowed feathers, but the reference is to a little-known fable of the eagle. Flavius and Marullus are attempting to spoil the triumph of Caesar over Pompey by sending the commons home and disrobing the images of Caesar which have been decked with trophies. Flavius says,

These growing feathers pluck'd from Caesar's wing  
Will make him fly an ordinary pitch,  
Who else would soar above the view of men  
And keep us all in servile fearfulness.<sup>99</sup>

The story of the eagle and his plucked wings is thus told by Camerarius.

De Aquila & Homine.

Comprehensae quidam aquilae grandiores pennas omnes euulsit, & ita domi suae aliquantisper obuersantem habuit. Hanc mercatus quidam pennis denuo aquilinis ipsam instruxit, perfecitq; vt euolaret qua vellet. Quae statim correptum leporem huic attulit, quasi memor beneficij in se collati. Sed paulò post ne à domesticis quidem illa animalibus vim suam abstinuit, & iam hominibus quoq; formidanda erat: iterum igitur pennas, qui dudum his eam instruxerat, abstulit.

Fabula monet, potentum improbitatem adiuandam non esse, & vt illa simulet bonitatem, mox tamen sese proferre, neq; mutare in malefaciendo naturam suam.<sup>100</sup>

The allusion takes on power when we know the fable alluded to. This fable is found in neither Caxton nor the Planudes collection, but is translated by Bullokar from Rimicius of the regular Latin collection.

A twenty-first instance from Camerarius may have given Shakspeare his first acquaintance with a story which he was later to use in the form presented by Pliny. The Fool tells Lear,

For, you know, nuncle,  
The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long,  
That it had it head bit off by it young.<sup>101</sup>

But there is a still earlier reference to the mishaps of the hedge-sparrow in rearing the cuckoo. Worcester says to the King,

being fed by us you used us so  
As that ungentle gull, the cuckoo's bird,  
Useth the sparrow; did oppress our nest;  
Grew by our feeding to so great a bulk

<sup>99</sup> *Julius Caesar*, I, 1, 77-80.

<sup>100</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 119. Not in the edition of 1542, nor in that of 1571.

<sup>101</sup> *Lear*, I, 4, 234-236.

That even our love durst not come near your sight  
 For fear of swallowing; but with nimble wing  
 We were enforced, for safety sake, to fly  
 Out of your sight and raise this present head.<sup>102</sup>

This tragedy of the English hedgerows is directly from Pliny, not directly from observation.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, Shakspeare is likely to have met an analogue of the story, along with the story itself, while he was still in grammar school. For such an analogue is to be found in the Aesop by Camerarius.

De Cornice educante Accipitrem.

Cornix cum animadverteret nidum accipitris semper esse refertū bonis cibis, qui parārētur rapacitate illius, hoc consiliū inijt, furatur oua accipitris, & illa clam fouendo educit sobolem, quae confirmata, matrem postea deuorat.

Fabula ostendit, multos perniciem & pestem suam ipsos alere. Vnde est & illud Theocriteum factum:

θρέψαι καὶ λυκιδεῖς θρέψαι κύνας ὥστυ φάγοντι.<sup>104</sup>

I have not found this story in any of the other collections of Aesop. In the story by Camerarius the principals are the crow and the hawk, and the specific motives are different; but this story was likely to recall to the schoolmaster that of Pliny concerning the cuckoo and the dove, and Shakspeare may well have heard at that time Pliny's story. It would seem clear, however, that his later use of the story is based upon an edition of Pliny which appeared long after Shakspeare's schooldays, so that he probably read this story in Pliny about the time he made use of it in *1 Henry IV*.

H. W. Crundell<sup>105</sup> points out what he considers a probable reference in *Cymbeline*, our twenty-second, to the scarabaeus.

And often, to our comfort, shall we find  
 The sharded beetle in a safer hold  
 Than is the full-wing'd eagle.<sup>106</sup>

Since the Elizabethans regularly used the term beetle for the scar-

<sup>102</sup> *1 Henry IV*, V, 1, 59-66.

<sup>103</sup> Baldwin, T. W., "A Note Upon William Shakespeare's Use of Pliny," *The Parrott Presentation Volume*, pp. 157-182.

<sup>104</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 126. Not in the edition of 1542, nor in that of 1571.

<sup>105</sup> Crundell, H. W., "Shakespeare, Lyly and 'Aesop'," *Notes and Queries*, Vol. CLXVIII, p. 312. <sup>106</sup> *Cymbeline*, III, 3, 19-21.

baeus,<sup>107</sup> the allusion is certain, but too indefinite and general to indicate what form of the story is being referred to. Camerarius tells the story thus.

De Scarabeo & Aquila.

Scarabeus aliquando spretus ab aquila, coepit de vindicta quoquo pacto sumenda cogitare. Peruestigauit vbi nam aquila nidum collocasset, arrepsit scarabeus, & oua simili dolo deiecit. Aquila cum saepius domicilium commutasset, neq; quicquam proficeret: Iouem patronum adiit, exponit calamitatem suam. Is iubet, vt suo in gremio ponat oua, vel istic in tuto futura. Et huc per vestis lacinias, sinusq; prorepsit pertinax scarabeus, haudquam sentiente Ioue. Deinde vbi videt oua commoueri Iuppiter, neq; satis animaduertit vnde, territus rei nouitate, excusso gremio, in terram deiecit.

Monet haec fabula, neminem quantumuis pusillum contemnendum esse.<sup>108</sup>

Shakspeare echoes the moral, but this is also the moral of the regular collection, and not far from that of the Planudes collection.<sup>109</sup>

It is probable also that as a twenty-third instance the story of "Arion on the dolphin's back"<sup>110</sup> was early impressed upon Shakspeare in the edition of Aesop by Camerarius, wherever he may have picked up his impression of "a mermaid on a dolphin's back."<sup>111</sup> Green has already noticed the connection here with the emblem books. Camerarius tells the story from Herodotus as follows.

De Arione & Delphino historia, translata ex primo libro Herodoti, exposita ab eodem autore, libro 16. cap. 19.

Celeri admodum et cohibili oratione, vobiscumq; filo tereti & candido, fabulam scripsit Herodotus super fidicine illo Arione. Vetus, inquit, & nobilis Arion, cantator fidibus fuit: Is loco & oppido Methymneus, terra atque insula omni Lesbios fuit. Eum Arionem rex Corinthi Periander ami-

<sup>107</sup> Perhaps the reader had best look up the examples from Shakspeare under *shard* in the *New English Dictionary* to be certain that he knows what a sharded beetle was. See the elaborate discussion of this proverb in Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), pp. 607 ff. Shakspeare apparently knew the contemporary etymology of the word. For instance, Stephanus in his Greek dictionary has, "ΚΑΝΘΑΡΟΣ, Scarabeus. Dictus *κατὰ τὸν κἀνθωρα*, quodd ex stercore *κἀνθωρος* (id est asini) nascatur." This origin of the scarab is regularly referred to, and Shakspeare embodies the etymology in "shard-born beetle" of *Macbeth*, III, 2, 42. He, no doubt, knew the fact also from nature itself—how could a country boy with cows around have failed to know? Erasmus mentions too the scarab's hum in a way that tends to enliven Shakspeare's picture in *Macbeth* for us.

<sup>108</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), p. 130.

<sup>109</sup> Miss Yoder sees a reminiscence of the story of Androcles and the lion (Camerarius, pp. 136-139; it does not occur in the other collections) in the reproof given by Troilus to Hector,

Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you,  
Which better fits a lion than a man.

(*Troilus and Cressida*, V, 3, 37-38).

<sup>110</sup> *Twelfth Night*, I, 2, 15.

<sup>111</sup> *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 150.

cum amatumq; habuit artis gratia, Is inde à rege proficiscitur, terras inclitas Siciliam atq; Italiam visere. Vbi eo venit, auresq; omnium mentesq; in vtrisq; terrae partibus demulsit, in quaestibus istic, & voluptatibus amoribusq; hominum fuit. Is tum postea grandi pecunia & re bona multa copiosus, Corinthum instituit redire. Nauem igitur & nautas, vt notiores amicioresq; sibi Corinthios delegit. Sed eo Corinthios homine accepto, nauiq; in altum profecta, praedae pecuniaeque cupidos, cepisse consilium de necando Arione. Tum illum ibi pernicie intellecta, pecuniam, caeteraq; sua vt haberent, dedisse, vitam modo sibi vt parcerent, orauisse. Nautas precum eius harum comisertum esse illatenus, vt ei necem efferre per vim suis manibus temperarent, sed imperauisse, vt iam statim coram desiliret praeceps in mare. Homo, inquit, ibi territus, spe omni vitae perdita: id vnum postea orauit, vt prius, quam mortem oppeteret, induere permitterent sua sibi indumenta & fides capere, & canere carmen casus illius sui consolabile. Feros & immanes nauitas pro ludium tamen audiendi subit, Quod orauerat, impetrat, atque ibi mox de more cinctus, amictus, ornatus stansq; in summae puppis foro, carmen, quod Orthium dicitur, voce sublatissima cantauit: ad postrema cantus cum fidibus, ornatuq; omni, sicut stabat canebatq; eiecit sese procul in profundum. Nautae haudquaquam dubitantes quin perisset, cursum quem capere coeperant, tenuerunt. Sed nouum & mirum & pium facinus contigit. Delphinum repente inter vndas adnauisse, & dorso super fluctus edito vectauisse, incolumiq; eum corpore & ornatu Taenarum in terram Laconicam deuexisse. Tum Arionem prorsus ex eo loco Corinthum petiuisse, talemq; Periandro regi, qualis Delphino vectus fuerat, sese obtulisse, eiq; rem, sicut acciderat, narrauisse. Regem isthaec parum credidisse, Arionem, quasi falleret, custodire iussisse, nautas requisitos, ablegato Arione, dissimulanter interrogasse, ecquid audissent in ijs locis, vnde venissent, super Arione? Eos dixisse, hominem cum inde irent, in terra Italia fuisse, eumq; illinc bene agitare, & studijs delectationibusq; vrbium florere, atque in gratia, pecuniaq; magna fortunatum esse. Tum inter haec eorum verba Arionem cum fidibus & indumentis, cum quibus se in salum eiaculauerat, extitisse. Nautas stupefactos conuictosq; iri inficias non quisse. Eam fabulam dicere Lesbios & Corinthios, atque esse fabulae argumentum, quod simulacra duo athena ad Taenarum viserentur, Delphinus vehens, & homo insidens.<sup>113</sup>

This story had also got into the regular collection as from Aulus Gellius, and consequently was translated by Bullokar.

So far, I have followed the edition of 1573. But Shakspeare refers to one fable which was not brought over from the earlier forms of Camerarius to this one. The Fool tells Lear,

When thou clovest thy crown i' the middle, and gavest away both parts,  
thou borest thy ass on thy back o'er the dirt: thou hadst little wit in thy  
bald crown, when thou gavest thy golden one away.<sup>114</sup>

The reference is to the familiar story of the man, his son, and the ass,

<sup>113</sup> Camerarius, *Fabellae Aesopicae* (1573), pp. 139-141.

<sup>114</sup> *Lear*, I, 4, 175-179.

first the ass unburdened, then the son riding, next the father, then both together, and finally both carrying the ass, all in an attempt to conform to the opinions of others. At last, the man throws the ass into a river and becomes an empty-handed laughing stock. So had Lear thrown his kingdom away, as the Fool very aptly points out.

This fable is in the edition of 1542, and in that of 1571, but does not appear in that of 1573. It is also attached to the regular editions as told by Poggius, and so is translated by Bullokar. I see nothing to indicate which telling of the story Shakspeare used. As we examine the editions of Camerarius, it is clear that Shakspeare did not use the form represented by the edition of 1542. The edition of 1571 does not have the story of the eagle with the plucked wings, but does have the story of the man carrying the ass, which is not in that of 1573. It is not significant that the edition of 1571 does not have all forms of the fable of the belly, nor the story of the crow rearing the hawk, since Shakspeare is known to have used these stories from other sources. Nor, on the other hand, do two analogues found in the edition of 1571, but not in that of 1573 offer any certainty. The first of these is the story of the two bags, tracing ultimately to Phaedrus. We shall see that Shakspeare appears to have used the version given by Persius.<sup>114</sup> The second is a story of a tempest, where one man is not afraid because he was certain that the birds, not the fish, were going to eat him; that is, he was destined to be hanged, not drowned. A form of this jest occurs in the opening scene of Shakspeare's *Tempest*. Clearly, it was not original with Shakspeare, but there is no indication that he had it from Aesop. It is not quite certain, perhaps, which form of Camerarius Shakspeare used, whether that represented by the edition of 1571, or that represented by the edition of 1573. It is probably significant, however, that these instances are scattered almost equally through the edition of 1573, but in the edition of 1571 congest toward the center, with comparatively few stories from the beginning and the end. This fact is likely to indicate that Shakspeare used the latest revision in some edition not far from 1573.

Shakspeare's memory of these fables would later have been strengthened by Aphthonius, whose first section is upon the fable. There in the current edition he would again have met the teachings of the ant, enforced with variations, the parable of Menenius concerning the belly, and the story of the aged lion in his cave, as well as reference to Arion and the Dolphin. Doubtless he was there required to

<sup>114</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 544ff.

perform the customary rhetorical operations on various fables, thus further impressing his mind with the type.

A much more fundamental matter now emerges than the question of whether Shakspeare did or did not study Aesop in grammar school. Whether Shakspeare studied Aesop or not, it is yet apparent that he looked at nature through Aesop's spectacles, and that his thoughts are cast in the contemporary Aesop mould. It was to bring out this point that I have included all possible allusions known to me. While some of these twenty-three possible allusions may not belong to Shakspeare, and others may not be directly to Aesop, yet enough of them are certain to show that Shakspeare had been well drilled in the stories and morals of Aesop, and that later he found important use for this training. For, a great deal, if not all, of Shakspeare's animal kingdom is seen through the eyes of Aesop. Even when it does not come directly from Aesop, as in the case of Pliny's cuckoo, yet it is viewed and interpreted in the way that current teaching of Aesop dictated. There was no other literary view. Aesop is responsible for the form taken by a great deal of Elizabethan natural history. It all had to be moralized. No wonder Shakspeare could find,

tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones and good in every thing.<sup>115</sup>

His schoolmasters had assiduously cultivated that ability in him.<sup>116</sup> The role of Aesop and Pliny in Shakspeare and in Elizabethan literature would repay intensive study.

As we examine the evidence on our specific problem of whether Shakspeare studied Aesop in grammar school, and if so, in what form, some interesting conclusions are evident. In the first place, the Planudes collection in its various forms and the current Caxton translation into English may at once be discarded. If Shakspeare had Aesop in grammar school, it was in Latin, not Greek, and it was without the aid of an English translation. In the second place, all of Shakspeare's Aesopic fables are in Camerarius, and in the form that Shakspeare knew them. That is not the case in Bullokar or in the regular Latin collection which he translates. Of the forms examined, only that of Camerarius meets all the conditions. In some instances, the relationship seems so individual as to make it clear that Camerarius is the true source of Shakspeare's Aesop.

Here we have another significant fact. If Shakspeare had picked his

<sup>115</sup> *As You Like It*, II, 1, 16-17.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Hall, Joseph, *Works* (1808), Vol. VII, p. 47.

Aesop up from the air, it would presumably have shown traces of various traditions, especially of what appears to be the tradition of English print. Instead, Shakspeare's Aesop is consistent and comes from a Latin form intended for school use. I believe the inference is clear. William Shakspeare evidently got his Aesop in Stratford grammar school about 1573 or 1574, either in the Latin translation of Camerarius in some edition by or before 1573, or in some form closely akin to it. The fact, as we have seen, that Shakspeare apparently echoes Camerarius verbally, makes it fairly certain, I believe, that his Aesop was of this form. That Shakspeare had his Aesop in Latin translation should be no matter for surprise, since Aesop in Latin is only second or third form knowledge. So elementary was Aesop that the proverb for ignorance was, "Ne Aesopum quidem trivisti, *He hath not learned his crisse-crosse*."<sup>117</sup> Shakspeare had learned his criss-cross, his Aesop, and much besides. Clearly, the fact that Aesop or any other Latin work, had also been translated into English does not oblige Shakspeare to use only the translation, as seems too frequently to have been assumed since the time of Dr. Farmer.

So far, I have defined Aesop only as he was defined in contemporary collections. I have not, therefore, yet considered Phaedrus, since that collection was first printed only in 1596, long after Shakspeare was out of grammar school, but quite in time for the majority of his plays, provided either his Latin or his inclination caused him to take an interest in this collection. Theobald points out some possible borrowings from Phaedrus. In *Julius Caesar*, Antony says of Lepidus:

He shall but bear them as the ass bears gold,  
To groan and sweat under the business,  
Either led or driven, as we point the way.<sup>118</sup>

*In Measure for Measure*, the Duke says,

For, like an ass whose back with ingots bows,  
Thou bear'st thy heavy riches but a journey,  
And death unloads thee.<sup>119</sup>

Theobald sees in both these passages allusions to Phaedrus II, 7,

Two mules were treading along with loads, one bore bags full of money, the other sacks full of barley, Suddenly robbers rushed from their ambush, and in the confusion, kill the mule and deprive him of the money, but neglect the worthless grain.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Withals, John, *A Dictionary in English and Latine* (London, 1634, personal), p. 571.

<sup>118</sup> *Julius Caesar*, IV, 1, 21-23.

<sup>119</sup> *Measure for Measure*, III, 1, 26-28.

<sup>120</sup> Theobald, W., *Classical Element*, p. 88. Theobald refers these wrongly to Avianus.



I see no necessary connection. In each, we simply have an ass, not a mule, bearing gold, for it should be noticed that in the second illustration death at the journey's end of life unloads the man, not the ass. Other explanations of the passages by various commentators seem to me as good as this one.

Theobald<sup>121</sup> thinks also that "take the safest occasion by the front"<sup>122</sup> is from Phaedrus, V, 8. This idea, however, was proverbial<sup>123</sup> and to be had from many sources.

Elsewhere, I have shown that another allusion to a story by Phaedrus comes to Shakspere through Persius.<sup>124</sup> I know, therefore, of no definite evidence that Shakspere had direct acquaintance with Phaedrus.<sup>125</sup> The evidence seems clear, however, that Shakspere had his fables in grammar school, pretty certainly in some form of the collection by Camerarius.

---

<sup>121</sup> Theobald, W., *Classical Element*, p. 293.

<sup>122</sup> *Othello*, III, 1, 52.

<sup>123</sup> See above, p. 352.

<sup>124</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 544ff.

<sup>125</sup> There are, of course, other fables in Shakspere than those of Aesop or pseudo-Aesop, and their sources might also well be examined.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### LOWER GRAMMAR SCHOOL: SHAKSPERE'S CONSTRUCTIONS; *TERENCE*, *MANTUAN*, *PALINGENIUS*

THE NEXT SUBJECT FOR CONSTRUCTIONS after Aesop would in Shakspeare's time have been Terence, except in the Winchester system, where Terence was retarded by a stage to the upper school. In the Paul's system, Terence belonged to lower school entirely. In the Eton system, Terence might be begun in the second form and continued into the fourth, which was the pivotal form between lower and upper school. Terence is thus almost universally a lower school author. Terence fails to appear in only one of the more than two dozen probably complete lists for the sixteenth century that I have collected. If Shakspeare completed his grammar, he could not have escaped Terence, even in the Winchester system. If, therefore, our previous evidence holds that Shakspeare had his grammar, we are entitled to assume that he had Terence.

But we do not need to assume it. In a work upon *Shakspeare's Five-Act Structure*, *Shakspeare's Early Plays on the Background of Renaissance Theories of Five-Act Structure from 1470*, I have had occasion to examine in detail the mode of teaching Terence, since it was around Terence and chiefly for pedagogical uses in the grammar school that the theory of five-act structure was perfected. Erasmus had stated in 1511, as we have seen, that the first operation on the play proper was to teach its structure—incidentally, Erasmus selected Terence for illustration because he was the first classical author to be studied—, and Melanchthon about 1524 had worked out the great pedagogical edition of the century showing how this application was to be made. Since the material is too voluminous, I can hardly give a summary of it here. I believe it is clear from the evidence there collected that Shakspeare had Udall's *Floures* as well as the plays of Terence. The evidence is conclusive, I believe, that Shakspeare along with every other "learned grammarian" of his day got the first smatterings of five-act structure and many other things dramatic in connection with his Terence in grammar school. At least, his plays are constructed on the formula by which boys were supposed to be guided in studying the plays of Terence. If Shakspeare completed the lower school, he certainly began to acquire his smat-

tering of Terence there. Along with Terence might go some Plautus. For an understanding of how all sixteenth century drama grew, not merely nor chiefly in England, the study of Terence in the grammar schools and out is fundamental.

We have seen that Terence was in the sixteenth century the first objective in grammar school Latinity, and have noticed something of the reasons for this position. But following the leadership of Sturm, Ascham was already attempting to substitute Cicero for Terence in this fundamental position. The device was, as we have seen, to take selected epistles of Cicero so that something simple enough might be found;<sup>1</sup> but since the device had at this period made but little progress the discussion of it too may best be deferred to another connection.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the standard and universal Cato, Aesop, and Terence, certain supplementary works for construction might also be used in lower grammar school. Like Cato and Aesop, these were usually good moral inheritances from the later Middle Ages or Early Renaissance. Mancinus, *De Quatuor Virtutibus* gets required for the second form in three schools; Mantuan, *Adolescentia seu Bucolica* in two for the third form, and in others with the form unspecified; Palingenius, *Zodiacus Vitae* for the third form, and in three others with forms unspecified; the Psalms of Hesus in one school for the third form. Numerous similar works are occasionally mentioned for this moral training, but without allocation to forms.

Since Mancinus had beversified the four Ciceronic virtues, he was considered a most estimable author. An English translation of Mancinus was printed about 1520. The unknown translator, rephrasing his original, says,

This lytyll boke is passage worthy / and mete to rude vnlernyd chyldren / & to tender yonge damsels / & eyn to them: whom the mother noresseth yet with beyfome of the mylke . . . This lytyll boke wyl fle no man: but that he may haue hym: nor woll make no man lothe hym for any hardnes: that is in hym: yf he can eny maner wyse his firste pryncipils: that he shulde begyn withall.<sup>3</sup>

He then proceeds to explain how the work may be used to improve one's Latin.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander Bercley published a verse translation of Mancinus

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 286 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>3</sup> U. M. \*1467 from B. M., C. 40. d. 36; S. T. C. 17241.

<sup>4</sup> Watson, *Grammar Schools*, pp. 403 ff.

about 1523, which was reprinted in 1570. Bercley also thinks most highly of the work. Embroidering the original, he says,

Werfore olde Curius / and Cato most morall  
With Senecke sad and sage / Tully and Petrarke  
Pontane / And other most noble auctours all  
Whiche in tymes passed / were vsed in lyke warke  
All these may well knowlege / them selfe diffuse or darke  
Them both and theyr warke / submyttyng to Mancyne  
Whiche this frutefull treatyse / composed in latyne.<sup>5</sup>

George Turberville tried his hand at translating the work so late as 1568 under the title *A plaine path to perfect vertue*. Ben Jonson had a copy of the Latin Mancinus, which passed to Sir Kenelm Digby, and thence before 1668 to the Earl of Bristol.<sup>6</sup> Mancinus was by 1668 "out of print," but he had enjoyed a long vogue.

Shakspeare has been at least once connected with the translation of Mancinus. In *Much Ado* occurs the sentence, "it is a world to see."<sup>7</sup> White notes,

And, in The Myrrour of Good Manners compyled in Latyn by Domynike Mancyn and translate into Englyshe by Alexander Bercley prest. Im-  
prynted by Rychard Pynson, bl. l. no date, the line "*Est operae pretium  
doctos spectare colonos*"—is rendered "*A world it is to se wyse tyllers of the  
grounde.*"<sup>8</sup>

I take it that White considered this merely a verbal parallel and not an evidence of borrowing.

I know, therefore, of nothing to indicate that Shakspeare had read Mancinus, but Mantuan receives the highest praise from Holofernes. As Sir Nathaniel is glancing over Berowne's letter, Holofernes is keeping himself at ease.

Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat,—and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice;

Venetia, Venetia,  
Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.

Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Myrrour of Good Maners*, U. M. \*1468 from B. M., G. 11565; S. T. C. 17242.

<sup>6</sup> Denham, John, *Poems and Translations* (1668), preface to a translation of the first two cardinal virtues from the Latin of Mancinus, p. 145. See Bentley, G. E., *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. V, p. 93. Says Denham, "The Author was a Person of Quality in Italy, his name Mancini, which Family matched since with the Sister of Cardinal Mazarine; he was contemporary to Petrarch, and Mantuan, and not long before Torquato Tasso; which shews, that the Age they lived in, was not so unlearned, as that which preceded, or that which followed." Denham's ignorance here is only surpassed by his patronizing tone.

<sup>7</sup> *Much Ado*, III, 5, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. VII, p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 2, 95-102. See Baldwin, *Petty School*, pp. 155 ff.

Holofernes has been quoting the opening lines of the *Bucolica* by Baptista Spagnuoli, commonly known as Mantuanus. This favorite of centuries was to be taught in the third form of Canterbury in 1541 (where Marlowe should later have been introduced to him), and Worcester in 1544, the only instances known to me where the form is stated. Since Stratford is within the diocese of Worcester, and its schoolmasters had to be examined and licensed by the Bishop or his officers, it may be that the curriculum of the cathedral school was not without its effect upon that of Stratford. Of Mantuan Drayton says,

And when that once *Pueriles* I had read,  
 And newly had my *Cato* construed,  
 In my small selfe I greatly marveil'd then,  
 Amongst all other, what strange kinde of men  
 These Poets were; And pleased with the name,  
 To my milde Tutor merrily I came,  
 (For I was then a proper goodly page,  
 Much like a Pigmy, scarce ten yeares of age)  
 Claspng my slender armes about his thigh.  
 O my deare master! cannot you (quoth I)  
 Make me a Poet . . .

when shortly he began,  
 And first read to me honest *Mantuan*,  
 Then *Virgils Eglogues*.<sup>10</sup>

It will be remembered, too, that Hoole says the usual seventeenth century practice was to put Mantuan in the third form of a six-form school.<sup>11</sup> Mantuan is also prescribed in 1518 by Dean Colet for Paul's, is listed at St. Bees in 1583, and at Durham in 1593, but not allocated to a form. Elizabethan references to Mantuan are numerous,<sup>12</sup> showing that he must have been used almost universally, even if the curricula do frequently omit to mention him. Gabriel Harvey in 1581<sup>13</sup> includes Mantuan as a regular grammar school author. Half a dozen English-printed editions of Mantuan are known between 1569 and 1600, as well as a couple of editions of G. Turberville's English translation.<sup>14</sup> Clearly Mantuan was in great demand.

One of these references has some bearing on the question of the authorship of the early *Hamlet*. It will be remembered that Nashe in the preface to *Menaphon* says of the author of this early *Hamlet*, "if

<sup>10</sup> Hebel, J. W., *The Works of Michael Drayton*, Vol. III, pp. 226-227.

<sup>11</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 65, 69, 76.

<sup>12</sup> See a collection in Furness, *Love's Labor's Lost*, pp. 149-150, and another in Mustard, W. P., *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, pp. 40 ff. <sup>13</sup> See above p. 436.

<sup>14</sup> A facsimile of the edition of 1567 was published in 1937.

you intreate him faire in a frostie morning," etc. McKerrow speaks of this expression as, "A meaningless tag; cf. iii. 356. 11; also Massinger's *Bondman*, II, i. 36. Fairly frequent."<sup>15</sup> But Holland points out correctly that Nashe is alluding to "Fauste, precor gelida," also quoted by Holofernes and numerous others,<sup>16</sup> though apparently Holland does not know that the line comes from Mantuan. The line was evidently used to characterize a beginner in poetry, much as the references to *pueriles*, etc. to denote a beginner in learning. So Nashe<sup>17</sup> is characterizing the author of the early *Hamlet* as a dabbler in poetry, just as by English Seneca he characterizes him as a dabbler in drama. Shakspeare and Nashe agree on Mantuan as the *pueriles* of poetry, as did Drayton's tutor and everyone else.<sup>18</sup> But while Mantuan was the *pueriles* of poetry, he was nonetheless highly admired in that function, together with his companion Palingenius. Webbe in 1586 approved highly of these two. After he has called the roll of the Greek and Latin poets, he adds,

Onely I will adde two of later times, yet not farre inferiour to the most of them aforesayde, *Pallengenius*, and *Bap. Mantuanus*, and for a singuler gyft in a sweete Heroicall verse, match with them *Chr. Oclan*. the Authour of our *Anglorum Proelia*.<sup>19</sup>

It will be remembered that schoolmaster Holofernes also admitted a "singuler gyft" which he evidently thought should rank him too with the insufficiently appreciated Mantuan.

Webbe later in connection with his discussion of the eclogue places Mantuan on the classical background and connects him with an English writer.

The cheefest of these is *Theocritus* in Greeke, next him, and almost the very same, is *Virgill* in Latin. After *Virgyl* in like sort writ *Titus Calphurnius* and *Baptista Mantuan*, wyth many other both in Latine and other languages very learnedlye. Although the matter they take in hand seemeth commonlie in appearaunce rude and homely, as the vsuall talke of simple clownes: yet doo they indeede vtter in the same much pleasaunt and profitable delight. For vnder these personnes, as it were in a cloake of simplicitie, they would

<sup>15</sup> McKerrow, R. B., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, Vol. IV, p. 449.

<sup>16</sup> Holland, H. H., *Shakespeare*, Oxford, p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> Incidentally, Harvey later turned this quotation upon Nashe himself. "The summe of summes is, He tost his imagination a thousand waies, and I beleue searched euery corner of his Grammar-schoole witte (for his margine is as deepeleie learned, as *Fauste precor gelida*) to see if he coulede finde anie meanes to relieue his estate" (Grosart, A. B., *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, D. C. L., Vol. I, p. 195).

<sup>18</sup> John Unger used Mantuan as his fundamental author to ground Philip Melanchthon as "The Protestant Preceptor of Germany" (Richard, J. W., *Philip Melanchthon*, p. 7).

<sup>19</sup> Webbe, *Poetrie* (Arber, 1870), p. 30.

eyther sette foorth the prayes of theyr freendes, without the note of flattery, or enueigh grievously against abuses, without any token of bytternesse.

Somwhat like vnto these works, are many peeces of *Chawcer*, but yet not altogether so poetically. But nowe yet at ye last hath England hatched vppe one Poet of this sorte, in my conscience comparable with the best in any respect: euen Master *Sp*: Author of the *Sheepehardes Calender*, whose trauell in that peece of English Poetrie, I thinke verely is so commendable, as none of equall iudgment can yeelde him lesse prayse for hys excellent skylle, and skylfull excellency shewed foorth in the same, then they would to eyther *Theocritus* or *Virgill*, whom in mine opinion, if the coursenes of our speeche (I meane the course of custome which he would not infringe) had beene no more let vnto him, then theyr pure natie tongues were vnto them, he would haue (if it might be) surpassed them.<sup>20</sup>

Virgil's *Bucolics* were treated as imitations of the similar work of Theocritus; and Mantuan the modern was for his *Bucolics* ranked with, and for grammar school purposes sometimes preferred to both of these. And Spenser has in English all but surpassed them all. In fact, Spenser's poem was published with a gloss to keep it wholly in character. E. K. is the Badius to Spenser's Mantuan, and it is from grammar school authors in grammar school style that he draws his allusions—Aesop, Cato, Terence, Mantuan, Virgil's *Eclogues*, *Aeneid*, Ovid, Horace, Cicero, Erasmus *Adages*, figures of speech and other rhetorical technicalities, etc. for the Latins; Lucian, Theocritus, Homer, for the Greeks.<sup>21</sup> Its character as a grammar school text on the model of Mantuan is excellently preserved both in form and in content.

Perhaps the reader will now appreciate the awesome dignity of Mantuan's position in school circles, and the levity of Shakspeare in daring to laugh at it. Mantuan had evidently done his endeavors toward Shakspeare's moral training, but we fear his efforts had not been ardently appreciated. Like Drayton, Shakspeare when he was scarce ten years old probably began the study of Mantuan in the third form about 1573-74. Did Shakspeare's teacher, like Drayton's tutor, by the teaching of Mantuan propose to make a poet of William? If so, it is fairly clear that Shakspeare himself had no exalted opinion of the practice.

The fullest statement known to me of how Mantuan was used in order to attain these weighty ends comes from Hoole. Hoole's meth-

<sup>20</sup> Webbe, *Poetrie* (Arber, 1870), pp. 52-53.

<sup>21</sup> See Mustard, W. P., "E. K.'S Classical Allusions," *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 193 ff.

ods, however, are only the traditional ones, with specific application to Mantuan. Hoole says,

For Afternoon lessons on Mondayes, and Wednesdayes, let them make use of *Mantuanus*, which is a Poet both for style and matter, very familiar and gratefull to children, and therefore read in most Schooles. They may read over some of the Eclogues, that are less offensive then the rest, takeing six lines at a lesson, which they should first commit to memory, as they are able. Secondly, Construe. Thirdly, Parse. Then help them to pick out the Phrases and Sentences [*i.e.*, *sententiae*], which they may commit to a paper-book; and afterwards resolve the matter of their lessons into an English period or two, which they may turn into proper and elegant Latine, observing the placing of words, according to prose. Thus out of the five first verses in the first Eclogue,

*Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra  
Ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores.  
Ne si forte sopor nos occupet ulla ferarum,  
Quae modo per segetes tacite insidiantur adultas  
Saeviat in pecudes. Melior vigilantia somno.*

One may make such a period as this; *Shepherds are wont sometimes to talke of their old loves, whilst the cattel chew the cud under the shade; for fear, if they should fall asleep, some Fox, or Wolf, or such like beast of prey, which either lurk in the thick woods, or lay wait in the grown corn, should fall upon the cattel. And indeed, watching is farre more commendable for a Prince, or Magistrate, then immoderate, or unseasonable sleep.*<sup>22</sup>

*Pastores aliquando, dum pecus sub umbra ruminat, antiquos suos amores recitare solent; ne, si sopor ipsos occupet, vulpes, aut lupus, aut aliqua ejus generis fera praedabunda, quae vel in densis syolis latitant, vel per adultas segetes insidiatur, in pecudes saeviat; Imo enimvero, Principi vel Magistratui vigilantia somno immodico ac intempestivo multo laudabilior est.* And this will help to prepare their invention for future exercises, by teaching them to suck the marrow both of words and matter out of all their Authours.

The reason why I desire children (especially those) of more prompt wits, and better memories, may repeat what they read in Poets by heart (as I would have them translate into English what they read in Prose) is, partly because the memory thrives best by being often exercised, so it be not overcharged; and partly because the roundnesse of the verses helpeth much to the remembrance of them, wherein boyes at once gain the quantity of syllables, and abundance of matter for phansie, and the best choyce of words and phrases, for expression of their minde.<sup>23</sup>

Hoole proposed also that the boys practice their prosody on Mantuan and even Cato.

And to prepare them for the practice of it [*Prosodia*] in making verses, I would first let them use it in learning to scan and prove Hexamiter verses

<sup>22</sup> See Aphthonius in Vol. II, pp. 322 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 65-67.



onely, out of *Cato*, or *Mantuan*, or such Authours as they have read, thus;

1. Let them write a verse out, and divide into its just feet, giving a dash or stroke betwixt every one; and let them tell you what feet they are, and of what syllables they consist; and why they stand in such or such a place; as,

Si Deus- est ani-mus no-bis ut- carmina- dicunt.

Hic tibi- praecipu-è sit- pura- mente co- lendus.

2. Let them set the mark of the Time or Quantity over every syllable in every foot, and give you the reason (according to the Rules) why it is there noted long, or short; as,

Si Dēūs ēst ānī-mūs nō-bīs ūt-cārminā- dicūnt.

Hīc tībī- praēcipū-ē sit- pūrā-mēntē cō-lēndūs.<sup>24</sup>

Thus Shakspeare may have learned some of his elementary lessons in prosody on Mantuan. He would certainly have been forced to parse and construe at least parts of that work. And in his time he could hardly have escaped memorizing his lesson in Mantuan, even before he performed the operations of construing and parsing, which would in themselves have resulted usually in memorization. It doubtless required little effort for Shakspeare from his deep learning to quote the first line of Mantuan. At the mature age of ten he could probably have done very much better than when he came to supply *Holofernes* with tags from grammar school classics. We may very well, therefore, expect to find other traces of Mantuan in Shakspeare's work.

Mantuan in the first eclogue presents his monkish idea of how a young man ought to conduct himself in honest love leading to the fortunate "exit" of marriage. Young William apparently reversed the model which Mantuan set him, though he did make a very youthful exit into marriage. We must thus score a failure against Mantuan on this eclogue. Nor did Shakspeare take warning from the second eclogue, which is "on the insanity of love," nor the third, which is the sequel, "on the unhappy 'exit' of insane love," leading to the fourth, a typically monkish diatribe "On the nature of women," along the line of *mulier, hominis confusio*. Elizabethan boys were supposed to learn about women from Mantuan, but I have found nothing to indicate that they profited greatly from the lesson. Theoretically, these eclogues should have been a good antidote to possible wrong ideas the boys may have gained from any insufficiently inoculated passages in Terence. But in interest Mantuan could have been no match for the dramatist. And then there is ever-busy Satan! The fifth eclogue

<sup>24</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 76-77.

laments the sad state of the poet. The sixth deals with a comparison of town and country. The seventh deals with the conversion of youths to religion. The eighth with the religion of rustics. The ninth with the avarice of the Roman curia. The tenth with the contention between the observants and the nonobservants of the Carmelite order.

If anyone has accused Shakspeare of having used anything save the single quotation from good old Mantuan, I have failed to find the accusation;<sup>25</sup> but I must myself prefer at least one charge. Shakspeare has also used items found in the notes of Badius, which always accompanied school editions of Mantuan. A close parallel with Persius Shakspeare should at least have met in these notes. Laertes says of Ophelia,

Lay her i' the earth:  
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh  
May violets spring!<sup>26</sup>

As Steevens noted,<sup>27</sup> Persius uses the same figure,

è tumulo, fortunataque favilla  
Nascentur violae?<sup>28</sup>

Now Mantuan had said of a hypothetical burial,

Tunc omnis spargatur humus, redolentia sarta  
Texite, quae circa tumulum, supraque iacentem  
Componantur heram.<sup>29</sup>

Badius pointed out that this was an ancient superstition, and quoted in full the passage from Persius, together with others from Juvenal, Martial, Ovid, and Tibullus in illustration.

After he had mastered this passage and the notes, Shakspeare should have known how to conduct a Renaissance, classical-pastoral funeral. So like that of Mantuan's heroine, Ophelia's grave is strewn with flowers.

Sweets to the sweet: farewell!  
[Scattering flowers.  
I hoped thou shouldst have been my Hamlet's wife;

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps Mustard's parallels between eclogue six and Shakspeare's song of winter at the end of *Love's Labor's Lost* should be considered an accusation (Mustard, *Mantuanus*, p. 138). Miss Dorothy Deanne Bennett in a master's thesis upon *A Study of Parallels Between Mantuan and Shakespeare* (Illinois, 1938) has placed these particular parallels and still others into their framework to make it perhaps probable that Shakspeare is following the literary pattern which Mantuan here set him in grammar school.

<sup>26</sup> *Hamlet*, V, 1, 261-263.

<sup>27</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. VII, p. 478.

<sup>28</sup> Persius, Satire I, 39-40.

<sup>29</sup> Mantuan (London, 1580), pp. 23v-25r.

I thought thy bride-bed to have deck'd, sweet maid,  
And not have strew'd thy grave.<sup>30</sup>

And Persius in the notes supplies the wish that from her unpolluted flesh violets may spring. If it had not been for that touch from the notes of Badius, we should never have known Shakspeare's source, as probably he himself did not know it. As a boy of ten or so, he had been forced to absorb this information, and as a man he found effective use for it. After all, the agony he must have suffered from most of Mantuan was well worth while.

A dozen lines forward, Mantuan had observed,

Signa, tamen vultus fallacia, sub cute molli  
Mens fera, sub blanda sunt corda immania fronte.<sup>31</sup>

Badius had paralleled with Juvenal,

Frontis nulla fides. Quis enim non vicus abundat  
Tristibus obscoenis?<sup>32</sup>

Through Juvenal, the idea became a common-place of the Renaissance, and is used by Shakspeare to coin for himself a famous passage. Duncan says of Cawdor:

There's no art  
To find the mind's construction in the face.<sup>33</sup>

Directly from Juvenal, from Mantuan, and in numerous other ways this sentiment was well spread in grammar school circles. For instance, Christopher Johnson in the 'sixties used it for a dictate at Winchester, "Vere cecinit Satiricus: fronti nulla fides . . . frons, oculi, vultus persepe mentiūtur . . . sunt quos si oris specie indices, homines valde bonos existimes," etc. (165v). Shakspeare may or may not have been conscious of the ultimate source of this grammar school sentiment and of the channels through which it had reached him, but he should at least have met it in Mantuan, if he had not done so before.

Shakspeare's reference to "art,"<sup>34</sup> however, shows that he is stating this negative in terms of an equally famous positive. For instance, Erasmus says of the *exordium* of an epistle that when an orator is speaking to one whose prejudices he does not know, he can observe the expression of the face and change his approach accordingly, but

<sup>30</sup> *Hamlet*, V, 1, 266-269.

<sup>31</sup> Mantuan (London, 1580), pp. 25r and v.

<sup>32</sup> Juvenal, *Satire* II, 8 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Macbeth*, I, 4, 11-12.

<sup>34</sup> We have already seen that "construction" is another term of art, in the framework of still another Ciceronian *sententia*; see above, pp. 589-90.

"cùm epistola semel reddita, neq; fronti legentis possit obsecundare." A marginal note reads "Frons index animi."<sup>36</sup> Erasmus gives it as a principle of art that the face is the index of the mind,<sup>36</sup> and that consequently by watching the face the orator can read the mind.<sup>37</sup> Duncan in *Macbeth* denies this art. Juvenal had said "frontis nulla fides," and Duncan agrees to this principle, but he states his negative in the words and the setting of the positive statement as a rule of art. Since Shakspeare knew the positive rule, he might very well have caused Duncan to express his disillusionment by negating the rule without ever having heard of Juvenal or Mantuan. This passage in Erasmus could readily have been the shaping source for Shakspeare's expression of this rule of art. At least, it must be evident that this rule of art and its negative were hard to escape in grammar school circles. And we now know the literary connotations of Duncan's speech as well as its denotations, which is the really important thing.

But to return to our main theme, it would seem clear that this particular passage in Mantuan had made some lasting impression upon Shakspeare. This lyric, sentimental passage of the love-stricken swain is exactly the kind of thing we should expect to appeal to the future author of *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Romeo and Juliet*, etc. The ten year old boy was probably already father to the man. Witness also his early marriage and the surrounding circumstances.

In another passage, Mantuan versifies the seven stages of drinking, the fifth being the fighting stage; and Badius further elucidates.<sup>38</sup> Cassio reaches the fighting stage about according to schedule, though the number of his drinks is not made fully clear.<sup>39</sup> But Shakspeare probably had this information both from tradition and through observation before as a ten-year old boy he reached Mantuan.

Of course, Mantuan has exerted himself to use as many classical allusions as possible, and Badius has been equally enthusiastic in explaining them at length. Numerous items of Shakspeare's classical information should have been first acquired from Mantuan, and later reinforced from numerous other sources. Incidentally, Badius expects that the boys will be reading the Proverbs of Solomon about the same time with Mantuan,<sup>39a</sup> and we have already seen that these

<sup>36</sup> Erasmus, D., *Opus De Conscribendis Epistolis* (Coloniae, 1563), p. 114.

<sup>37</sup> He calls Cicero, Ovid, Virgil, and Terence as witnesses under *Vera fronte* (*Adagia*, (Baale, 1574), p. 828). <sup>38</sup> Cicero had said "imago animi vultus est, indices oculi" (3 *De Oratore*).

<sup>39</sup> Mantuan (London, 1580), pp. 77r and v.

<sup>39</sup> *Othello*, II, 3, 29 ff.

<sup>39a</sup> Mantuan (London, 1580), p. [38]r.

proverbs were sometimes required in the lower school. While, therefore, Shakspeare could poke good-natured fun at Mantuan as a poet—and that deservedly—, yet it is clear that Mantuan did contribute something to Shakspeare's own education as a poet. If one could endure Mantuan for the necessary length of time, it would doubtless be profitable to make a detailed study of the information and ideas common to him and Shakspeare.<sup>40</sup> One would pretty certainly find other nuggets such as the Ophelia passage.

As to Palingenius, another of this group of moral poets, at least two of Shakspeare's most famous speeches derive from him. In October 1853, a communication to *Notes and Queries* (pp. 383–384) from Dublin signed Arterus quoted sections from Palingenius, though without identifying the author, and asked which was the original, Shakspeare's "All the world's a stage" or this. Arterus underscored certain passages in the Latin as especially close to Shakspeare, and in the quoted passages I shall insert these underscorings. In 1909, a publication by William Theobald identified the author of the Latin passage as Palingenius.<sup>41</sup>

Under "Scraps" in *The New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1877–9, p. 471, is quoted from Googe's translation, ed. 1588, p. 99,<sup>42</sup> the section from Palingenius which we shall consider first below, with quotation also from a similar passage. The passage is offered only as a parallel, without comment; but even so constitutes an identification. In the meantime, Dr. Br. Nicholson in *Notes and Queries* for August 20, 1881, had asked for parallels from the Fathers to a passage in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*. His query was headed, "All the world's a stage."<sup>43</sup> Correspondents furnished several parallels.<sup>44</sup> On December 9, 1881, Dr. Nicholson brought before the New Shakspeare Society the parallel to *As You Like It* in Withals. Dr. Furnivall then claimed the parallels published in the *Transactions* for 1877–9 from Googe's Palingenius.<sup>45</sup> Whether anyone saw that the Withals extract was from Palingenius does not appear. Professor Foster Watson in his summary of Palingenius had placed a note on the beginning of this passage, "This recalls 'All the World's a stage'."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See reference to Miss Bennett's thesis, above, p. 649.

<sup>41</sup> Theobald, W., *Classical Element*, p. 278.

<sup>42</sup> The Library of the University of Illinois has a copy of the edition of 1588 which has penciled annotations, apparently by Dr. Furnivall.

<sup>43</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 6 S IV, p. 148.

<sup>44</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 6 S IV, p. 311.

<sup>45</sup> *The New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1880–2 (December 9, 1881), pp. 9–11\*.

<sup>46</sup> Watson, *Zodiacus Vitae*, p. 51n.

Here are three independent identifications of Palingenius as the source for Shakspeare's passage.

In the meantime, a fourth identification had been prepared for. Douce had in 1807 recorded a short passage in *The Little Dictionarie* of Withals as being parallel to the first lines of Shakspeare's passage,<sup>47</sup> but Douce's identification failed to propagate itself, and Withals had not given the name of the author of the passage. Early in my studies, I came across the passage in Withals independently, and located its source in Palingenius. It was thus somewhat irksome to discover later that this prize identification had been made at least thrice before, but had each time failed to enter the tradition. Now that the identification has at least four times been independently made, let us hope that it will become generally known. Here is another illustration of the fact that it is still utterly impossible to locate without long search what has already been done upon Shakspeare.

We may now begin with the first section of the passage in Palingenius and do our best to get this identification established once and for all. Palingenius writes,

*Si rectè aspicias, vita haec est fabula quaedam.  
Scena autem mundus versatilis histrio & actor,  
Quilibet est hominum, mortales nā propriè omnes  
Sunt personati, & falsa sub imagine, vulgi  
Praestringunt oculos: ita diis risumq; iocumq;,  
Stultitiis, nugisq; suis per secula praebeant.*<sup>48</sup>

Barnaby Gooze had published a translation of this book, the sixth, in 1561, which was several times reprinted. His translation of this passage runs:

Wherefore if thou dost well discern  
thou shalt beholde and see  
This mortall lyfe that here you leade  
a Pageant for to bee  
The diuers partes therein declared  
the chaunging world doth shoue  
The maskers are eche one of them  
with liuely breath that blow.  
For almost euery man now is  
desguised from his kinde

<sup>47</sup> Douce, Francis, *Illustrations of Shakspeare, and of Ancient Manners* (1807), Vol. I, pp. 299-300.

<sup>48</sup> Marcelli Palingenii, *Stellati Poetae Doctissimi, Zodiacus vitae. Hoc Est. De Hominis Vita, Studio, ac moribus optimè instituendis Libri XII.* (Londini, 1574, personal), p. 177.

And vnderneath a false pretence  
 they sely soules doe blinde.  
 So moue they Goddes aboue to laugh  
 wyth toyes and trifles vayne,  
 Which here in Pageāts fond they passe  
 while they do life retayne.<sup>49</sup>

Googe is thinking of the masquers in a pageant, and so would not have suggested to Shakspeare that all the world is a stage. He has adapted the figure of Palingenius to a more dignified one.

Before we proceed further, however, it should be noticed that Palingenius is himself enlarging upon a borrowed idea. His work was completed after 1528, and first printed in 1531.<sup>50</sup> In 1524, Vives had published his *Satellitium* dedicated to the uses of Princess Mary of England. In this collection, Vives writes,

87 Comoedia, uita humana.

Est enim ceu ludus quidam, in quo unusquisq; agit personam suam. Danda est opera, ut moderatis affectibus trāsīgatur, nec cruenta sit catastrophe, aut funesta, qualis solet esse in tragoedijs: sed laeta, qualis in comoedijs.<sup>51</sup>

I take it that the "uita humana. Est enim ceu ludus quidam" of Vives becomes in Palingenius, "vita haec est fabula quaedam." Palingenius has simply expanded the heading and the first sentence of Vives into half a dozen lines. Palingenius is either using this part of Vives directly, or he is using some source which Vives has himself closely followed. The *Polyanthea* (under *Vita*) attributes the passage to the authorship of Vives himself.

Palingenius has, however, from some source worked in also another statement, "Scena autem mundus versatilis," which has been located as early as Democritus, who was born upward of five centuries before Christ.

‘Ο κόσμος σκηνή· ὁ βίος πάροδος·

ἡλθες, εἶδες, ἀπῆλθες

This is the statement which Sir Edmund Chambers puts on the title page of his *William Shakespeare*. So this is at least a kind of grandfather of part of Shakspeare's famous speech. I do not know whether this fragment of Democritus would have been directly available to Palingenius either in the original Greek or in Latin translation, or whether he could have read it in the Greek. But Palingenius has

<sup>49</sup> Googe, B., *The Zodiaks of Life* (1565, copy in University of Illinois Library), pp. S 4r and v.

<sup>50</sup> Graesse, *Treſor*, Vol. V, p. 106.

<sup>51</sup> Vives, *Opera* (1555), Vol. II, p. 101.

given an exact translation of the first section of Democritus, with an adjective, "versatilis," added, whether he got it directly from Democritus or not. This translation he had inserted in the figure as found in Vives.

Palingenius then continues to expand Vives, who had written "in quo unusquisq; agit personam suam." Palingenius phrases the idea as

histrio & actor,  
Quilibet est hominum.

He proceeds to carry out this figure in three lines and a half on the deceitfulness of this show, using "personati" under the influence of the "personam" of Vives. Whether these lines are in other respects any more original than are the first two and a half I have not troubled to find out, since Shakspeare did not use them.

An excerpt from the passage of Palingenius appears in the *Little Dictionarie* of Withals, and was there noted in 1807 by Douce.<sup>52</sup>

—*vita haec est fabula quædam*  
*Scena autem mundus versatilis, histrio & actor*  
*Quilibet est hominum.*

This life is a certaine enterlude or playe, the world is a stage ful of change euery way, Euerye man is a player, and therein a dealer.<sup>53</sup>

The reader will remember,

All the world's a stage,  
And all the men and women merely players.<sup>54</sup>

Now Shakspeare is not using the excerpt in Withals, for he translates "mortales . . . omnes Sunt personati" as "all the men and women merely players," whereas this statement does not get into the excerpt, which ends with "histrio & actor Quilibet est hominum," translated "Euerye man is a player, and therein a dealer." Shakspeare's translation of "Scena autem mundus versatilis," as "All the world's a stage," is close to the translation in Withals, "the world is a stage ful of change euery way," but I suppose one translating into English simply and directly could hardly have used other words than "the world is a stage." I believe it is clear, therefore, that Shakspeare does not borrow from the passage in Withals, which occurs first in the edition of 1584, and is there marked with Fleming's sign to indicate that he had added it. It appears, therefore, that the passage was

<sup>52</sup> Douce, *Shakspeare* (1807), Vol. I, pp. 299-300.

<sup>53</sup> Withals, John, *A Shorte Dictionarie in Latine and English* (London, 1584, personal), p. [15]r. <sup>54</sup> *As You Like It*, II, 7, 139-140.



not added to *Withals* till after Shakspeare had left grammar school, though if he later taught, the edition of 1584 might well have fallen into his hands before he got translated from a teacher into an actor. But, as we have seen, he appears not to have used this excerpt in *Withals* at all. Nor have I found the passage quoted elsewhere. We seem, therefore, to be forced back to the original as Shakspeare's probable source. Since Palingenius was third-form work, a fitting companion to good old Mantuan, there is no difficulty involved.

It should be noticed, however, that the passage in *As You Like It* (spring and summer 1600), while it is the most specific, yet is not the first occurrence of this figure. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Antonio had said,

I hold the world but as the world, Gratiano;  
A stage where every man must play a part,  
And mine a sad one.<sup>66</sup>

Incidentally, "where every man must play a part" is a good translation of Vives "in quo unusquisq; agit personam suam," whether Shakspeare knew Vives or not! In *2 Henry IV*, Northumberland had said,

let order die!  
And let this world no longer be a stage  
To feed contention in a lingering act.<sup>67</sup>

It is supposed also that when in 1599 Shakspeare and his fellows named their new-built theater the Globe they had this idea in mind. If so, Shakspeare, at least, has been kind enough to tell us specifically both before and after exactly what his idea was; that which Vives and Palingenius were supposed to impress upon schoolboys. Were the name and motto—the *impresa*—Shakspeare's idea? What more likely?

It has been alleged indeed that the motto at the Globe was of a slightly different form. Steevens claimed to give from an alleged manuscript volume by Oldys, "Verses by Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, occasioned by the motto to the Globe Theatre—*Totus mundus agit histrionem*."<sup>67</sup> But

C. M. Ingleby (*Ce.* 410) thinks that the jottings on the t.p. of the Langbaine are evidence that Oldys wrote the verses on the basis of Petronius Arbiter, *Fragmenta* (ed. Burmann 673), "quod fere totus mundus exerceat

<sup>66</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, 1, 77-79.

<sup>67</sup> *2 Henry IV*, I, 1, 154-156.

<sup>67</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 278.

histrionem," and suggests that Steevens dishd them up as Jonson's and Shakespeare's.<sup>58</sup>

At least, this highly suspect motto was not Shakspeare's. When Shakspeare saw Hercules and his load, the sign of the Globe no doubt, he thought of Palingenius—or Vives.

Here we may pause to notice a significant set of circumstances. There is some likelihood that in his first year or two in school Shakspeare had met this idea of the world as a stage in the *Satellitium* of Vives, since that work was at times used for elementary work upon Latins in grammar school, and since Shakspeare, as we have just seen, appears to translate the sentiment in *The Merchant of Venice*. If Shakspeare had previously been forced to operate on this passage from Vives as a Latin, that exercise would have caused the corresponding passage to stand out in Palingenius when Shakspeare came to that author; and Vives and Palingenius would in turn have caused Ovid's parallel passage which we shall soon examine, to impress itself upon him. Apparently, the quotation from Palingenius was inserted too late in Withals to have its effect in this cumulative process, but the reader will see how one of these school sentiments keeps recurring till the sensitive schoolboy could hardly do otherwise than wreak vengeance upon expression.

Now another significant fact emerges. Palingenius follows his stage-figure immediately with a description of the evils man endures, to the conclusion that every age has its own evils. Palingenius is modelling upon Ovid, who had written,

Nostra quoque ipsorum semper requiêque sine ulla  
Corpora uertuntur: nec, quod fuimúsue, sumúsue,  
Cras erimus, fuit illa dies, qua semina tantùm,  
Spêsque hominum primae materna habitauimus aluo.  
Artifices Natura manus admouit: & angi  
Corpora uisceribus distentae condita matris  
Noluit, éque domo uacuas emisit in auras.  
Editus in lucem iacuit sine uiribus infans:  
Mox quadrupes, ritúque tulit sua membra ferarum.  
Paulatímque tremens, & nondum poplite firmo  
Constitit, adiutisque aliquo conamine neruis.  
Inde ualens, uelóxque fuit spatíumque iuuentae  
Transit, & emeritis medij quoque temporis annis

<sup>58</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 276. See Munro, *Shakspeare All. Bk.*, Vol. II, p. 373. Burton's reference to "a new comedie of errors" might show that the motto was connected with the Globe in his mind (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 282).

Labitur occiduae per iter decliue senectae.  
 Subruit haec aevi, demoliturque prioris  
 Robora: flétque Milon senior, cùm spectat inanes  
 Illos, qui fuerant solidarum morte ferarum  
 Herculeis similes, fluidos pendere lacertos,  
 Flet quoque, ut in speculo rugas conspexit aniles  
 Tyndaris, & secum, Cur sit bis rapta, requirit.  
 Tempus edax rerum, túque inuidiosa uetustas  
 Omnia destruitis, uitiatáque dentibus aevi  
 Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte.<sup>59</sup>

But into Ovid's sketch of life, Palingenius has woven a lengthy figure from St. Chrysostom involving several of these ages.

Pelagus enim est late longeq; protensum haec uita: & quemadmodum in mari uniuerso sinus diuersi, alijs atq; alijs tēpestatibus cōmouentur praecipue: uelut Aegeū uentis exasperatur, Toronus propter angustias & Carybdis: quae Libyen uersus propter stagna syrtis & breuia, Pontus magnitudine fluctuū atq; impetu: Hispanicus oceanus, quia inuius carentia portuum & locorū ignorantia intricatus, difficilis nauigātibus est: similiter alij alijs de causis: sic & in uita nostra fieri uidemus, Nam primum in ea pelagus, statim uidere licet puerum aetatis cōditione, quae multis ac magnis procellis exagitat, tum quia mens imbecilla est, tum quia nulla firmitate adhuc roboratur, sed huc atq; illuc flectit. Quapropter paedagogos illi, & magistros praeficimus, ut defectus naturae diligentia suppleat, ueluti & in nauigando gubernatoris artificio maris asperitas superatur. Adolescentium fluctus pueritiae succedunt, qui uehementioribus sicut Aegeum pelagus exagitantur cōcupiscentiae uentis: quae quidē aetas quanto magis correctione indiget, tanto minus instruitur, non solum quia magnis turbationum fluctibus caeditur, uerumetiam quia peccantes non redarguuntur, cum & magister & paedagogus subtrahantur magnitudine tempestatis, cum maiore turbine uenti spirant, & gubernator sit imbecillior, nemoq; alius tutor assit, atq; defensor. Virilis tertium locum aetas occupauit quam rerum omniū dispensatio maxime urget, quando uxor, nuptiae, procreatio prolis, familiae gubernatio, & in mentem plurimae curae, innumeraeq; ueniunt, quando auaritia, & inuidia maxime uigēt. Si igitur unumquanq; partem aetatis cum naufragiis praetuehimur, quomodo hanc uitam transibimus?<sup>60</sup>

St. Chrysostom furnishes to Palingenius the theme of the evils of life which these ages are to illustrate, as well as some materials for the ages themselves. He also furnishes the scheme of the ages, "sex aetates esse uoluit, id est, infantiam, pueritiam, adolescentiam, iuuentutem, grauitatem & senectutem."<sup>61</sup> So Palingenius begins with the "infans," who becomes a *puer*, and then a "iuuenis," to whom the

<sup>59</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (Lyons, 1566), p. 390.

<sup>60</sup> St. Chrysostom (Basle, 1530), Vol. III, p. 445. Matthew, Homily LXXXII.

<sup>61</sup> St. Chrysostom (Basle, 1530), Vol. II, p. 504.

characteristics of *adolescentia* are added. Then succeeds a "grauior . . . aetas," followed by "rugosa senecta." While Palingenius does not enumerate the ages, yet the successive terms make it clear that he is following the system of St. Chrysostom. He should, therefore, have had six ages, but lumps *adolescentia* with *iuuentus*.<sup>62</sup> Into this scheme of ages, Palingenius weaves the materials from Ovid and St. Chrysostom, as probably also from others whom I have not happened to locate. But these are his chief sources.

Palingenius writes,

Iā mala quae humanū patitur genus, adnumerabo.  
*Principio* postquā è latebris malè olentibus alui  
 Eductus tandem est, materno sanguine foetus,  
*Vagit, et auspicio lachrymarum nascitur infans:*  
 Vt puto, quae mala sit vita haec, quā plena periclis,  
 Natura monstrante videt: sic per mare longum  
 Mercator facturus iter, terretur, & alto  
 Pectore dat gemitus, metuēs scopulos, freta, vētos,  
 Naufragium, occursus piratarum, omnia demū  
 Terribilis quaecunq; tenet discrimina pontus,  
 Vix natus, iam vincla subit, tenerosq; coërcet  
 Fascia longa artus, praesagia dira futuri  
 Seruitij, quis enim liber? sunt legibus omnes  
 Subiecti: necnon & regibus, & vitiis, &  
 Iudicii hominum, seruit quoque quilibet vltrò  
 Spe pretij, faciendo aliquid, vel fortè coactus.  
 Omne aīal postquam natū est, subitò ambulat, & quò  
 Cunq; liber graditur: non sic homo: tēpore longo  
 Non pedibus, non ore valet, non mente: sed instar  
 Vocalis statuae, solis vagitibus omnem  
 Nocte dieq; domum vexat, turbatq; quietem.  
 Post vbi iam valido se poplite sustinet, & iam  
 Ritè loqui didicit, tunc seruire incipit, atque  
 Iussa pati, *sentiq; minas ictusq; magistri,*  
 Saepè patris matrisq; manu fratrisq; frequenter  
 Pulsatur: facient quid vitricus atque nouerca?  
*Fit iuuenis, crescunt vires:* iam spernit habenas,  
 Occluditq; aures monitis, furere incipit, ardens  
 Luxuria atque ira: & temerarius omnia nullo  
 Consilio aggreditur, dictis melioribus obstat,  
 Deteriora fouens: *non ulla pericula curat,*  
 Dummodò id efficiat, suadet quod caeca libido:  
 Rixatur, nec iura timet, cerebrosus & exlex.  
 Nempè agitur furiis iuuenū pars maxima: pauci  
 Quos fraenat metus, aut pudor, aut prudētia, recto

<sup>62</sup> So does Withals, John, *A shorte dictionarie for yonge beginners* (1568), pp. T3r and v.

*Tramite sinceram ducunt sine labe iuuentam.*  
*Succedit grauior, melior, prudentior aetas,*  
 Cumq; ipsa curae adueniunt, duriq; labores:  
 Tunc homo mille modis, studioq; enititur omni  
 Rē facere, & nūquam sibi multa negotia desunt.  
 Nunc peregre it, nunc ille domi, nūc rure laborat,  
 Vt sese, vxorem, natos, famulosq; gubernet,  
 Ac seruet, solus pro cunctis sollicitus, nec  
 Iucundis fruitur dapibus, nec nocte quieta.  
*Ambitio hunc etiam impellens, ad publica mittit*  
*Munia:* dumq; inhiat vano malē sanus honori,  
 Inuidiae atq; odij patitur mala plurima: deinceps  
*Obrepiť canis rugosa senecta capillis,*  
 Secum multa trahens incommoda corporis, atque  
 Mentis: nam *vires abeunt, speciesq;, colorq;:*  
*Necnon deficiunt sensus: audire, videre*  
*Languescunt, gustusq; minor fit:* denique semper  
 Aut hoc, aut illo morbo vexantur, *inermi*  
*Manduntur vix ore cibi, vix crura bacillo*  
*Sustentata meant:* animus quoque vulnera sentit.  
*Desipit, & longo torpet confectus ab aeuo.*  
 Ergo suis subiecta malis est quaelibet aetas.<sup>63</sup>

Googe renders the passage thus:

Now wil I here declare and tel  
 of man the mischeues al  
 Assone as he from mothers wombe  
 with bloud embrued doth cral,  
 He strayghtway cries, and weping luck  
 him brings to wretched life,  
 For seing wel by nature shewde  
 the cares and bytter strife  
 Wherwith this mortall life abounds.  
 So depe with groning winde  
 The marchant sighes, and feares as oft  
 as he doth cal to minde  
 The perils great that ships are in,  
 the force of Pirats hand,  
 The boystrous windes, & raging Seas,  
 with rockes and drenching sand.  
 Then by and by but scarce yet borne  
 him binding bonds do holde,  
 And straight his tender ioynts and lims  
 the swadling clothes do folde:  
 As tokens yll of bondage great  
 that he in time must weare,

<sup>63</sup> Palingenius (London, 1574), pp. 178-180.

For who is free? lawes, kings & crimes  
haue al thing subiect here,  
And eche man serues for hope of gayne  
or els wyth force constraýnd.  
Al beastes as sone as they are bred  
with lymmes are straight sustaynd.  
And walke abroad immediatly,  
where man is nothing so,  
But long his mouth and minde he lacks  
and strength of limmes to go.  
Much like a sounding picture made  
with crying neuer styll  
Disturbing al men night and day  
with voyce and waylings shrill.  
And when on limmes he stiffer stands,  
and words can wel pronounce  
Then bound he is, and suffers threates,  
then maisters on him bounce,  
With lashing strypes, and ofte his syre,  
oft mother on him layes,  
Sometime his brothers buffets flye,  
sometime his stepdames frayes,  
With blowes not few that stepsyre giues  
and when this age is past  
Then lusty youth approching cōmes,  
and strength increaseth fast.  
Now from his mouth he shakes the bit,  
now councel none he heares,  
He rageth now with furious mode,  
and burnes in youthful yeares,  
With rage and riot runnes he mad,  
and rash without aduise,  
No counsell will he take therein,  
but wytty sawes despise.  
No daungers now he doth esteme  
so he the thing obtayne  
Whereto lasciuious lust him moues  
and force of wilful brayne.  
Neglecting lawes he brawles & fyghtes  
and braynsicke runnes astray,  
The greatest parte of youth are now  
with surfets led away.  
A fewe whome feare, or shamefastnesse  
or wysdome doth restrayne,  
Their youthfull dayes vprightly leade  
and voyd of vicious stayne.  
Now grauer age and wiser cōmes,  
and cares with hir she brings,

And labours hard, then toyles the man  
     about a hundred things,  
 And al the meanes he can he sekes  
     his liuing to prouide,  
 At home he neuer ydle stands,  
     but here or there must ride,  
 In towne, or else at felde he works  
     with labour great and payne,  
 His wife, his children and his men  
     wherby he may sustayne.  
 Alone for al he careth then,  
     he tastes no daynty meate,  
 Nor quiet sleepes, but forward nowe  
     him driues ambition great  
 And giues him rule in common wealth,  
     where while for honours hie  
 The foole doth gape, he malice doth  
     and mischieues great come by.  
 Then wrinkled age wyth hoary hayres  
     encrocheth in apace  
 The body fades, the strength abates,  
     the beauty of his face  
 And colour goes, his senses fayle,  
     his eares and eyes decay,  
 His taste is gone, some sicknesse sore  
     frequenteth him alway,  
 Scarce chawes his meate his tothlesse chaps  
     scarce walks w<sup>t</sup> staffe in hand  
 His coked old vnweldy limmes,  
     whereon he scarce may stand.  
 The minde likewise doth feele decay,  
     now dotes he like a childe,  
 And through his weake and aged yeres  
     is wisdom quite exilde.  
 Eche age therefore his mischiefe hath,  
     but mischiefes more there be,  
 That doth belong to euery age  
     to al of eche degree.<sup>64</sup>

Ovid had preceded the passage which we have quoted above with a comparison between life and the four seasons, where spring was treated as the *puer*, summer as the *iuuenis*, autumn as the middle age between the *iuuenis* and the *senex*, and finally winter as the *senex*. In his notes, Micyllus pointed out that this is the Pythagorean system,

<sup>64</sup> Googe, *Palingenius* (1565), pp. [S5r-S7r].

ita ex Pythagorę sententia, quatuor sunt hominis aetates. Pueritia quae uiginti annos implet. Adulescentia uiginti. Iuuenta uiginti. Senectus uiginti. Pueritia autem ueri similis uidetur. Adulescentia aestati. Iuuenta autumnno. Senectus hyemi.<sup>65</sup>

Incidentally, this is the system which has caused so much discussion through labeling Gilbert Shakspere on February 3, 1612, as *adoles-cens*.<sup>66</sup> Since Gilbert was above forty-five, the clerk had actually stretched his term by five years in this system; but that should not trouble, since the clerk probably had only his impression to go upon and had not searched his records to be certain. As a matter of fact, "Cic. calls himself, at the time of his consulship, *i.e.* in his 44th year, *adolescens*, and so often."<sup>67</sup> Who in the Renaissance would want a better authority than Cicero? But to return to Micyllus, the terms used in his comparison of the ages in the Pythagorean system to the seasons are not wholly those of Ovid, as the reader will see, and Regius had then stated Ovid's system somewhat more correctly.

After Ovid has made his comparison of life with the four seasons, he then describes the flow of life from the *infans* to the end. He is now using a different system, and not emphasizing the stages. It will be noticed that in this description Ovid presents life as a continuous evolution; (1) man is born, (2) learns to crawl, (3) to stand alone and walk, (4) passes through youth, (5) into middle life, (6) lapses down the declivity, (7) into old age. In fact, Ovid distinguishes seven stages, though he does not enumerate them. As we have seen, Palingenius takes the scheme of St. Chrysostom, which demands six ages; but, probably under the influence of Ovid, he gets only five. Ovid's first two stages are forced by the influence of St. Chrysostom into one. Ovid's third stage and St. Chrysostom's second are fused as *pueritia*. But Ovid now gets his revenge, for Palingenius omits St. Chrysostom's *adolescens*, or rather fuses it with youth as Ovid had done. Palingenius then makes two periods more of life as St. Chrysostom had done, not three as Ovid. But neither Ovid nor Palingenius formalizes these stages by enumerating them. Ovid presents the flow of life over these seven stepping stones. Palingenius then with the help of St. Chrysostom eddies or stagnates around five of them. It remained for Shakspere to divide these periods into seven, and give them formal enumeration according to the traditional seven ages of his day.

<sup>65</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (1556), p. 320.

<sup>66</sup> Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> White, J. T. and Riddle, J. E., *A Latin-English Dictionary*, *adolescens*.



Shakspere would doubtless have been aided in this process by Susenbrotus, who gives as an illustration of *Gradatio*,

Itē Ver propellit aestas, aestatem excipit autumnus, autumnus succedit hyems. Item pueritiam excipit adolescentia, adolescentiam iuuentus, iuuentutem aetas uirilis, uirilem aetatem senectus, senectutem mors, mortem immortalitas.<sup>68</sup>

The conjunction of the seasons and the ages shows that Susenbrotus is adapting and Christianizing Ovid. We shall see that Shakspere pretty certainly had suffered the conventional drill on Susenbrotus, and that he appears to have knowledge of the particular definition which these examples illustrate.<sup>69</sup> Susenbrotus has omitted the *infans*, but then has the *puer*, *adolescens*, *juvenis*, *aetas virilis*, *senectus*, which he Christianizes with *mors*, and *immortalitas*.

These terms of Susenbrotus Shakspere would have had interpreted for him by Withals, whose dictionary he should early have memorized. There he should have learned under "ages,"

The age before a childe can speake, *Infantia, tiae. Infans, tis, dicitur qui nondum fari coepit. Vnde infantulis & infantule, quod est infantis . . .*

Childhood, *Pueritia, tiae . . .*

The age fro. xiiij. to. xxj. *Dicitur adolescentia, tiae. Etiam iuuenta, tae, iuuentus, iuuentutis . . .*

From. xxj. vnto. xl. *Dicitur virilitatis, tatis.*

After .xl. to .l. or .lx. *Dicitur senectus, tutis, vel senecta, ctae . . .*

The laste age, *Senium, nij.*<sup>70</sup>

Thus Withals uses almost exactly the same scheme of terms as does Susenbrotus. Similarly, in Pelegromius, *Synonymorum Sylva*, which was prepared as a text for English grammar schools in 1574, Serranus in an address to the Reader *De Synonymis* gives the seven ages thus, Item homo ab aetate infans, puer, adolescens, juvenis, vir, senex, decrepitus. Sic adolescens dicitur Ephebus, et puella, nubilis, apta, matura viro.

Here are the terms of Withals exactly, except that *decrepitus* is substituted for *senium*, and the *adolescens* and the *juvenis* are not equated as a single age.

John Ferne in 1586 uses exactly these seven divisions and sets age limits upon them as Withals had done.<sup>71</sup> Infancy is "The first 7. yeeres." Then comes "Puerillitye or childishe yeeres, from 7. til 14. yeeres." Third is "Yong age of adolescentia. From 14. till 20.

<sup>68</sup> Susenbrotus (1565), pp. 84-85.

<sup>69</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Withals, *A shorte dictionarie* (1568), pp. T3r and v.

<sup>71</sup> Ferne, John, *The Blazon of Gentrie* (1586), pp. 169 ff.

yeeres." Fourth, "Lusty green youth from 20. till 30. yeeres." Fifth, "Virillity or mans age, From thirtie yeeres, til 40." Sixth, "The age of gray heares, called *cana senectus*." Seventh, "Decrepit or crooked old age." Thus Ferne splits the period from twenty-one to forty into two ages, and so gets seven as in Shakspeare instead of six as in Withals.

In Withals, the first two ages are not given definite periods, but the third occupies from fourteen to twenty-one, and it will appear that this is approximately the period set by Shakspeare for this third age. By using the term infant, Shakspeare shows that the first age is to him *infantia*, as in Withals. The second age is to him *pueritia* as in Withals and Susenbrotus, for Holofernes addresses the schoolboy Moth as *pueritia*.<sup>72</sup> But to Armado Moth is also a "tender juvenal," the next age in Withals above *pueritia* being both *adolescentia* and *iuuentus*. Moth is, therefore, probably near the border line, which Withals sets at fourteen. Susenbrotus makes *adolescentia* and *iuuentus* separate periods. The next age in both Susenbrotus and Withals is *virilitas*, and Withals dates it as twenty-one to forty. Then both follow with *senectus*, which Withals sets at forty to fifty or sixty. Susenbrotus ends with death, but Withals permits *senium* to intervene before death and immortality. It will be noticed that Withals has seven terms for the ages, but that two, *adolescentia* and *iuuentus*, are equated. Withals, therefore, should have given Shakspeare through these definitions a pattern by which to interpret Palingenius, Ovid, and Susenbrotus in grammar school.

These grammar school authors are following other authorities, of course, in the use and definitions of their terms. The seven ages were attributed to Hippocrates. For instance, the *Polyanthea* under *Aetas* states these ages thus,

Hippocrates (sicuti libro de die natali prodit Censorinus) septē aetatis constituisse gradus deprehenditur. Ac primum quidē anno septimo terminasse: secundum, quartodecimo: tertiū, duodeuicesimo: quartum, tricesimoquinto: quintum, duodequadrigesimo: sextum sexagesimoprimum: septimum ad vitae coronidem protendit.<sup>73</sup>

But somewhat different bounds are at times assigned to these ages.

Hippocrates makes the first period to terminate at seven years; the second, at fourteen; the third, twenty-eight; the fourth, thirty-five; the fifth forty-seven; the sixth, fifty-six; the seventh and last no definite time, as of course.

<sup>72</sup> Love's Labor's Lost, V, 1, 52.

<sup>73</sup> Nannus Mirabellus, D., *Polyanthea Novissimarum Novissima* (Venice, 1622, personal), p. 48 (under *Aetas*).

Proclus differs in the number of years assigned to each period, and thus divides the term: infancy, four years; childhood, fourteen; adolescence, twenty-two; young manhood, forty-two; mature manhood, fifty-six; old age, sixty-eight; decrepid age, eighty-eight.<sup>74</sup>

On this background, we can trace Shakspeare's terms and periods for the seven ages. The first two ages, as we have seen, are known to Shakspeare as *infantia* and *pueritia*, as in Withals. The third is known to him as *iuventus* and *adolescentia*, as in Withals. We have seen that the schoolboy Moth was both *pueritia* and "tender juvenal." Elsewhere Shakspeare has set a period to this third age,

I would there were no age between sixteen and three-and-twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest; for there is nothing in the between but getting wenches with child, wronging the ancients, stealing, fighting.<sup>75</sup>

Here the original reads ten and has been emended to sixteen. Evidently a teen has been read as ten, and we are thrown back on general principles to determine which teen. The end of Shakspeare's period for youth is twenty-three. This is the term set by Proclus for *adolescentia*, and one year more than that set by Withals for *adolescentia* or *iuventus*, which was fourteen to twenty-one. Lily's grammar defines *adolescens* as "a stripling from twelve to one and twenty." So Proclus, Lily, and Withals make it reasonably certain that Shakspeare's teen was thirteen, not sixteen. At least, Shakspeare's term for the third period is *iuventus* or youth, to which *adolescentia* is joined by Withals, this being also the term used by Proclus; and the type for this third age is the youthful, adolescent lover. So far Shakspeare is conforming to the scheme of Withals and Proclus, but a bit more nearly to Proclus in the third period than to Withals.

But both *adolescentia* and *iuventus* were frequently extended far beyond the limits set by Withals. It will be noticed that Withals speaks of his fourth age as *virilitas* and sets the limits as twenty-one to forty. Both Ovid and Palingenius speak of the stage which Shakspeare has divided into the third and fourth as that of the *iuuenis*. This age is thus described in *Polyanthea* from Varro,

<sup>74</sup> Waller, J. G., *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1853, pp. 494-495. Primaudaye prefers six ages, as in Isidorus, which he further adapts to contemporary conditions (La Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (1586), pp. 563-564). For a recent collection of some of the "scientific" opinion on the ages of man in Shakspeare's day, see Draper, J. W., "The Old Age of King Lear," *J. E. G. P.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 528 ff. For further references on the "seven ages" see Allen, D. C., "Jacques' 'Seven Ages' and Pedro Mexia," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. LVI, pp. 601-603. Perhaps one should mention Scaliger, J. C., *Poetices* (1561), p. 20b, as another summarizer of the seven ages.

<sup>75</sup> *Winter's Tale*, III, 3, 59-63.

*Iuuenes . . . ad annos quinque & quadraginta, quibus inde appellatio facta, quia in bellicis vsibus Reip. adiumēto forent.*<sup>76</sup>

Or as a modern dictionary defines it,

A young person whether of the male or female sex (between seventeen and forty-five or forty-six years of age . . . One of the age most serviceable for military duties.<sup>77</sup>

Proclus had separated adolescence and young manhood as Shakspeare does, and we have seen that Shakspeare takes the limits set by Proclus for adolescence. Cooper would also have reinforced this interpretation by his definition of *adolescentia* as, "Yonge age, youth: from .12. to .21." Shakspeare has thus taken *adolescentia* to be the term for this age and *iuentus* for the next age, as do all these grammar school authorities except Withals. And as the *adolescens* becomes the adolescent lover, so the *iuentus* becomes the soldier. Proclus sets the limits for the *iuenis* as twenty-three to forty-two. Shakspeare makes clear that for him young manhood, succeeding the lover, begins at three and twenty, but he does not give a definite date for its ending. Before three and twenty Shakspeare's own church records as a lover were complete, and about that date he came as a young man to London to seek his fortune.

It will be seen that through this fourth age Proclus and Withals approximate each other, but that in the slight differences Shakspeare follows Proclus. Withals has but two more ages, *senectus* from forty to fifty or sixty, and *senium* as the last age. But Shakspeare and Proclus have three more ages, inserting what Proclus calls mature manhood and delimits as forty-three to fifty-six, to precede old age. The *senex* in Proclus is from fifty-seven to sixty-eight, and *senium* from sixty-nine onward. We shall see that these are approximately Shakspeare's terms and times, but we may best examine them on the background of Ovid and Palingenius.

Shakspeare causes material in Palingenius to conform to these seven stages of Proclus. These general categories, along with the pattern of Ovid and the specific materials of Palingenius together produce Shakspeare's seven ages. Fortunately, we happen to know that Shakspeare was acquainted both with the passage in Ovid and that in Palingenius by the time he came to write *As You Like It*. We have just demonstrated his knowledge of the immediately preceding lines

<sup>76</sup> Mirabellus, *Polyanthes* (Venice, 1522), p. 48.

<sup>77</sup> White and Riddle, *Latin-English Dictionary*, *iuenis*.

in Palingenius. The passage from Ovid he had already more than wrung dry.<sup>78</sup> Now he compresses to his purpose its expansion by Palingenius.

In Ovid, the infant lies helpless. While Palingenius in some twenty lines of figure suggested by St. Chrysostom admits that the infant cannot walk, and has no strength in feet, tongue, or mind, yet to use Watson's summary of the situation, "He howls day and night." Shakspeare phrases it,

At first the infant,  
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.

The puking is Shakspeare's expert addition.<sup>79</sup>

Ovid says that the infant next crawls, and then learns to walk "nondum poplite firmo." Palingenius omits the crawling, but says "iam valido se poplite sustinet," and among other things that he "sentitq; minas ictusq; magistri." It is this phrase which catches Shakspeare's attention as characteristic, to become,

And then the whining school-boy, with his satchel  
And shining morning face, creeping like snail  
Unwillingly to school.

Palingenius has supplied the suggestion that the unwilling and buffeted schoolboy is the second stage, but the description of the school-boy, except his whining, is wholly Shakspeare's. Palingenius, however, is not the originator of the basic idea here, but St. Chrysostom. That holy man had begun with the wavering boy, and had pointed out that he needed pedagogues and masters to supply the defects of his nature. So it was St. Chrysostom who started Shakspeare's boy to school; but it was Palingenius who subjected him to threats and blows, and thus caused him to go whining.

Ovid says that the boy acquires celerity and passes through the stage of youth. Palingenius agrees at length, pointing out among other characteristics his *luxuria*, and *caeca libido*, as well as that he "furere incipit," "agitur furiis," "non vlla pericula curat," "rixatur." Shakspeare splits these characteristics to get two ages. This he must do to follow his pattern of the seven ages. It will be noticed that this pattern has already caused what were three stages in Ovid to become two in Shakspeare's summary of Palingenius. We have seen also how

<sup>78</sup> See Chapter XLII and further publication.

<sup>79</sup> With three infants so close together, Shakspeare doubtless had some vivid impressions of that stage.

the pattern of the ages suggested the lover for the third stage, and the soldier for the fourth. So Shakspeare splits the characteristics which Palingenius had developed around the fourth stage of Ovid into two ages.

And then the lover,  
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad  
Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier,  
Full of strange oaths and bearded like the pard,  
Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,  
Seeking the bubble reputation  
Even in the cannon's mouth.

The suggestions for details of the two types are in Palingenius, but the portraits are Shakspeare's.

At this point Horace begins to suggest some coloring to the ages. In *De Arte Poetica*, Horace had insisted that the dramatist must fit the manners of his characters to their ages.

aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,  
mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.  
reddere qui voces iam scit puer et pede certo  
signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram  
colligit ac ponit temere et mutatur in horas.  
imberbis iuvenis, tandem custode remoto,  
gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine Campi,  
cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,  
utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,  
sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix.  
conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis  
quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,  
commisisse cavet quod mox mutare labore.  
multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod  
quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,  
vel quod res omnis timide gelideque ministrat,  
dilator spe longus, iners avidusque futuri,  
difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti  
se puero, castigat censorque minorum.  
multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,  
multa recedentes adimunt. ne forte seniles  
mandentur iuveni partes pueroque viriles,  
semper in adiunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 156-178. "You must note the manners of each age, and give a befitting tone to shifting natures and their years. The child, who by now can utter words and set firm step upon the ground, delights to play with his mates, flies into a passion and as lightly puts it aside, and changes every hour. The beardless youth, freed at last from his tutor, finds joy in horses and hounds and the grass of the sunny Campus, soft as wax for moulding to evil, peevish with his counsellors, slow to make needful provision, lavish of money, spirited, of strong

It will finally appear that Horace's passage as interpreted in the notes of Lambinus has strongly colored Shakspeare's later ages. Horace ends the characteristics of his young man thus

sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix.

#### Lambinus notes

Sublimis] elatus, & ferox. sic. Aristot. . . id est, *Et ambitiosi quidem sunt, sed magis vincendi cupidi. praestantiam enim, excellentiamque expetit aetas florens: at victoria, excellentia quaedam est.*

Also,

Et Am. Relinq. Pern.] sic Aristot. eodem lib. . . id est, mutabiles autem sunt, & in cupiditatibus satietate, ac fastidio citò afficiuntur, & cum vehementer concupiscunt, tùm celeriter concupiscere desinunt.<sup>21</sup>

Here in Horace's passage and Lambinus' notes is more than a suggestion for Shakspeare's soldier, though one can hardly point out a specific contribution.

Ovid alludes next to completing middle life. Palingenius, elaborating upon St. Chrysostom, speaks at length of this graver age, mentioning among other things that,

Ambitio hunc etiam impellens, ad publica mittit  
Munia, etc.

Shakspeare lays hold on this as characteristic.

And then the justice,  
In fair round belly with good capon lined,  
With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,  
Full of wise saws and modern instances;  
And so he plays his part.

Again, the suggestion of the type is in Palingenius, but the portrait is Shakspeare's.

And again Horace is in parallel. He points out that as the man grows older, "inservit honori," on which Lambinus notes, "studet

desires, but swift to change his fancies. With altered aims, the age and spirit of the man seeks wealth and friends, becomes a slave to ambition, and is fearful of having done what soon it will be eager to change. Many ills encompass an old man, whether because he seeks gain, and then miserably holds aloof from his store and fears to use it, or because, in all that he does, he lacks fire and courage, is dilatory and slow to form hopes, is sluggish and greedy of a longer life, peevish, surly, given to praising the days he spent as a boy, and to reproving and condemning the young. Many blessings do the advancing years bring with them; many, as they retire, they take away. So, lest haply we assign a youth the part of age, or a boy that of manhood, we shall ever linger over traits that are joined and fitted to the age." (Fairclough, *Horace* (Loeb), pp. 463-465).

<sup>21</sup> Lambinus, D., *Horace* (1567), Vol. II, p. 363.

ambitioni: in studio honorum occupatus est.”<sup>82</sup> The phraseology could have suggested “Jealous in honour” for the soldier. But the general description of this ambitious age, together with further characteristics of the *senex* give the Justice, Shakspeare’s fifth age, though again one can hardly point to any specific contribution.

Ovid says that man next rushes down the steep path toward old age. Palingenius says wrinkled old age brings white hairs with many ills of body and mind, since strength, shapeliness, and color decay. So Shakspeare says,

The sixth age shifts  
Into the lean and slipper’d pantaloon,  
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,  
His youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide  
For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,  
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes  
And whistles in his sound.

Ovid gives as the last state Milo weeping at his senility and Helen at her wrinkles. Palingenius says the senses grow deficient, hearing, seeing, tasting. The old man is diseased, cannot chew, can barely hobble, his mind grows feeble, etc. Shakspeare sums this up neatly.

Last scene of all,  
That ends this strange eventful history,  
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,  
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing.

Here Palingenius has suggested most of the details; Shakspeare has given them effective phrasing and presentation.

But the fifth, sixth, and seventh ages all owe considerable to Horace’s *senex*. The *senex* is among other things, “castigator censorque minorum,” which being added to the ambitious seeker of honors gives the Justice

With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,  
Full of wise saws and modern instances.

Horace’s general statement on declining years Lambinus annotates thus,

Vel Qvòd Qv. Et Inv. & c.] magnum hoc in primis, & graue senectutis incommodum, & ad quaerendum omni studio incumbere, & ab vtendo abhor-rere.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Lambinus, *Horace* (1567), Vol. II, p. 363.

<sup>83</sup> Lambinus, *Horace* (1567), Vol. II, p. 363.



So Shakspeare's sixth age has "pouch on side," and "His youthful hose well saved."

But it is the seventh age which preserves the most significant touch. Lambinus notes,

*anni venientes appellātur ab Horatio, vsque ab incunabulis ad corroboratam, & mediam aetatem: recedentes autem vsque à media aetate ad rogam. comoda porro accipio, florem aetatis, velocitatē, vireis corporis, pulchritudinē, hilaritatem, bonam valetudinē, sensus integros, ac vegetos: quae omnia ferē adimit hominibus senectus, atque in eorum locum reponit rugas, & canitiem, pedum tarditatem, infirmitatem, ac debilitatem, deformitatem, tristitiam, morbos, caecitatem, surditatem, obliuionem, stuporem, & cetera mala.*<sup>84</sup>

The reader should notice the climactic position of *obliuionem* in Lambinus' string of evils and in Shakspeare's increasing defects to "mere oblivion." Shakspeare from some source had procured this climactic pattern. I believe it is clear that Horace has given considerable coloring to the last ages, but that it was the restatement of Lambinus in his note which caused Horace's picture to stick in Shakspeare's mind.

But for the last three stages the pattern of Ovid was in the ascendant, not that furnished in the divisions of Hippocrates, although the pattern of Proclus would coincide nicely with the stages of Ovid. It seems clear that Shakspeare's divisions of the seven ages come from Proclus rather than directly from Hippocrates. But it was Ovid's pattern of declining years which caused Shakspeare to pick out these elements from Palingenius.<sup>85</sup> As we shall see, Shakspeare had already developed Ovid's idea of "*occiduae senectae*."<sup>86</sup> That idea now gives Shakspeare the period of maturity, the decline into senility, and senility, these stages corresponding to the periods set by Proclus. Palingenius suggested appropriate materials for presenting these ages as he elaborated on the background of Ovid.

It will be seen that Shakspeare is compressing Palingenius almost back to Ovidian brevity. Ovid was general, lacking concreteness. Palingenius had concrete elements in his vast diffusiveness. So Shakspeare collected such of the concrete elements as he needed out of the diffusiveness of Palingenius and put them into the Ovidian framework of brevity—for once. With the aid of the traditional seven ages

<sup>84</sup> Lambinus, *Horace* (1567), Vol. II, p. 364.

<sup>85</sup> Unless, indeed, Shakspeare had some form of the Hippocrates formula which had already been shaped in this direction.

<sup>86</sup> See Chapter XLII and further publication.

and the artistic pattern of Ovid, he shaped materials from Palingenius into one of the most famous passages in all literature.

Palingenius had said all the world is a stage and had immediately after given at length the different ages of man, but he had not carried his figure through the ages. It was Shakspeare who did that,

They have their exits and their entrances;  
And one man in his time plays many parts,  
His acts being seven ages.

It is Shakspeare who has shaped and adapted the materials to the pattern of the seven ages, and it is this shaping and adapting which is the important thing. The world has been quickly enough content to forget the original materials as presented by Palingenius.<sup>87</sup>

Professor Watson has also located in Palingenius the dim aura of another equally famous and far more beautiful passage in Shakspeare. The passage in Palingenius runs,

Ast vbi vita semel tenues defecit in auras,  
Nil sumus, vt nondū geniti nil prorsus eramus.

Quaeli[b]et orta cadunt, & finem coepta videbunt.  
Ingentes vrbes, populósque, ingentia regna,  
Supremos montes, & maxima flumina, tandem  
Aufert longa dies: at tu vilissima puluis,  
Semper eris? tanta est modicae fiducia mentis?  
Neinpe laboramus frustra, virtutis amore,  
Somnia sperando, & vanas fingēdo Chimaeras.<sup>88</sup>

Palingenius represents this as being the argument of Epicurus, but he has used ideas and illustrations which Ovid had employed in the fifteenth book of *Metamorphoses* to present the ideas of Pythagoras.<sup>89</sup>

Professor Watson translates the passage thus,

But when once our life has faded into thin air, we are nothing, as if we had not been born . . . whatsoever things have arisen fall: what things have begun will see an end. Mighty cities and peoples, powerful realms, the highest

<sup>87</sup> It may be well to attach another English treatment of the subject.

*Hominum Aetates.*

In cunis infans sine sensu, & mente recumbit,  
Indè puer leuitate sua bona tempora perdens,  
Post adolescentis temeraria cernitur aetas,  
Et ruit in luxum iuuenis, vir captat honores,  
Quaerit opes senior, magnos & cogit acervos.  
Vulnera naturae sunt haec inimica nouercae.

(Haddon, W., *Poemata* (1567, personal), p. 83).

<sup>88</sup> Palingenius (London, 1574), p. 52.

<sup>89</sup> See Chapter XLII and further publication

mountains and the greatest rivers, time bears away, and shalt thou, vilest of dust, exist for ever? So great is the confidence of an ill-equipped mind. Forsooth, we labour in vain in the love of virtue, by hoping dreams and by inventing vain chimaeras.<sup>90</sup>

Googe had rendered the passage thus:

For when that once our vitall breath,  
is faded cleane away:

No more we be than first we were,  
before our natall daye.

All things begonne shall haue an ende,  
nothing remaineth styll.

Both cities great, and mighty men,  
and vastye realmes withall:

The hautiest hylles and greatest fouds  
doth time at length let fall.

And thinkest thou (O fading dust)  
for euer to remaine?

Is hope of minde with thee so great?  
we trauaile but in vaine.

In trusting dreames for vertues sake,  
and fayning fansies strange.<sup>91</sup>

Professor Watson remarks, "This passage calls to mind Shakespeare's *Tempest*," and then quotes *Tempest*, IV, 1, 152-158. But the relationship is specific, and begins a few lines earlier.

These our actors,  
As I foretold you, were all spirits and  
Are melted into air, into thin air:  
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,  
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve  
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep.<sup>92</sup>

We should notice first that it was not from Palingenius that Shakspeare got the fundamental idea of connecting his actors with this dissolving pageant of dreams. In some way, this idea reached Shakspeare from St. Chrysostom, with whom it was a favorite, apparently at least thrice repeated in slightly differing phraseology.

<sup>90</sup> Watson, *Zodiacus*, p. 34.

<sup>91</sup> Googe, *Palingenius* (1565), pp. [E6r and v].

<sup>92</sup> *Tempest*, IV, 1, 148-158.

Fabula quaedā est, & somniū vita: sicut enim in scena aulæo sublato varietates dissoluuntur, & omnia coruscante luce somnia auolāt: ita nūc quoque cōsummatione veniēte tam cōmuni, qua vnus cuiusque, omnia dissoluuntur & euanescent.<sup>93</sup>

Nec secus se habet haec vita, quā somnium aliquod, ac scena: qua sublata rerum illae omnes varietates dissoluuntur. Itēque radiante sole tolluntur insomnia. eodē pacto cū finis tam cuiusq; vnus *quam* cōmunis omniū venerit, resoluta cuncta euanescent.<sup>94</sup>

Yet again,

Scena quaedam est uita nostra atque somnium. Sic enim in scena sublato uelamine, uana illa soluuntur. Et somnia, ubi solis illuxit radius, abuolant omnia: ita & modo consumptione propinqua, & omnium, & singulorum cuncta soluuntur, atque euanescent.<sup>95</sup>

This last passage appears in various quotation books with the same wrong reference, and I have not located it in the works.

St. Chrysostom says that life is as it were a play and a dream, for as on the stage when the curtain is closed the shifting shadows are dissolved, and as with the flashing light dreams are dispelled, so in the coming consummation all things will be dissolved and will vanish away. Similarly, Shakspeare's spirit actors have melted into air as all things else will dissolve at the great consummation. This life is also a dream, and is rounded with a sleep, awaiting the time when all things shall be dissolved. St. Chrysostom was recognized as an excellent source for such similitudes. As Wilson puts it,

Among the learned men of the Church, no one vseth this figure more then *Chrisostome*, whose writings the rather seeme more pleasaunt and sweete.<sup>96</sup>

Shakspeare probably did not exert himself much to come by this similitude. St. Chrysostom has in some way furnished the groundwork idea of Shakspeare's passage, which Shakspeare then proceeded to clothe with materials and phraseology from Palingenius and the Bible.

Shakspeare is impressed by the general idea of the whole quoted passage of Palingenius, and especially by the phraseology of the first two lines and the last,

But when once our life has faded into thin air, we are nothing, as if we had not been born . . . by hoping dreams and by inventing vain chimaeras.

<sup>93</sup> St. Chrysostom (Paris, 1581), Vol. V, p. 322 C; (Basle, 1530), Vol. IV, p. 567.

<sup>94</sup> St. Chrysostom (Paris, 1581), Vol. V, p. 731 C.

<sup>95</sup> Alardus Aemstelredamus, *Selectae Aliquot Similitudines* (1539), p. 235.

<sup>96</sup> Wilson, *Rhetorique* (1909), p. 190.

Under this influence, Shakspeare's actors "melted into air, into thin air," and human beings become,

such stuff  
As dreams are made on, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep.

Both these ideas, however, are in St. Chrysostom, though the first takes on in Shakspeare the phraseology of Palingenius and Virgil,<sup>97</sup> and the second also coalesces with the presentation of the former author. For St. Chrysostom had said life is a dream, and Shakspeare agrees. But the general trend of thought in the passage of Palingenius and "Somnia sperando" would inevitably have suggested death as sleep, to which life as a dream ("by hoping dreams") is a fitting prelude. This idea of death as sleep occurs interminably in the Renaissance.<sup>98</sup> Palingenius himself phrases it as,

Quidam etiam censent, animam nihil esse soluto  
Corpore, quod somnus, qui mortis fertur imago.<sup>99</sup>

Quãdoquidem somnus mortis perhibetur imago.<sup>100</sup>

Shakspeare's idea, however, is also Biblical, and Noble feels certain that there is a specific echo here of the Genevan version of *Job*, XIV, 10-12.<sup>101</sup> This passage runs,

10 But man is sicke, and dyeth, & man perisheth, and where is he?

11 As the waters passe from the sea, and as the flood decayeth and dryeth vp,

12 So man slepeth and riseth not: for he shal not wake againe, nor be raised from his slepe til the heauen be nomore.

Incidentally, Shakspeare has been blamed for the theology of his passage. Objectors should read the Geneva note,

He speaketh not here as thogh he had not hope of y<sup>e</sup> immortalitie, but as a mā in extreme peine, when reason is ouercom by affections & torments.<sup>102</sup>

The classical idea is of sleep as the image of death; the Biblical idea

<sup>97</sup> Virgil had written, "in tenuem . . . evanuit auram" (*Aeneid*, IV, 278; IX, 658), which Palingenius had imitated as "tenuis deficit in auras." Some have thought that Shakspeare was echoing Virgil directly. These "common phrases" are very difficult to allocate to exact source.

<sup>98</sup> See, pp. 591, 705, etc.

<sup>99</sup> Palingenius, *Zodiacus* (1574), p. 233.

<sup>100</sup> Palingenius, *Zodiacus* (1574), p. 253.

<sup>101</sup> Noble, Richmond, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge*, p. 251; cf. *Measure for Measure*, III, 1, 17-19. I do not know why Noble thinks the echo is of the Genevan version, but he is probably correct, in view of the further echoes.

<sup>102</sup> The Bishops' version has essentially the same note.

is that death is sleep. Here the classical idea has suggested to Shakspeare the Biblical.

The illustrations of Pythagorean flux which Palingenius inserts as the heart of his passage suffer a characteristic transmutation. Patriotic Shakspeare could not, and politic Shakspeare dared not suggest that this powerful realm of England would pass away. Instead it is the symbols of rule, "The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces" in their proud pageantry which shall fade and leave no rack behind. Then "the highest mountains and the greatest rivers" become "the great globe itself." The "mighty cities and peoples" become the Biblical "all which it inherit"; that is, all those who inherit the earth. The echo is of *Matthew* V, 5, which reads in the Geneva of 1560, "Blessed *are* the meke: for they shal inherite the earth."<sup>103</sup> What would Shakspeare have thought of the critic who, not understanding his allusive figure, wanted to emend the passage to make the earth do the inheriting! Shakspeare next makes a comparison with the precedent pageant, and draws to his conclusion.

So, "The solemn temples" and the cloudy dissolution of the pageant are Shakspeare's additions—his additions, but not his invention, for Shakspeare's word "dissolve" shows that he is thinking of Isaiah's magnificent figure, as rendered in the Genevan version, "And all the hoste of heauen shal be dissolued, and the heauens shal be folden like a boke."<sup>104</sup> A side-note in the Genevan version would have informed Shakspeare, "He speaketh this in respect of mans iudgement, who in great feare & horrible troubles thinketh that heauen & earth perisheth." And all this is threatened to the "enemies to the Church," "The solemn temples." All Shakspeare's materials, therefore, are from Palingenius and the Bible, and are woven into the framework idea of St. Chrysostom.

The passage was not a bad one in Palingenius; in Shakspeare, words fail. The fundamental materials are from Palingenius, but Shakspeare with the aid of St. Chrysostom's idea and of figures he remembers from Job and Isaiah has thrown a light upon them that never was on land or sea. To have inspired two such passages as Palingenius has done in Shakspeare is very great honor for any man.

<sup>103</sup> The Bishops' version is the same. Two other passages in the King James translation (*Psalms* XXV, 13; XXXVII, 11) could have influenced the phraseology, if that version had not been too late.

<sup>104</sup> Isaiah, XXXIV, 4 (Geneva, 1560). St. Chrysostom had also used the word "dissoluntur."

This theme of the vanity of human aspirations takes on a phraseology in Palingenius just five lines further down from the preceding passage which reminds us inevitably of Falstaff's speech on honor.

Fama quid est, si nil delectat fama sepultos?  
What is fame, if fame delights not the dead?

That is the thought which gives Falstaff pause concerning honor, "'Tis insensible, then? Yea, to the dead." Palingenius, it will be remembered, is presenting the vanity of human beings in desiring perpetuity. Following the preceding passage, he continues:

Stulti sunt, qui pro certis incerta sequuntur:  
Et qui p dubijs, quae sunt manifesta, relinquūt.  
Dulcia sed remanent longaeuae praemia famae.  
Hoc certè nil est, cùm tu post funera nil sis.  
Fama quid est, si nil delectat fama sepultos?  
Quid lapis, aut stipes, laudum praeconia curant?  
Si non laetaris viuens, laetabere nunquam.<sup>105</sup>

Googe had rendered the passage thus:

That be but fooles that things assured,  
for vnassurde will chaunge.  
Forsakyng thing assertainde here,  
with doubtfull things to meete:  
But yet of olde, and auncient fame,  
rewardes remaineth sweete.  
Of little force this nothing is,  
when death hath had his right:  
Thou nothing art, for what is fame,  
yf it doe nought delight?  
The corps in graue, what doth y<sup>e</sup> stone  
or stocke reioice in prayes?  
If here thou hast not them, thou shalt  
haue neuer happy dayes.<sup>106</sup>

Similarly, Falstaff catechizes on honor. Hal as a parting shot has reminded him, "Why, thou owest God a death." This thought does not appeal to Falstaff.

'Tis not due yet; I would be loath to pay him before his day. What need I be so forward with him that calls not on me? Well, 'tis no matter; honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on? how then? Can honour set to a leg? no: or an arm? no: or take away the grief of a wound? no. Honour hath no skill in surgery, then? no. What is honour? a word. What is that word honour? what is that honour? air. A trim reckon-

<sup>105</sup> Palingenius (London, 1574), p. 52.

<sup>106</sup> Googe, *Palingenius* (1565), p. [E6v].

ing! Who hath it? he that died o'Wednesday. Doth he feel it? no. Doth he hear it? no. 'Tis insensible, then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? no. Why? detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon: and so ends my catechism.<sup>107</sup>

If this passage in Palingenius stood alone, we should be obliged simply to consider it as a parallel. But since it is in connection with a passage which Shakspeare is known to have used in detail, I believe we are entitled to feel certain that he got here at least part of his idea for Falstaff's catechism upon honor—the idea and some suggestion for the phraseology of the heart of the idea. It is true, of course, that the borrowing in the *Tempest* is much later than that in *Henry IV*, but the knowledge which enabled Shakspeare in both cases to borrow doubtless went back to grammar school days.

Palingenius would have given Shakspeare a great deal of information of sorts on moral and religious matters.<sup>108</sup> He aimed at covering the whole zodiac of life; as the subtitle puts it, "that is, concerning the life of man, study, and the inculcating morals in the best way." He wrote verse with facility, though he overworks some cacophonous phrases, as "sine fine" (borrowed from Ovid). I suspect Shakspeare would have found him more interesting than either Mancinus or Mantuan; though there is no indication that Shakspeare had any enthusiasm for any of these Christian writers, or for their kind.

But Shakspeare's contemporaries were quite enthusiastic about Palingenius.<sup>109</sup> They demanded at least four English-printed editions in the 'seventies alone, and one of Googe's translation. In fact, Palingenius appears to have been about equally in demand with Mantuan himself, and both are mentioned by Gabriel Harvey<sup>110</sup> in 1581 as regular school authors. Palingenius was prescribed for the third form at Aldenham in 1600, and is required or recommended without allocation to form at St. Saviour's, 1562, St. Bees, 1583, and Durham, 1593. In every case of definite allocation to form Palingenius

<sup>107</sup> *Henry IV*, V, 1, 128–144. The occasion of Falstaff's catechism is doubtless to be found in the ruminations of Basilisco in *Soliman and Perseda*, V, 3, 63 ff. Shakspeare had mentioned Basilisco in *King John*, I, 1, 244.

<sup>108</sup> The interested reader may find a handy description of Palingenius in Watson, F., *The Zodiacus Vitae*. Watson is reminded of Shakspeare on several other occasions besides the two we have examined, pp. 36, 39, 40. See another probable instance Vol. II, pp. 657ff. Mr. C. B. Garrigus has collected many of these parallels in a master's thesis under my direction, *A Study of the Parallels Between Shakspeare and Palingenius* (Illinois, 1938). It may be of some significance that the majority of the parallels collected are with the first six books.

<sup>109</sup> For an instance of the esteem in which Palingenius was held, see *The Diary of Mr James Melville* (Bannatyne Club, 1829), p. 16.

<sup>110</sup> See above, p. 436.



and Mantuan are required in the same form as Terence. So again if Shakspeare had either of these, he had also his Terence.

It will be seen that Shakspeare had at least his share of the "Christian poets," since he had both of the modern ones, Mantuan and Palingenius. The older ones were still in request, as shown by copies, etc., though they were not usually specified in the grammar school curricula. One remembers Dean Colet's requirement of them at St. Paul's. The esteem in which the Christian poets were still held in England in 1567 is well illustrated by the prefatory puff which John Frere wrote to Haddon's *Lucubrations*

Eloquium quis non Ciceronis laudet, & artem,  
 Quis non Nasonis nobile carmen amet?  
 Cui non Sedulius, Prudentius atq; Iuuenus  
 In pretio? Quis non scripta vetusta probet?  
 Quemlibet istorum quis non miretur? Et vnum  
 Haddonum cunctis quis neget esse parem?

In certain respects, the comparison is justified. Haddon's orations are mostly empty Ciceronics. Like the Christian poets, Haddon versified considerable portions of the Bible, more than a third of his *Poemata* being of that nature. He is supposed also to have revised the Latin translation of the Prayer Book. Ovid is introduced, of course, to keep countenance as the greatest Roman poet, not because Haddon is markedly Ovidian; not in content, at least, though there is something of Ovidian facility in the versification. Haddon has great facility in his use of Latin, both verse and prose; but where he is not versifying religious matter he is mostly much ado about nothing. And where he is versifying religious matter I, for one, prefer the originals. But he was trying to be a Christian poet, along with Sedulius, Prudentius, and Juvenus.

I find nothing to connect Shakspeare with these, but a poem which was attached to Lactantius is a chief source of *The Phoenix and the Turtle*,<sup>111</sup> and probably would have been available only in the Latin. There are numerous things in Lactantius proper which remind me strongly of Shakspeare, but I have not found yet what I regard as a certain case of Shakspeare's borrowing. But Shakspeare may very well have read Lactantius in grammar school also, as well as Mantuan and Palingenius.

It appears, then, that Shakspeare shows the conventional knowledge of the conventional authors for construction in the lower

<sup>111</sup> *T. L. S.*, June 14, 1941, p. 287.

school, the universal Cato, Aesop, Terence, and the somewhat less universal Mantuan, and Palingenius. Here again, as in his grammar, he may safely be passed through the lower school.

But before we leave constructions, it may be well to give Brinsley's summary of proper methods to be employed.

Cause your Schollers to reade first their Lecture distinctly, and construe truly: to parse as they construe, euer marking the last principall word: to shew where they haue learned euery hard word: what example euery hard word is like; so to giue rules and examples of them, both for Etymologie and Syntax, as after for the Rhetoricke, as need is. To parse of themselues, as reading a Lecture, and that onely in Latine when they come to say, except, in the very lowest fourmes: to make some marke at euery hard word, which you note vnto them, to take the most paines in those: amongst the younger specially, to examine each Lecture for the vse; whereby they may get matter, words, and phrases, all vnder one. In the highest, for speedinesse to examine onely the difficulties, as you see requisite, to let them name the rule in a word or two; to obserue phrases and Epithets. In all repetitions amongst themselues, and construing ouer their Authors, to examine ouer all the noted words, as time permits.<sup>112</sup>

Such a system of lecturing, memorizing, construing, parsing, repeating, etc. was calculated to stamp these authors indelibly upon the minds of learned grammarians. And it is clear that Shakspeare's mind had been so stamped with the conventional construes of the lower grammar school.

---

<sup>112</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 146-147.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### LOWER GRAMMAR SCHOOL: SHAKSPERE'S LATINS

THE BOYS LEARNED THE PRECEPTS from Lily's grammar and studied examples of them in Cato, Aesop, and Terence practically always, with various other possible supplements. They also proceeded to the next stage, that of imitation, as Kempe demanded, by writing Latin upon these principles. In its first stages, this writing would be of the simplest form to illustrate each time the elements of the particular rule being studied. As the grammar rules mastered became sufficiently numerous, the written illustrations became correspondingly more complicated till the "rules" shifted from grammar to rhetoric. Ideas as to the best subject matter for the elementary process of turning English into Latin varied, but one method used on Shakspeare has left its mark.

As we have seen already,<sup>1</sup> Erasmus in his *Institutio Principis Christiani* had recommended that the Prince be drilled upon Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and the Book of Wisdom from the Old Testament, upon the Gospels from the New. In 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot had agreed with Erasmus that, "The prouerbes of Salomon with the bokes of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus be very good lessons" for the "Prince," with other elements of the program of Erasmus grudgingly allowed in later years.<sup>2</sup> So about May, 1552, Sir John Cheke had urgently recommended to Edward VI the continued reading of "the New Testament, *Sapientia*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Proverbs."<sup>3</sup> Cheke had probably already had a hand in perfecting a device to impress these books upon learned grammarians everywhere in England. This device is recommended in the preface to the grammar in 1548. If it did not come from Cheke personally, at least it came from his group, and represents the sentiments of the educators surrounding the King. The preface to the edition of 1548 (Lambeth Palace) says,

A great heal[pe] to further this redynesse of makyng and speakyng shall be, [yf] the mayster geue hym an englishe booke, as the Psalter, or Salomons Prouerbes, or Ecclesiasticus, and to cause hym ordinarily to tourne euery daie a chapter into latin.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Elyot, *The Gouernour* (1531), fol. 41v; Croft, Vol. I, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, *Edward*, Vol. I, p. clx.

So these three books of the Old Testament were to be used as vulgars for the boys to turn into Latin.

Now this is the preface to the authorized grammar, which had been revised from Paul's grammar. When we get Paul's curriculum something over a century later, we see how this material was used.<sup>4</sup> For the first form, the exercise for four days a week consisted of verses from Proverbs; for the second, from the Psalms; for the third and fourth, there were continued exercises upon the Proverbs or Psalms; the fifth turned Psalms into Latin verse.<sup>5</sup> Hoole in 1660 advises the use of the Psalms and Proverbs in a similar way. The apocryphal Ecclesiasticus has been dropped, but the Psalter and Proverbs are still used, probably about as they were used in 1548, when these instructions are recorded in the preface of what had for already many years been Paul's grammar.

Later editions, except 1549, omit the specific reference to Biblical works to serve this function; but this does not mean lack of approval for them; it simply permits greater discretion in choice. We hear in 1547 that the Winchester authorities were attempting to impress some of the same sections of the Old Testament upon the boys, but by a different device. There the Warden or his deputy was to read to the boys for an hour every Sunday or holy-day the Proverbs of Solomon and Ecclesiastes.<sup>6</sup> Laurence Humphrey in 1560 thought that the nobleman should read Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and the Psalms for ethics and morality.<sup>7</sup> It will be seen that the material regularly involved is the Psalter and, "The bokes of Salomon, namely Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Sapientia and Ecclesiasticus," as a collection printed in English translation about 1544 and having at least half a dozen editions by 1551 phrases it. So also James Duport published in 1646 at Cambridge a similar school collection in Greek verse as Σολομών Ἑμμετρος, *Sive Tres libri Solomonis scilicet, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica, Graeco carmine donati*. This Solomon and pseudo-Solomon was a most highly approved source for *sententiae*. When

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In 1580, Vautrollier published an edition of Buchanan's metrical translation into Latin of the Psalms, with the *Iepthes* attached. This has the air of a schoolbook, and a copy belonging to the University of Illinois Library shows that the *Iepthes* pretty certainly has been used for school reading. One remembers Hamlet's exclamation, "O Jephthah, judge of Israel, what a treasure hadst thou!" (*Hamlet*, II, 2, 422-423). While the context makes it appear that Hamlet's particular reference is to a ballad, yet Shakspeare may well have known the story both from the Bible and from Buchanan's play. The Library has also a copy of the *Psalms* and *Iepthes* printed by Robertus Stephanus in 1580, with his name written in Greek at the top of the page.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 317.

Erasmus discusses the type in *Copia*, Veltkirchius adds, "quales sunt Solomonis vel Catonis sententiae."<sup>8</sup> One could find no better *sententiae* than those from the Bible.

This was the material upon which the boys were especially drilled. But they, of course, were also taught other sections of the Bible. Gabriel Harvey in 1581 gives the typical readings of the boys in grammar school as follows,

legunt Christi Euangelium: Praxes Apostolorum: Apocalypsin Ioannis: Parabolas, & Ecclesiastin Solomonis: Genesin, Exodum, Deuteronomium, Mosis: Paralipomena: Prophetas: Psalmos.<sup>9</sup>

Thus Harvey omits the apochryphal books, but includes the universal Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes.

Fortunately, Mr. Noble has now made a sufficient study of Shakspeare's Biblical knowledge to enable us to be certain at least of its main trends. In the Old Testament, Shakspeare knew his Genesis thoroughly.

We may leave out of account the *Psalms*—his knowledge of the Psalms, according to the Prayer Book version, will be proved in due course, with something to spare. He displays such a familiarity with *Job*, *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus*, and in later years with *Isaiah*, as can only have been acquired by reading. *Job* and *Ecclesiasticus* especially seem to have attracted his attention.<sup>10</sup>

Whether or not one agrees to all the details of proof, yet it is clear, at least, that Shakspeare was better acquainted with these sections of the Old Testament than with others.

I believe, therefore, it is clear that Shakspeare's schoolmaster followed the advice of the authorized grammar, as made specific in 1548, and began in the first year of Shakspeare's grammar school work to have him turn "an englishe booke, as the Psalter, or Salomons Prouerbes, or Ecclesiasticus" from English into Latin. Here are, no doubt, Shakspeare's "vulgars." The Psalter would, of course, also have been much reenforced by its constant use in the church service. So Shakspeare knew it unusually well—well enough to attempt to correct a supposed error of another, as Mr. Noble has shown.

We thus have left of Old Testament books Genesis, Job, and Isaiah as possible indications of Shakspeare's unforced choice. It may be well to remember here that with possible exception of Job these alleged "favorites" of Shakspeare are also included in Gabriel Harvey's list

<sup>8</sup> Erasmus, *Copia* (1566), p. 367.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, p. 436.

<sup>10</sup> Noble, *Biblical Knowledge*, p. 43.

for grammar school, published in 1581, but written in the 'seventies just when Shakspeare should have been going through this stage of his training. Presumably, therefore, Shakspeare acquired his Genesis and Isaiah in grammar school; and Job fits suspiciously well in its nature with some of the other books required. Job may indeed have been Shakspeare's undirected choice. I hope it was, since it is also a favorite of mine; but I see no proof for such a conclusion.

It seems best, therefore, to account for Shakspeare's knowledge of the Old Testament as predominantly the result of grammar school practice. And this is true whether Shakspeare got this knowledge in grammar school, or from the air. The Age had decided to emphasize these parts of the Bible as among the most important, and so drilled them at once into the boys for use in church and in life. They were thus common knowledge for those with a grammar school education. Grammar school and church service together account sufficiently for nearly, if not all, of Shakspeare's knowledge of the Bible. While he evidently had been well drilled in youth on the conventional minimum materials from the Old Testament, yet there is no evidence that he was later an assiduous reader of these sections. His knowledge is too well confined to grammar school limits to permit much individual and aggressive endeavor at any time on his part. He was no John Milton, as anyone should know who knows his Bible, his Shakspeare, and his Milton.

We have some hints also as to how the boys turned the prescribed sections of the Bible from English into Latin. We have seen<sup>11</sup> that Paul's curriculum as recorded in the latter part of the seventeenth century bases its exercises through the fifth form entirely on the Proverbs and Psalms, even requiring the boys to turn the Psalms into Latin verse for the verse themes of the fifth form when they were beginning the study of versification. Paul's boys ought to have known the Proverbs and Psalms exceedingly well. From the tone of the school, one is safe in assuming that this practice at Paul's was at least as early as the first mention of it in the authorized grammar of 1548, which had been evolved out of Paul's grammar. It should be remembered also that the practice grows out of the recommendation of Erasmus, who had assisted Colet very closely in establishing the curriculum of the school.

But however pious the practice, its lack of linguistic purity would render it anathema to the Ciceronians. So Hoole, being no ardent

<sup>11</sup> See above, pp. 119 ff.

Ciceronian compromises. He uses the Psalms and Proverbs, only as over-night exercises for a couple of forms. For the second form, he desires,

And that they may now do something of themselves by way of night exercise, let them every evening translate a verse at home out of the 119. Psalm, which I conceive is the most easie for the purpose of making the three ConCORDS, and some of the more necessary Rules of construction familiar to them. In making their Translations,

1. Let them be sure to write the English very fair and true, observing its just pauses, and let them also make the like notes of distinction in their Latine.

2. When they come to shew their Latines,

1. Let one read and construe a verse.

2. Let another tell you what part of speech every word is, as well English as Latine, and what the English Signes do note.

3. Let the rest in order give you the right Analysis of every word one by one, and the Rules of Nouns and Verbs, and of Concordance, and Construction. And because these little boyes are too apt to blur and spoyle their Bibles, and to make a wrong choyce of words out of a Dictionary, which is a great maime and hinderance to them in making Latine (and caused Mr. *Ascham* to affirm, that making of Latines marreth children) I think it not amisse to get that Psalm, and some other *Englishes* printed by themselves, *with an Alphabeticall Index of every word which is proper for its place*. Right choyce of words being indeed the foundation of all eloquence.<sup>12</sup>

Thus Hoole finds it necessary to placate the shade of *Ascham* by some pretence at safeguarding the linguistic purity of the pupils.

For the third form,

To exercise them in something (besides the getting of Grammar parts) at home, let them every night turn two verses out of the Proverbs of *Solomon* into Latine, and write out two verses of the New Testament Grammatically construed; and let them evermore take heed to spell every word aright, and to marke the Pauses, or notes of distinction in their due places, for by this meanes they will profit more in *Orthography*, then by all the Rules that can be given them; and they will mind *Etymologie*, and *Syntaxis*, more by their own daily practice, then by ten times repetition without it.<sup>13</sup>

Hoole thus proposes to use the Psalms, Proverbs, and parts of the New Testament for over-night exercises in the second and third forms. Other uses of the Bible proposed by Hoole we need not notice in this connection. Mr. Noble's showing that Shakspeare knew the Psalms complete, Proverbs, and Ecclesiasticus indicates that Shakspeare's schoolmaster was as insistent on this material as were the

<sup>12</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), pp. 52-53.

<sup>13</sup> Hoole, *New Discovery* (1660), p. 71.

masters at Paul's, and did not compromise with the Ciceronians as did Hoole. I think we know quite well what English book William Shakspeare used for vulgars to turn into Latin. This and many other indications all fit together to show that Shakspeare's training was Erasmian and not Ciceronian.

It is interesting also to notice the English versions of these books of the Bible which Shakspeare evidently used. Mr. Noble makes it clear that for the Psalter Shakspeare naturally used the Prayer Book. The books of Solomon are prevailingly from the Bishops' Bible, as is quite natural for Shakspeare's schooldays, since the Bishops' came out in 1568, and was printed in quarto till 1584. In summing up in general Shakspeare's use of the different translations, Noble says,

From a perusal of these two lists of the principal Genevan and Bishops' quotations it will be perfectly clear that Shakespeare used both versions, in the earlier plays the Bishops' rather than the Genevan and in later years more of the Genevan. It is improbable that in many of the instances Shakespeare was indebted to attendance at church for his knowledge of the Bishops', for many of the passages concerned do not occur in chapters read on Sundays. He might have owned one of the Bishops' quartos, the last of which, so far as is known, was issued in 1584.<sup>14</sup>

For the school exercise on the Books of Solomon, the Bible of the master or of the school would have sufficed, and it is not necessary to assume that Shakspeare himself at that time owned a copy.

*Ecclesiastes* is clearly from the Bishops'.<sup>15</sup> *Ecclesiasticus* is also prevailingly from the Bishops' translation,<sup>16</sup> but Shakspeare shows some knowledge of the Genevan.<sup>17</sup> *Sapientia* or *Wisdom* shows only one significant passage, but it is for the Bishops'.<sup>18</sup> *Proverbs* alone of the books of Solomon gives indication for the Genevan as well as the Bishops'.<sup>19</sup> Thus the facts hang together to indicate that Shakspeare had the Bishops' version of the books of Solomon used upon him for his Latins in grammar school. Later we shall see some indication that for the study of the New Testament in the last years of grammar school Shakspeare had occasion to use the Genevan version. Conceivably, this might also account for the use of the Genevan on *Proverbs*. But it is to be expected that later reading and hearing might add to or modify the studies of Shakspeare's youth.

<sup>14</sup> Noble, *Biblical Knowledge*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>15</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 640ff.

<sup>16</sup> Noble, *Biblical Knowledge*, pp. 172, 184, 225.

<sup>17</sup> Noble, *Biblical Knowledge*, pp. 247-248; see Vol. II, p. 638.

<sup>18</sup> Noble, *Biblical Knowledge*, p. 130.

<sup>19</sup> Noble, *Biblical Knowledge*, pp. 67, 137, 169.



Thus the boys might make their first Latins directly out of the Bible, and it seems clear that Shakspeare did so. A second practice was of similar nature. In the Eton system, specifically at Eton, Ruthin, Westminster, the *Ad Sapientiam* of Vives was required in the first form; in the second at Norwich, in a form unspecified at Shrewsbury. This work was originally in Latin, but had by 1540 been put into English translation by Richard Morison, to whom Ascham was later secretary; and had a sixth known edition in 1564. It consisted of five hundred and ninety-two moral sentences on the conduct of life. It was thus a fit companion to Cato. The masters could and did use the English translation of this moral collection upon the boys as vulgars to be turned back into the Latin of Vives. This was supposed to be good for the morals of the boys, whatever might be true of their Latinity. I find nothing to suggest conclusively that this collection was used on Shakspeare. Surviving mentions seem to indicate that the work was rather peculiar to the Eton system. It is probably significant here, too, that Morison, the translator of the collection, is said to have been an Eton boy. Shakspeare seems, therefore, to have had the Paul's system of vulgars rather than that of Eton.

According to the instructions to the grammar, this work of turning English into Latin should have been accompanied also by the process of turning some collections from Latin to English. The *Introductio Ad Sapientiam* of Vives might have served for both purposes. Prince Edward had "thinges of the Bible" and the *Satellitium* of Vives. Apparently, he had used sections of the Bible for English to Latin and the *Satellitium* of Vives for Latin to English.<sup>20</sup> The *Satellitium* was dedicated to the use of Princess Mary in 1524. Did Shakspeare also use the *Satellitium* for the companion exercise? At least, Shakspeare has information which is to be found in that collection.

Vives has the germ of the idea that the world is a stage. He writes, 87 *Comoedia, uita humana*.

Est enim ceu ludus quidam, in quo unusquisq; agit personam suam. Danda est opera, ut moderatis affectibus trāsīgatur, nec cruenta sit catastrophe, aut funesta, qualis solet esse in tragoedijs: sed laeta, qualis in comœdijs.<sup>21</sup>

Later, Palingenius was to take this sentiment from Vives or elsewhere and the ages of man from St. Chrysostom and Ovid. Shakspeare

<sup>20</sup> See above, pp. 205 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Vives, *Opera* (1555), Vol. II, p. 101.

then condensed Palingenius into his famous speech upon the seven ages.<sup>22</sup>

But Shakspeare seems still earlier to have translated in *The Merchant of Venice* the *sententia* from Vives when Antonio says that the world is "A stage where every man must play a part."<sup>23</sup> If one substitutes *scena* for *ludus*, and alters the form of the verb somewhat, Shakspeare gives an excellent translation from Vives. Also, Antonio continues that his part is a sad one, reminding us that Vives suggests that each one should strive to make his life a comedy not a tragedy. The fundamental idea had already been given a somewhat different turn in English by Sidney in Book II of the *Arcadia*, as Steevens noted. "She found the world but a wearisome *stage* to her, where she *played a part* against her will."<sup>24</sup> Playing a part upon the stage of the world is common to the two passages. But Antonio must play a sad part; the Lady plays against her will. The fundamental idea of the world as a stage is too widespread to indicate any connection between Shakspeare's passage and that of Sidney. The parallel with Vives is very much closer. Since Vives was used so fundamentally and so widely, it is not likely that Shakspeare's sentiment is completely independent of Vives. But this does not mean that the connection is necessarily direct, though the close translation in the same moral setting suggests that it was.

Vives presents incidentally the fable *De Manticis*, or the two bags.

169 Foris Argus, domi talpa.

In eos, qui in aliena mirè oculati sunt, ad sua caeci. Argus centoculus fuit, talpa est caeca. Fabella est de manticis apud Aesopum & Persium, quarum altera dependet ad pectus, in qua sunt aliena uitia: altera ad tergum, in qua nostra. Potest etiam dici: Domi Tiresias, foris linx.<sup>25</sup>

As we shall see,<sup>26</sup> Shakspeare uses this fable as applied by Persius. Vives might well have been the occasion of his learning it originally.

Vives also quotes in connection with another proverb one recorded in Quintilian, "Conscientia mille testes."<sup>27</sup> As we shall see,<sup>28</sup> Shakspeare from some source knew and used this proverb.

Another interesting parallel between this collection of Vives and Shakspeare is the following:

<sup>22</sup> See above, pp. 652 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Malone, *Variorum* (1821), Vol. V, p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> See below, Vol. II, pp. 544ff.

<sup>25</sup> See below, p. 713; Vol. II, p. 174.

<sup>26</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, 1, 78.

<sup>27</sup> Vives, *Opera* (1555), Vol. II, p. 106.

<sup>28</sup> Vives, *Opera* (1555), Vol. II, p. 108.

190 Cogitatus liber.

Nemo prohibere potest quenquam cogitare.<sup>29</sup>

Twice Shakspeare uses this quotation. Maria says to Sir Andrew, "Now, sir, 'thought is free'."<sup>30</sup> Again, Stephano in *The Tempest* sings,

Flout 'em and scout 'em  
And scout 'em and flout 'em;  
Thought is free.<sup>31</sup>

English uses of this proverbial expression have been noted in Gower,<sup>32</sup> in Heywood's *Proverbs*,<sup>33</sup> and in Lyly.<sup>34</sup> Skelton varies it as "Thought is franke and fre."<sup>35</sup>

These parallels with Vives indicate at least that Shakspeare is likely to have met these sentential materials throughout his grammar school career. No mysterious erudition was required on his part to acquire them. Only the first of these parallels offers evidence that Shakspeare had himself used the *Satellitium* of Vives, though this evidence can hardly be considered conclusive. Shakspeare may have used this collection to turn into English; he may have used some other.

Apparently, then, Shakspeare used the Paul's system of turning sections of the Bible into Latin, and some other collection, possibly the *Satellitium* of Vives, from Latin to English. As we have seen, Hoole knew that Ascham would hardly have approved of this "beggarly" way of making vulgars into Latins. Still other modes Ascham had also vigorously condemned, as we shall see in the sequel. So Brinsley, ardent Ciceronian and follower of the Calvinist Corderius, has quite other methods to suggest for this exercise. After Brinsley has explained the mysteries of teaching construction, he discusses next,

Of making Latine; how to enter children therein with delight and certainty, without danger of false Latine, barbarous phrase, or any other like inconvenience.

Spoudeus complains "my children will still write false Latine, barbarous phrase, and without any certainty, after a very long time of exercise."<sup>36</sup> It will be remembered that when Moth the schoolboy has been exhibiting his scholastic quibbles in disputation with Holo-

<sup>29</sup> Vives, *Opera* (1555), Vol. II, p. 108.

<sup>31</sup> *Tempest*, III, 2, 130-132.

<sup>32</sup> Spenser Society, p. 47.

<sup>33</sup> *Euphues* (Arber's ed.), p. 281; Bond, *Lyly*, Vol. II, p. 60.

<sup>34</sup> *Phyllyp Sparowe*, l. 1201.

<sup>30</sup> *Twelfth Night*, I, 3, 73.

<sup>31</sup> *Confessio Amantis*, Book V, l. 4485.

<sup>36</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 147.

fernes, Costard comments, "Go to; thou hast it ad dunghill, at the fingers' ends, as they say," whereupon Holofernes corrects him, "O, I smell false Latin; dunghill for unguem."<sup>37</sup> Shakspeare had heard that ominous phrase "false Latin" in its proper setting, doubtless many a time. Spoudeus continues a recital of his woes, claiming that he will be greatly obliged if Philoponus-Brinsley

can direct me how by that time that they haue beene not two yeeres onely, but three or foure yeeres in construction, they may be able to make true Latine, and pure *Tully* in ordinary morall matters. For I my selfe haue hardly beene able to cause my children to do this at fourteene or fifteene yeeres of age; nor then to warrant that which they haue done: neither do I thinke that it is much otherwise in our ordinary Schooles.<sup>38</sup>

That is, by the end of the third year, at the end of lower school, after two years of construction, the boys were supposed to be able to write congrue Latin; but Spoudeus says they have hardly attained this ability at the end of grammar school when they are fourteen or fifteen.

Spoudeus first describes the ordinary method of making Latin.

I haue taken that course which I thinke is commonly practised in Schooles: I haue giuen them *vulgars*, or Englishes, such as I haue deuised, to be made in Latine: and at the first entrance I haue taught and heard them, how to make euery word in Latine, word by word, according to their rules. After a while I haue onely giuen them such *vulgars*, and appointed them a time, against which they should bring them made in Latine: and at the perusing and examining of them, I haue beene wont to correct them sharply, for their faults in writing, and for their negligence; and so haue giuen then new Englishes: and it may be I haue told them the Latine to the hardest words. This is the course that I haue followed.<sup>39</sup>

Philoponus-Brinsley then describes his application of Ascham's method. The methods previously described by Spoudeus thus antedate Ascham and Shakspeare, as we have seen from other evidence.

Our learned Schoole-master M. *Askam*, doth not without cause tearme this the butcherly feare of making Latines. For to omit the trouble to the Master, and that it will require a ready wit, to giue variety of such *vulgars* to the children; and also that it will aske good learning and iudgement to direct them, to make not onely true Latine, but pure phrase with all; what a terrour must this needes be vnto the young Scholler, who feares to be corrected for euery fault, and hardly knoweth in any thing, what to make vpon sure and certaine grounds? But for the way, this I find the shortest, surest,

<sup>37</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 80-84.

<sup>38</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 147-148.

<sup>39</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 148.

and easiest both to Master and Scholler; and which will certainly effect whatsoeuer hath been said: and that Master and Scholler may proceede cheerefully and boldly, to iustifie what they do.

1. See that your Scholler be very cunning in his Accedence, and Grammar as he goeth forward; and chiefly in Nounes and Verbs, to be able to giue each case of a Noun, and euery tense and person of a Verbe; both Latine to English, and English to Latine, as I wished you, and shewed the manner before; at least by the perfect knowledge of the terminations of them.

2. Besides the construing and parsing their Lectures without booke, in the lowest fourmes, or out of the English translation, accustome your selfe, in examining the Lectures of your first enterers, to do all after the manner of making Latine; as it were causing them euery day to make the Latine of their lectures, and giue a reason why each word must be so, and not otherwise, their bookes being shut. I set you downe the manner before, in the vse of the Grammaticall rule for making Latine, in that example; *Aptissima omnino sunt*, &c. Yet to repeate you a word or two for your little ones; take that first sentence, *Amicis opitulare*: when you haue made them to vnderstand the meaning, and examined it, so as was shewed; aske but thus:

How can you make this in Latine; Helpe friends? How say you, Helpe thou?

*A. Opitulare.*

*Q. Opitulare* like what?

*A.* Like *Amare amator*, be thou loued.

So all the questions for parsing; then aske, why is it Helpe thou, and not, Be thou helped, as *Amare amator*, be thou loued. He answereth, Because it is a Verbe Deponent, and signifieth Actiue, to helpe; and not, to be helped.

After aske the next word:

*Q.* Whom must you helpe?

*A.* Our friends.

*Q.* How say you friends?

*A. Amicis.*

*Q.* What is *Amicis* like?

*A. Magistris.*

So the questions of declining and the like. Then a[s]ke, why not *amici* nor *amicos*, the Accusatiue case after the Verbe.

*A.* Because the Verb *Opitulor*, to help, will haue a Dative case, by that rule of the Dative, To profit or disprofit, &c.

These may be in stead of all vulgars or Latines, both for ease, delight and certainty to your selfe and the child: and so you may euer haue the Author to warrant both Latine, and phrase.

3. Next vnto this, that continuall beating out and reading their Authors, both Lectures and repetitions, out of the translations, is continuall making Latine thus, (as I said, in the vse of the translations) that children will come on very fast for propriety, choise, and variety of the best words, phrase, matter, and sentences of their Authors, to begin to haue a store-house in themselues of all copie, as I haue obserued.

4. After the former practised for a time, you may chuse some sentences which they haue not learned, and cause them to make those, either some out of this booke of Sentences, or any other of like easie morall matter; and then let them beginne to write downe that which they make in Latine.<sup>40</sup>

But how shall they doe for composing, or right placing of their words? which you know is a principall matter in writing pure Latine.

*Phil.* I would haue them first for a time exercised in this plaine naturall order; for this is that which Grammar teacheth: and then to compose or place finely; which belongeth to Rhetoricke, after. As first to write well in prose, before they beginne in verse: so in prose, to go vpright and strongly, before they learne to go finely; and as *M. Askam* speaketh, first to go, before they learne to dance. But for entring them into composition, thus you may do.

1 When they haue made it in the naturall order, onely reade vnto them how *Tully*, or the Author, whom their sentence is taken of it, doth place it, and some reason of his varying, and cause them to repeat both wayes, first as they haue written, after in composition.

2 After that they haue been practised a while in the former plaine manner, you may make them to doe thus: Cause their bookes to be ruled in three columnes; in the first to write the English, in the second the Latine *verbatim*, in the third to write in composition, to try who can come the nearest vnto the Author.

*Spoud.* Although I take it that I do conceiue your meaning in all, and do see an euident reason of euery thing: yet because examples do most liuely demonstrate any matter; I pray you set me downe one example hereof, and shew me what Author you thinke most fit to gather the sentences forth of.

*Phil.* In stead of your Author, I thinke and finde *Tullies* sentences the fittest; and of those sentences, to make choise of such in euery Chapter, as are most easie and familiar to the capacitie of the children. This booke I doe account of all other to be the principall; the Latine of *Tully* being the purest and best, by the generall applause of all the Learned: and because that booke is a most pleasant posie, composed of all the sweet smelling flowers, picked of purpose out of all his workes; that one booke, together with the bookes which the children haue or do learne, shall also helpe to furnish them with some sentences, containing some of the choisest matter and words, belonging to all Morall matters whatsoever; whether to vnderstand, write, or speake thereof; that they shall be able to goe forward with much ease and delight; first in it, and then in the other sentences adioyned to it, or what exercise you shall thinke fit.

For an example; take these little sentences, which heere follow, as they are set downe in the first Chapter of *Tullies* sentences, *De Deo eiusq; naturae*, dictating the words to them plainely, as the children may most readily make them in Latine. In their little paper-bookes they may write the English on the first side, with the hard Latine words in the Margent, the Latine on the other ouer against it, in two columns; the first plaine after

<sup>40</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 148-150.

the Grammar order, the latter placed after the order of the Author: your selfe may make the words or phrases plaine to them, as they are set in the Margent.

*An example of Dictating in English, and setting downe both English and Latine; and the Latine both plainly and elegantly.*

	Dictating according to the naturall order.	<i>Ordo Grammaticus.</i>	<i>Ordo Ciceronianus.</i>
a <i>Hath euer bin</i> b <i>At any time</i> (verb <i>inspiration</i> some diuine c <i>à flatus, breathing into.</i>	No man <i>a</i> hath been <i>b</i> euer great without (verb) some diuine <i>c</i> inspiration.	<i>Nemo fuit vnquam magnus sine afflatu aliquo Diuino.</i>	<i>Nemo magnus sine aliquo afflatu diuino vnquam fuit. 2. de Natura Deor.</i>
d <i>Bring to passe.</i>	There is nothing which God cannot <i>d</i> effect, and truly without any labour	<i>Est nihil quod Deus non possit efficere, &amp; quidem sine labore vllō.</i>	<i>Nihil est quod Deus efficere non possit, &amp; quidem sine labore vllō. 3. de Nat. Deor.</i>
e <i>Ignoro.</i> f <i>In what mind, or with what minde.</i>	God cannot <i>e</i> be ignorant <i>f</i> of what minde every one is.	<i>Deus non potest ignorare, qua mente quisq; sit.</i>	<i>Ignorare Deus non potest, qua quisq; mente sit. 2. de Diuinatione.</i>

In these examples all is very plaine; except that in the first sentence we say, and so translate in our English tongue, some diuine inspiration; according as it is more elegantly in Latine, the Adiectiues vsually before the Substantiues; and not inspiration some diuine, which would be very harsh; and so likewise after [without any labour] although in the Grammaticall order in the Latine, the Substantiue is to be set before the Adiectiue; as the child is to begin to make Substantiue in Latine before the Adiectiue, and to make the Adiectiues to agree vnto, or to be framed according to the Substantiues; as we haue shewed in the rules obserued in the Grammaticall translations.

If you thinke this course ouertedious to write both wayes in Latine; then let them turn it only into the naturall order, thus *verbatim* by pen: and afterwards in the repeating that which they haue made, aske of them how *Tully* would place each word, and to giue you reasons thereof; and then to reade the sentence in the booke vnto them; so by the booke and some rules to direct them how to proceede.

For further practice in translating amongst all the higher, after they grow in some good sort to write true Latine *verbatim*, according to the former kinde of translating; let them still write downe the English as you dictate it, or out of a translation; & try who can come neerest unto *Tully* of themselves, composing at the first; and then after examine their exercises, bringing them to the Author.

For preuenting of stealing, or any helpe by the Latine book, if you doubt thereof, you may both cause them to write in your presence, and also make choise of such places which they know not where to finde.

If you catch any one writing after another, and so deceiuing both himselfe and you, correct him surely, who suffereth him to steale.

For going on faster, and dispatching more in translating; beside their writing so, you may onely aske them the words or phrases in English, how they can vtter them in Latine; and then let them giue them in Latine, euery one his piece: first naturally, after, placing each sentence. Thus to goe thorow daily a side, or a leafe at a time, or as leisure will serue.

Besides these, this may be a most profitable course as they proceed, to cause them to translate of themselues *Esops Fables*, or *Tullies Sentences*, or the like, into plaine naturall English, so as was shewed; and to cause them the next day, for their exercise, to bring the same thus in English, and to be able without booke, first to make a report of it (striuing in the Fables, who shall tell his tale in best words and manner) and then to reade it into the Latine of the Author out of the English, and be able to proue it, and where they haue read the hard words. And after all these to try (if your leisure will serue) how they can report the same in Latine, either in the words of the Author, or otherwise, as they can of themselues; which all who are pregnant, and will take paines, will be able to doe very readily: by this you shall finde a great increase.

Lastly, this is yet the more speedy and profitable way of all, as my experience doth assure me, to cause them to reade *extempore* some easie Author daily, out of the translation into the Latine of the Author, or out of the Author into English; first plainly, then artificially. And to this purpose I haue translated, as I shewed, *Corderius Dialogues*, whose Latine you know to be most easie, familiar and pure; and also *Terentius Christianus*; with *Tullies* sentences to helpe hereunto.

For further translating, or turning any Author or piece of Author, or other matter into Latine; if it be difficult, direct your Schollers to resolute the speech into the naturall order of the words, so neere as they can. Secondly, if there be any phrase, which they cannot expresse; to resolute and expresse it by some other easier words and phrase of speech, with which they are better acquainted; and to doe it by Periphrasis, that is moe words, if need be. Besides, for such English words which they know not to giue Latine vnto; let them vse the helpe of some Dictionary: as *Holyoke* or *Barret*: *Holyoke* is best, wherein the proper words and more pure, are first placed.

In all such translating either English or Latine, this is carefully to be obserued; euer to consider well the scope and drift of the Author and the circumstances of the place; and to labour to expresse liuely, not only the matter, but also the force of each phrase, so neere as the propriety of the tongue will permit.

But for all this matter of translating, that practice of reading the English out of the Authors, and the Authors backe againe out of the translations, shall fully teach it, so farre as it concerneth the scholler for propriety and getting of the tongues. For translating any Latine Author into English, only to expresse the sense and meaning of it; the sense and drift of the Latine Author is principally to be obserued, and not the phrase nor pro-



priety of the tongue to be so much sought to be expressed or stucken vnto. The like may be said for the Latine. But this kind of translating into Latine, is onely for such schollers as are well groundd through long exercise and practice in the former kinde of Grammaticall translation, and in *Tullies* or their Authors phrase.

*Spoud.* I hope I vnderstand you right, and doe like very well of all, so farre as I conceiue. Only let me intreat you, as in the former, to rehearse the principall heads briefly concerning this matter.

*Phil.* This is the summe of all, for this entrance in making and writing Latine. 1 Readinesse in their rules, chiefly in examples of Nownes and Verbes. 2 Making their owne Lectures into Latine daily. 3 Continually reading or repeating Lectures and all their Authors which they haue learned out of the Grammaticall translations, into the Latine of the Authors. 4 Translating into *Tullies* Latine, out of a perfect Grammaticall translation, or as the English is so dictated vnto them, and reading or repeating the same out of the English into Latine. And lastly, out of the naturall order, into the order of *Tully*. 5 Translating into English Grammatically of themselves, and reading forth of the English into the Latine of the Author, or writing it downe.

By these meanes constantly practised, they will soone be able to make, write, or vtter any ordinary morall matter in pure and good phrase; especially if the matter be deliuered vnto them in the naturall order of the words. Make triall: and I doubt not but you will not onely confirme it, but still finde out more for the common good.<sup>41</sup>

As he himself points out, Brinsley is merely refining upon the fundamental method first directed by the Latin grammar<sup>42</sup> and then amplified by Ascham. Instead of some author for model as recommended by the grammar or manufactured vulgars as practiced by Spoudeus, Philoponus-Brinsley would substitute *Tully's Sentences*, thus agreeing with Ascham that the author should be Cicero. Brinsley then applies to these selections from Cicero the method of double translation which Ascham had avowedly adopted from Cicero himself. Brinsley is pedagogically a thorough-going Ciceronian, a matter of considerable importance with regard to Terence—and in understanding the grammar school background of Shakspeare.

To get some idea of the role these *sententiae* of Tully and others came to play in grammar school work, it will be convenient to begin with William Horman's *Vulgaria*, which was in process of collection during the opening years of the sixteenth century. Horman says, I had not retired very long from the work of teaching . . . when you appealed to me to collect the examples I used to give my scholars, and publish them. I was much flattered by such a request from such a man. Yet I suf-

<sup>41</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 152-158.

<sup>42</sup> See above, pp. 268 ff.

fered a pang of regret; for as my pupils know, I used to give them these examples on the spur of the moment, and had never been at the pains to keep a collection of them. Still, I looked up such as I had, and added a large number to them, gathered from my reading. The whole mass is large, and no strict order is observed in it. Most of the sentences were such as occurred in casual conversation and had no inner coherence. I have classified them roughly. Names of authors are not added: usually I borrowed only a word or two from them and made a sentence of my own.<sup>43</sup>

Horman's rival, Robert Whittinton, also produced a volume of vulgars. Whittinton is much more systematic than Horman. Horman had gathered numerous phrases and sentences and had grouped them under several different headings, such as school, law courts, etc. His work is thus of the type which is later to develop into the colloquies of Corderius, etc., giving formulae for speaking. But Whittinton begins with a different idea. He takes his own *Syntax*, and sets out to illustrate it. He first indicates the rule by its opening words, for a time gives the substance of the rule in English, and follows with examples of the rule both in English and in Latin. For his examples, Whittinton begins with a pedagogical disquisition on the text that,

Imitacyon of authors without preceptes and rules is but a longe betynge aboute the busshe and losse of tyme to a yonge begynner . . . That techer setteth the carte before the horse that preferreth imitacyon before preceptes.

Such sentiments would be enough to cause Ascham to condemn him. In addition, most of his remaining examples are also of his own manufacture, though he occasionally adds a few examples from Latin authors, under the heading of "Authoryte."<sup>44</sup> Eventually, Whittinton illustrates with schoolboy phrases, etc., which convey a great deal of interesting school gossip. Thus Whittinton has a very sound scheme of procedure. So John Clarke in his *Dux Grammaticus*, dated 1638, found Whittinton still useful, since he begins with "Grammaticulorum Institutio. Seu, Vulgaria Whitintoniana."

But both Horman and Whittinton fell under the censure of Ascham.

Grammer scholes haue fewe *Epitomes* to hurt them, except *Epitheta Textoris*, and such beggarlie gatheringes, as *Horman*, *whittington*, and other like vulgares for making of latines.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> James, M. R., *Vulgaria By William Horman*, pp. xix-xx.

<sup>44</sup> There is an interesting tribute to More and another to Linacre.

<sup>45</sup> Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), p. 42v.

Ascham's general objection to epitome is that,

This is a way of studie, belonging, rather to matter, than to wordes: to memorie, than to vtterance: to those that be learned alreadie, and hath small place at all amonges yong scholers in Grammer scholes . . . *Epitome*, is good priuatelie for himselfe that doth worke it, but ill commonlie for all other that vse other mens labor therein: a silie poore kinde of studie, not vnlike to the doing of those poore folke, which neyther till, nor sowe, nor reape themselues, but gleane by stelth, vpon other mens growndes. Soch, haue emptie barnes, for deare yeares.<sup>46</sup>

The grammarian must first acquire words before matter. Thus epitome is about like sassafras tea in the spring—good for one if he himself digs the roots from which it is made.

But Ascham does not object to books of commonplaces.

In deede bookes of common places be verie necessarie, to induce a man, into an orderlie generall knowledge, how to referre orderlie all that he readeth, *ad certa rerum Capita*, and not wander in studie. And to that end did *P. Lombardus* the master of sentences and *Ph. Melanchthon* in our daies, write two notable bookes of common places.<sup>47</sup>

Incidentally, Ascham "lectured" Queen Elizabeth on Melanchthon's collection. Ascham says it is this habit of trusting to epitomes and books of commonplaces which

maketh so many seeming, and sonburnt ministers as we haue, whose learning is gotten in a sommer heat, and washed away, with a Christmas snow againe: who neuerthelesse," he cannot resist adding, "are lesse to be blamed, than those blind bussardes, who in late yeares, of wilfull maliciousnes, would neyther learne themselues, nor could teach others, any thing at all.<sup>48</sup>

Ascham objects then to the epitome when it is permitted to replace actual gathering of information by the student himself. It may show the student method, and supply a nucleus of information; but it must not replace work upon the sources. The *Vulgaria* of Horman and Whittinton thus fall under this general condemnation. But they are especially condemned because they are not even good collections; they are *beggarlie gatheringes*. One needs only to read Horman's own description of his collection, as quoted above, to understand Ascham's contemptuous phrase. Horman had manufactured his vulgars to illustrate the rules, and the Latinity of his renderings falls far short of Ascham's Ciceronic standards. A boy should not begin writing and speaking Latin until he could do it in pure Ciceronian or at worst Terentian phrase. Ascham's solution always was to collect

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 42v.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43r.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43r.

examples from the best classical writers, especially Cicero. Critics and curricula agreed with the preface to the authorized grammar that the boys must make Latins to illustrate the rules of grammar. They disagreed merely as to the best method of doing this.

In his solution, Ascham was far from revolutionary or original for his day. Horman and Whittinton were working in the first quarter of the century, Ascham was writing in the third. When Ascham was writing, such a collection as he would doubtless have approved for making vulgars, at least on the score of Latinity, had just taken final form. The main nucleus of the collection had been assembled by Petrus Lagnerius. The earliest copy of the Lagnerius collection which I have seen is entitled *M. T. Ciceronis Elegans Ac Perutile compendiū, in quattuor libros sectum: Quorū. 1. Insignes ad idem thema sententias cōtinet. 2. Apophthegmata. 3. Parabolas, siue Similia. 4. Pias aliquot Sententias. Authore Petro Lagnerio Compendiēsi . . . Apud Franciscum Stephanum, 1543* (personal). Three-fourths of the book is taken up by Book I. There is then an address before Book II, dated "Tholosae. decimo Calend. Septemb. 1541." For some reason, this edition has dropped an address before Book III, dated "Tholosę, nono Cal. Septemb. 1541." and one to Book IV, dated "Tholosę, octauo Calen. Septemb. Anno 1541." but all three addresses are to be found in an edition of Venice, 1548 (personal). The last three books thus evidently represent the original pamphlet, which consisted conventionally of apothegms, similitudes, and *sententiae*. At the end is the statement that Lagnerius has omitted a greater number (of similitudes) which tended more to literary culture than to moral philosophy, but if this collection is well received, he will add those. So by the time of the edition of 1543 a collection of *sententiae* from Cicero is prefixed, three times the size of the whole original collection. These *sententiae* are now supposed to serve the general purposes of composition, while the very much smaller original collection is said to be of those things which seemed to come closest to piety and the Christian religion. This is still the form in the edition of 1548 at Venice, but the four divisions are now not directly indicated in either title or text, though the three addresses indicate them. Most other editions, however, retain these four divisions.

There were then further accretions, most of which may be illustrated by an edition at Lyons of 1558. This omits the address to Book II, but retains those to III and IV; and adds without any heading to indicate that it is a new book *Illustres Quaedam Sententiae*

*ex optimis quibusque aliis autoribus selectae, per eundem Petrum Lagnerium.* In the final form, Lagnerius gives his blessing at the end of this section, and the printer puts his first "Finis" here. This is evidently the final stage of the gatherings by Lagnerius himself, and there is doubtless at least one edition which ends here. Next come the *Sententiae Terentianae* trimmed up a bit from some other collection. An edition at Lyons 1554 and another at Paris 1554 list the items only through this Terence material. Finally, comes an *Appendix Sententiarum Ex Probatissimis quibusque autoribus selectarum, praecipuè verò ex libris Apophthegmatum D. Eras. Roter.* It is thus likely that each of these three additions was made at separate times, and that the collection will be found in these three forms.

There were then certain final additions to the type as represented by this edition of Lyons, 1558. The chief was *Desiderii Iacotii Vando-perani De Philosophorum doctrina Libellus ex Cicerone*, the prefatory letter to which is dated "Lutetiae 8. Calend. Ianuarij. 1554." After its "Finis" comes the final collection, *Sententiae Collectaneae, Et similia ex Demosthenis Orationibus & Epistolis in certa virtutum ac vitiorum capita collectae.* Apparently this final addition of the Demosthenes material was made in 1556. For Harvard gives the title page of such a copy thus, *Ciceronis Sententiae insigniores, et pia apophthegmata ex ducentis veteribus oratoribus, philosophis seu poëtis, tam Graecis quam Latinis selecta. In hac 2<sup>a</sup> editione additae sunt Demosthenis sententiae ex Graeco in Latinum traductae.* [Edited by Petrus Lagnerius.] *Lugduni, excudebat G. Regnierius, 1556.*<sup>49</sup> Apparently, then, the first edition of Regnierius had added Jacotius not earlier than 1554, and the second now in 1556 adds the material from Demosthenes to give the full-fledged collection essentially as it was long to remain.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> I am indebted to my colleague Professor Robert Seybolt for checking the contents of this volume.

<sup>50</sup> The earliest copy which I have of the complete collection is Lyons, 1558. I have also a copy of an edition by Plantin 1564, not recorded in Ruelens, C. and DeBacker, A., *Annales Plantiniennes*; and the Library of the University of Illinois has another, both procured in London (it was evidently one of the schoolbooks imported by Plantin's agent in London, probably Vautrollier; another is Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1564, still another Plautus, 1566, which is quite common). I have also a copy of Lyons, 1569. The earliest copy of the final form which I have located in the British Museum was printed at Cologne in 1574.

There was a further variant form of the collection, represented by an edition at Dusseldorf, 1562 (but printed "Ad editionem Venetam"). The title page tells us that two other books have been added to the original four, and the table of contents distinguishes them as

Sententiae variorum auct.	} lib. v.
Appendix ex Apophtheg. Eras.	
Sententiae et similia ex Demost.	

There were many reprintings of this final form, which quite early attained even an edition in England. Marshe is said to have printed at London in 1580 an edition of *Sententiae Ciceronis, Demosthenis ac Terentij*, which would presumably have been the complete form;<sup>51</sup> but no copy is listed in the *Short Title Catalogue*. In 1584, Vautrollier printed an edition at London, of which the Bodleian has one copy, and I another. This edition is only an eventual reprint of some continental edition. It agrees with the edition at Cologne of 1574 in having a note "Ad Lectorem. C.P." on the verso of the title page,<sup>52</sup> which is not in the Lyons edition of 1558, nor in the Plantin edition of 1564. This Cologne edition of 1574 thus may or may not be the edition from which the edition of 1584 was eventually reprinted.

There were several later editions of this collection in England, and Brinsley approves it highly for the making of vulgars and Latins. In the list of his grammatical translations for grammar schools, Brinsley in 1612 includes

*Tullies Sentences* for entring schollers, to make Latine truely and purely in stead of giuing vulgars, and for vse of dayly translating into Latine, to furnish with variety of pure Latine and matter.<sup>53</sup>

Brinsley later refers to "the first Chapter of *Tullies* sentences, *De Deo eiusq; naturae*,"<sup>54</sup> showing that he is citing the collection by Lagnerius, which was the chief nucleus around which the larger collection gathered. Further on, he refers to "*Tullies* sentences out of the Gram. translations, and the sentences of the other Authors adioined with the same,"<sup>55</sup> showing this time that he is thinking of the large collection. I am not certain that a copy of this work by Brinsley survives. But Brinsley is not original here either, since Belleforest had long before published a parallel translation of the collection in French. The prefatory letter of Belleforest is dated "De Paris, ce 3. May 1574," though the earliest copy I find listed is that of 1578 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Incidentally, this appears

---

De doctrina Philosophorum	} lib. vj.
Iacotij Vandoperani docta com	
mentatio ex Cicerone	

It will be seen that the *sententiae* from Terence have been omitted and the Demosthenes material placed at the end of Book V instead of at the end of the collection.

<sup>51</sup> Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 868.

<sup>52</sup> Herbert says the edition of 1580 also had this.

<sup>53</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 121.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

also to be the earliest edition of the full collection in the Bibliothèque. This edition of Belleforest is a parallel-column translation, evidently destined to much the same uses as Brinsley contemplated for his translation. The history of this collection is typical of the international character of grammar-school textbooks. Even where each nation printed its own, yet the texts were fundamentally the same in the different countries. The *Flores* of Terence, the *Sententiae* of Cicero, Terence, etc. were basically the same in every country. Each nation learned to speak and write its Latin in the same phrases and sentiments.

With this English translation, Brinsley can perform the exercise recommended by Ascham.

And for translating, vse you your selfe, euery second or thyrd day, to chose out, some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common place out of his Orationes, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde: and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and than giue it him to translate into Latin againe: allowyng him good space and tyme to do it, both with diligent heede, and good aduisement. Here his witte shalbe new set on worke: his iudgement for right choice, trewlie tried: his memorie, for sure reteyning, better exercised, than by learning, any thing without the booke: & here, how much he hath profitted, shall plainly appeare. Whan he bringeth it translated vnto you, bring you forth the place of *Tullie*: lay them together: compare the one with the other: commend his good choice, & right placing of wordes: Shew his faultes iently, but blame them not ouer sharply: for, of such missings, ientlie admonished of, procedeth glad & good heed taking: of good heed taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after, groweth to perfitnesse, if this order, be diligentlie vsed by the scholer & iently handled by the master: for here, shall all the hard pointes of Grāmer, both easely and surelie be learned vp: which, scholers in common scholes, by making of Latines, be groping at, with care & feare, & yet in many yeares, they scarce can reach vnto them.<sup>66</sup>

Thus Ascham should have approved of this collection of *Sententiae* as heartily as did Brinsley.

As a matter of fact, we know that Ascham did approve of the collection in some form. For on August 28, 1554, Ascham sent a copy of a libellum qui continebat sententias ex Cicerone et poetis priscis collectas" to Secretary Burnus, saying, "Ornatissime vir, quum libris multum delecteris, quumque multos, nec in itinere commodè circumferre, nec in Aula per negotia legere possis; hunc unum, instar multorum, libenter tibi mitto. In

<sup>66</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 31r & v.

unum enim libellum hunc, quicquid prudentis eloquentiae ex ipso Cicerone colligi; quicquid suavis et sanae voluptatis ex optimis poetis decerpi poterat, erudito delectu et exquisito ordine illigatur.<sup>67</sup>

Ascham was sending two collections bound together. The one was some form of the collection by Lagnerius from Cicero, etc.; the other was *Sententiae Veterum Poetarum, per locos communes digestae, Georgio Maiore collectore*. I have a copy of these two bound in one volume as printed by G. Thibout at Paris, in 1554, the year of Ascham's present, together with Liburnius, *Divini Platonis gemmae*, 1556. I have another volume with the same three in slightly later editions by the printers at Lyons, and this combination of collections is at this period frequently found. Ascham's Lagnerius of 1554 would not be the final form, but most likely consisted of the Lagnerius materials and the *sententiae* from Terence. Thus Ascham approved this collection for prose, which became the basic text in grammar school. He also approved a corresponding collection by Major from the poets. But it was Mirandula's collection from the poets rather than the similar collection of Major which became the grammar school text. So we may feel reasonably certain that Ascham would have approved for grammar school use both the book of examples from prose and that from poetry as did Brinsley later. It was because Ascham and men of his mind approved that these became the standard grammar school texts.

One would also like to know how Ascham would have reacted toward having one of his own works serve as the English book which was to be turned into Latin.

Robinson, [Richard], in the Epistle prefixed to *The Assertion* [1583], observes, "I could at large here call to minde the commendation of this peaceable practise of shooting which once I, as a rawe scholler, reade ouer in Toxophilus, and at times by tasked lessons interpreted in Latine here and there."<sup>68</sup>

It may also be noticed in passing that Brinsley recommends the collection of *sententiae* both for "pure Latine and matter." What use he would make of them as "matter" will later appear. Ascham's phraseology shows the same approval of the content as well as the

<sup>67</sup> Giles, *Ascham* (1865), Vol. I, pp. 416-417.

<sup>68</sup> Brydges, E., *The British Bibliographer* (1810), Vol. I, p. 132n. William Barker thought his translation of Xenophon's *Cyropedia*, 1560, could be used by Pembroke's children "to learn to turne latine out of English, which way although it seeme triflinge to some, yet is it the rediest exercise that euer I cold find, to make a child easili tattain to that profit, which els with labour they shall not hit at all."



form. Englishmen in general relished such collections also in English. There was, for instance, William Baldwin's *Treatise of morall philosophie, contaynyng the sayinges of the wyse*, first published in 1547, running through at least nineteen editions by 1640, and being still recommended as a textbook by Hoole in 1660. It was a collection in English of these *sententiae*, which the schoolmasters found useful for turning back into Latin. The *Politeuphuia* was another similar long-lived collection, which appeared in 1597.<sup>89</sup> Walker in 1669, says, "The Teacher may supplie himself with Englishes for his Scholar, by translating *Tullies Sentences*: or some Epistle of *Seneca*; or Oration of *Cicero*. This was the course My self took, and with no ill success. But if the Teacher list not to be at this profitable pains, he may take any ordinary Book, and propose it to be translated in little parts; Such as *Witts Common-wealth*; *Moral Philosophy*, Mr *Wases* Essay of a practical Grammar, &c."<sup>90</sup>

Brinsley with his translation of the *Sententiae Ciceronis* is only perfecting a method which long remained popular.

But for all of Ascham's fulminations, the English schoolmaster did not give up the making of vulgars into Latins. Instead, he compromised. Brinsley is indicating the solution by his grammatical translation of the *Sententiae Ciceronis*, a translation which before, each schoolmaster had supplied himself as Ascham recommends. But it was Brinsley's hobby in part that the ordinary schoolmaster could not supply a suitable English translation; hence one reason for his series of translations. The schoolmaster can now give the translation of a *sentence* as a vulgar to be made into a Latin in illustration of the grammar rule. The eventual result must be good Latin, for it will be that of Tully, Terence, etc. The boy can then memorize the *sentence* in Latin and English, thereby killing numerous birds with one stone. He is storing his mind with good *sentences*, as all schoolmasters wished; and the *sentences* are in the best of Latin with vernacular equivalent, so that the boy is presumed to understand it. Such an exercise met to perfection the twin requirements of good morals and good Latin. It lacked indeed the element of original work which Ascham wished, but even Ascham merely desired that the boy should learn Cicero's very phrase. He himself would thus probably have approved of this solution.

<sup>89</sup> For a descriptive bibliography of "popular" collections of flowers, figures, etc., the reader is referred to Wright, L. B., "Handbook Learning of the Renaissance Middle Class," *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.; reprinted in *Middle-Class Culture In Elizabethan England*, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Walker, W., *Some Improvements to the Art of Teaching* (1669), p. 38.

As we have seen, the collection had come into sufficient use to demand an edition in England by 1580, which indicates that it was by then widespread. Thereafter, it long held a prominent place in the grammar school. It thus made the whole wisdom of the classics the common property of every learned grammarian who was subject to the process of making Latins upon it. I do not know whether Shakspeare was subjected to the task of memorizing and double translating this particular collection; but if he was, he may easily be reflecting as many golden sentiments from the ancients both Latin and Greek as even Upton would like to credit him with (though not the same ones), and yet be only a moderately "learned grammarian." Even if Shakspeare himself had not memorized these sentiments, so many people had done so that they must have been the common property of educated and intelligent uneducated alike. Nor, if Shakspeare had them, does it really much matter whether he obtained them within the sacred walls of some little academe, or in the unhallowed precincts of the Mermaid—if ever he went there. The important thing is whether he could and did find a use for them.

Shakspeare uses several items which are to be found in the *Ciceronis Sententiae*, but there is nothing to show conclusively that any one of the items is from that collection and from no other source. The idea of death as sleep is found in three different phraseologies from Cicero,<sup>61</sup> but Cicero had no monopoly on the idea. Cicero in the third Tusculan says, "Corpora curari possunt, animorum nulla medicina est,"<sup>62</sup> reminding us of Macbeth's query to the Doctor, "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?"<sup>63</sup> and of the Doctor's admission that he could not. Hamlet's phrase concerning the slings of fortune seems to be an echo of a phrase in a passage from Cicero which is here twice quoted,<sup>64</sup> and seldom fails to appear in the quotation books. A heading uses the phraseology of another quotation, "nec fronti vlla fides,"<sup>65</sup> which Shakspeare seems to have echoed.<sup>66</sup> Cicero warns in seven but slightly different phraseologies that the outcome of war is uncertain,<sup>67</sup> a sentiment that Shakspeare from some source repeats.<sup>68</sup> Plautus assures us that the gods have us men as balls,<sup>69</sup> reminding us that Dromio of Ephesus, in a play based upon Plautus,

<sup>61</sup> *Demosthenis Ac Ciceronis, Sententiae Selectae* (Lyons, 1558, personal), p. 69; see above, pp. 591, 676; and Vol. II, pp. 601ff.

<sup>62</sup> *Ciceronis Sententiae* (1558), p. 87.

<sup>63</sup> *Macbeth*, V, 3, 40.

<sup>64</sup> *Ciceronis Sententiae* (1558), pp. 179, 275.

<sup>65</sup> *Ciceronis Sententiae* (1558), p. 192.

<sup>66</sup> See above, p. 650.

<sup>67</sup> *Ciceronis Sententiae* (1558), p. 216.

<sup>68</sup> See above, p. 591.

<sup>69</sup> *Ciceronis Sententiae* (1558), p. 296.

complains that his master and mistress are using him as a football; and that Lear says,

As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods,  
They kill us for their sport.<sup>70</sup>

Touchstone tells William, "all your writers do consent that ipse is he: now, you are not ipse, for I am he."<sup>71</sup> The reference is to "Ipse dixit," which is explained in this collection.<sup>72</sup> So this collection might have furnished Touchstone with one of his writers. Such parallels as we have noticed do not show whether Shakspeare did or did not use this collection. He had no particular literary use for such aphoristic sentiments as it contained, for had he been sensitive to them he could almost as readily have picked them out of the air as out of this basic collection; they were everywhere. But the fact that Shakspeare had no literary use for them does not mean that he did not have them thrust upon him for his moral good, nor that they had not been morally effective upon him. Here he may have had a digest of all the prosaic moral wisdom of the classical ancients.

Corderius had also worked out a device which forms part of Brinsley's background, and had aroused some interest in England just after Ascham's day, thus long before that of Brinsley. This work of Corderius adapted the letters of Cicero into such form that they could have been used for Ascham's and Brinsley's process of double translation. It will be remembered that Sturm and Ascham wished to bring these epistles of Cicero early into the curriculum for stylistic reasons. So also did Corderius, and his method was that peculiar to him of furnishing a vernacular translation, a method which Brinsley was much later to espouse for England. This collection was of Cicero, would come at the stage of making Latins, and could have been used quite safely in accord with Ascham's methods, though Ascham gives no sign of having known the work, and Corderius himself did not have composition in view.

In a preface dated 1556, Corderius points out that twenty years ago he had prepared a Cato for children. He is now doing the same thing with Cicero's letters. He has selected the easiest of them and has given a translation in French so as to make them available for tender youth. He hopes that this method will also relieve the masters of the burden of dictation, and explains rather amusingly that the

<sup>70</sup> Lear, IV, 1, 38-39.

<sup>71</sup> *As You Like It*, V, 1, 47-48.

<sup>72</sup> *Ciceronis Sententiae* (1558), p. 420.

masters will not suffer for lack of work, even with this burden lifted. His fundamental idea of tempering Cicero's Epistles is thus the same as that of Sturm, but he has added the idea of a vernacular translation and explanation. In 1575, one T. W. published in London an edition of this work, *Principia Latine Loquendi Scribendique*, substituting English for the French; but apparently it did not appeal, since only one edition was called for. Significantly enough, it was Sturm's solution which won. That was to present Cicero's simplest epistles, but uncontaminated with the vulgar tongue. The idea of Corderius to use the vernacular had to wait till the seventeenth century for a Brinsley.

Our survey, then, seems to show that Shakspeare pretty certainly used the Bishops' version of the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiasticus as vulgars to be turned into Latins, as was true in the Paul's system. He would thus not have needed in addition the *Ad Sapientiam Introductio* of Vives, which was used in the Eton system for this purpose. The vulgars of Horman, and of Whittinton had been out of print many a year, and were besides for early work, so not needed in addition to the Biblical material. Such vulgars as Shakspeare's masters may have manufactured to smirch the purity of his Latinity—if any—we have no means of detecting. The *Sententiae* of Cicero, etc. may later have supplemented the Bible, but the evidence is not conclusive.<sup>73</sup> In the Paul's system, apparently the Bible was itself regarded as sufficient for this purpose, and it may have been so regarded for Shakspeare.

So far as I have observed, Shakspeare does not actually make any Latins for us. Still Holofernes examines Sir Nathaniel's colloquial efforts as if the latter had been presenting Latins for his inspection. Holofernes has asked, "*Anne intelligis, domine?*", to which Sir Nathaniel answers, "*Laus Deo bone intelligo*," whereupon Holofernes comments, "*Bone? bone, for bene: Priscian a little scratched: 'twill serve.*"<sup>74</sup> With his usual ingenuity, which was only exceeded per-

<sup>73</sup> The conventional view is expressed by R. Allen in 1596. "Many make great reckoning of the sentences of *Tullie* and *Seneca* and many other fine witted heathen mē. And verily they are not to bee contemned especially of wise Christians, the least whereof can more holilie vnderstande and also make better vse of their owne sentences (such as poynt towards any good matter) then they could themselues. . . . But what . . . are all those their sentences, in comparison of the most holy and perfectly wise prouerbes of King *Salomon*?" (Allen, R., *An Alphabet of the holy Proverbs of King Salomon* (1596); U.M. \*10477 from B. M. 3166. aa. 18; S. T. C. 362). Allen hoped "to procure that these holy Prouerbs might be made yet more familiar euen to children by the delight of so plaine and familiar a method."

<sup>74</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost* (Oxford ed. by Craig), V, 1, 28-32.

haps by his lack of modesty, Theobald restored this corrupt passage to approximately the form given above, and explained the joke.

The Curate, addressing with Complaisance his brother Pedant, says, *bone*, to him, as we frequently in *Terence* find *bone Vir*; but the Pedant [thought] he had mistaken the Adverb.<sup>76</sup>

This is a Latin a little scratched, but for want of a better in Shakspeare it must serve.

I believe it is clear also that Shakspeare shows a knowledge of the method of using these collections of "sentences" on which Latins, especially when they expanded into themes, were usually made. That Shakspeare knew what a *sententia* was goes in that age without saying. Even Juliet's Nurse has some glimmering of its meaning. "She hath the prettiest sententious of it, of you and rosemary."<sup>76</sup> In spite of his red face and taking ways, Bardolph also shows some acquaintance with the type when he says that Slender "had drunk himself out of his five sentences," causing schoolmaster Sir Hugh Evans to correct him severely, "It is his five senses: fie, what the ignorance is!"<sup>77</sup> And we have some inkling of what the dinner guests have suffered when Sir Nathaniel says to Holofernes, "your reasons at dinner have been sharp and sententious."<sup>78</sup> So when Touchstone displays his remarkably assorted assortment of *sententiae*,

I press in here, sir, amongst the rest of the country copulatives, to swear and to forswear; according as marriage binds and blood breaks: a poor virgin, sir, an ill-favoured thing, sir, but mine own; a poor humour of mine, sir, to take that that no man else will: rich honesty dwells like a miser, sir, in a poor house; as your pearl in your foul oyster,

the Duke comments, "By my faith, he is very swift and sententious," whereupon Touchstone replies, "According to the fool's bolt, sir, and such dulcet diseases."<sup>79</sup>

Again, the disguised Viola and the Clown have a wit combat.

*Vio.* Save thee, friend, and thy music: dost thou live by thy tabor?

*Clo.* No, sir, I live by the church.

*Vio.* Art thou a churchman?

*Clo.* No such matter, sir: I do live by the church; for I do live at my house, and my house doth stand by the church.

*Vio.* So thou mayst say, the king lies by a beggar, if a beggar dwell near him; or, the church stands by the tabor, if thy tabor stand by the church.

<sup>76</sup> Theobald, L., *Shakespeare* (1733), Vol. II, p. 148.

<sup>77</sup> *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 4, 225-26.

<sup>78</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 2-3.

<sup>77</sup> *Merry Wives*, I, 1, 179-182.

<sup>79</sup> *As You Like It*, V, 4, 57-68.

*Clo.* You have said, sir. To see this age! A sentence is but a cheveril glove to a good wit: how quickly the wrong side may be turned outward!<sup>80</sup>

Shakspere's comedians turn the wrong side of many a good *sententia* outward.

But the more serious characters explicitly indulge in these *sententiae* also. Friar Laurence says to Romeo,

And art thou changed? pronounce this sentence then,  
Women may fall, when there's no strength in men.<sup>81</sup>

The good Friar sentences by a sentence, punning upon the word.

Again, Nerissa says to Portia,

You would be, sweet madam, if your miseries were in the same abundance as your good fortunes are: and yet, for aught I see, they are as sick that surfeit with too much as they that starve with nothing. It is no mean happiness therefore, to be seated in the mean: superfluity comes sooner by white hairs, but competency lives longer.

On which, schoolmistress Portia passes judgment, "Good sentences and well pronounced."<sup>82</sup> With very slight adaptation, this little scene might well have occurred in Stratford school. Shakspere could not have escaped the acquisition of many a good *sentence* there.

It should, therefore, be no matter of surprise that, as we have seen, when Bodenham culled the sentential flowers of his contemporaries for his *Belvedere* he found Shakspere's garden the richest of them all. As we study the higher forms of composition in grammar school, we shall find why this sententiality was so well impressed, for the making of elementary Latins upon *sententiae* was only a beginning. Themes, etc. were also made upon "moral matters," and with these *sententiae* as a chief aid.

In order to make these Latins, Shakspere would have begun systematically to acquire a vocabulary in the first or second form. The standard work for this process had in the first half of the sixteenth century been John Stanbridge's *Vocabulary*, which still demanded an occasional edition even into the seventeenth century. But by 1553 John Withals had produced his *Shorte Dictionarie*, which was revised by Dr. Evans before 1572, was augmented by A. Fleming in 1584, again by W. Clerk in 1602, again by an anonymous person in 1616, and had attained at least a fifteenth, possibly a sixteenth, known edition by 1634,<sup>83</sup> while Stanbridge had attained in the same period

<sup>80</sup> *Twelfth Night*, III, 1, 1-15.

<sup>82</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, 2, 3-11.

<sup>81</sup> *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 3, 79-80.

<sup>83</sup> See above, pp. 527ff.

at least seven. Clearly, Withals had been much the more popular in Shakspeare's day. Both Bretchgirdle and Marshall at Stratford had copies of Withals, the latter in the revision by Evans; but neither had Stanbridge. Both also had copies of Richard Huloet's *Abcedarium Anglo-Latinum pro tyrunculis*, of which an edition of 1552 survives, and a revised one of 1572. But this was rather an English-Latin dictionary in alphabetical order, than a vocabulary arranged by subjects, as were Stanbridge and Withals. Its two editions against the many of Stanbridge and Withals show that it did not attain any widespread popularity before it was eventually displaced by the more elaborate English-Latin dictionary of John Rider in 1589, and its successors. John Baret's *Alvearie* also had two editions, one in 1573, the other in 1580, being also displaced by Rider. The standard work of reference till the dictionary of Thomas Thomas in 1588 was, of course, Thomas Cooper's Latin-English *Thesaurus*, which he had revised out of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary*. Both Bretchgirdle and Marshall had copies of Cooper also. But this was a standard work of reference, not a vocabulary to be memorized by young youth. So Bretchgirdle very appropriately bestowed his copy upon Stratford grammar school, where William Shakspeare, whether voluntarily or under duress vile, doubtless contributed to its eventual disintegration.

The probabilities are thus strongly in favor of Withals as Shakspeare's Vocabulary book. I believe we have already shown that Shakspeare had used Withals;<sup>84</sup> but if not, the matter could be easily settled by a systematic examination of Stanbridge and Withals, which I shall not here undertake. One will doubtless recognize the likeness of a familiar friend in the following passage from Withals, noted long since by Douce,<sup>85</sup> which occurs at least as early as the edition of 1584.

The place where maistries and playes be shewed . . . *Scena autem mundus versatilis, histrio & actor Quilibet est hominum*. This life is a certaine enterlude or playe, the world is a stage ful of change euery way, Euerye man is a player, and therein a dealer.<sup>86</sup>

To complete the picture, the reader may turn to the definitions of the ages of man.<sup>87</sup> We have seen that Shakspeare takes the first of these passages from the original Latin of Palingenius;<sup>88</sup> but whether

<sup>84</sup> Baldwin, *Parrott Presentation Volume*, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>85</sup> See above, pp. 652 ff.

<sup>87</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1584), pp. M<sub>3</sub>v ff.

<sup>88</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1584), p. [I<sub>4</sub>]r.

<sup>88</sup> See above, pp. 652 ff.

Shakspere did or did not first meet these passages in Withals, the passages were at least very common property long before Shakspere put them into immortal phrase, and Shakspere apparently knew some edition of Withals before 1598, some years before he wrote the passage in *As You Like It*.

So it is with many another passage in Withals. I pick more or less at random a few illustrations from my copy of the edition of 1634. And first we may notice a parallel which was in the first form of Withals so early as 1556.<sup>89</sup> Falstaff personating Hal's father asks the young man, "Shall the blessed sun of heaven prove a micher and eat blackberries?"<sup>90</sup> Withals under "The Schoole with that belongeth therto" explains the allusion, "A Michar or Truant, that absenteth himselfe from schoole, *Vagus, gi.*"<sup>91</sup> Falstaff has added an enlightening reason for the boy's proving a micher—blackberries. Did William—?

A second parallel is not in the first form of Withals; but was added by Dr. Evans by or before 1574. "To prostrate himselfe at a noble mans foote, *Abjicere se ad pedes, accidere ad pedes optimatum.*"<sup>92</sup> Naturally, it would be Armado to whom this type of address would appeal. He writes to Jaquenetta,

Thus, expecting thy reply, I profane my lips on thy foot, my eyes on thy picture, and my heart on thy every part. Thine, in the dearest design of industry,

Don Adriano De Armado.<sup>93</sup>

It is more likely, however, that Shakspere got his suggestion from a book on letter writing.<sup>94</sup>

Several parallels do not occur in the first forms of Withals, but have Fleming's sign to indicate that he had added them in 1584. For instance,

*Carduus benedictus, cujus semine adversus pestis contagium utuntur*, The blessed Thistle, whose seede they use against the infection of the plague.<sup>95</sup>

Beatrice says,

By my troth, I am sick.

*Marg.* Get you some of this distilled *Carduus Benedictus*, and lay it to your heart: it is the only thing for a qualm.

*Hero.* There thou prickest her with a thistle.

*Beat.* *Benedictus!* why *Benedictus*? you have some moral in this *Benedictus*.

<sup>89</sup> I have not examined on this point the edition of 1553.

<sup>90</sup> *Henry IV*, II, 4, 449-450.

<sup>91</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 338.

<sup>92</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 250-51.

<sup>93</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 283.

<sup>94</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 1, 85-89.

<sup>95</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 141.



*Marg.* Moral! no, by my troth, I have no moral meaning; I meant, plain holy-thistle.<sup>96</sup>

Again the proverb,

Fat paunches have lean pates, and dainty bits  
Make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits.<sup>97</sup>

is in various forms repeated in the edition of 1634.

*Repletus venter, non vult studere libenter.* A Belly full with gluttony, will never study willinglie.<sup>98</sup>

This has Fleming's sign to indicate that he added it in 1584: but another statement of the proverb is not among Fleming's additions, being added in 1616; and so is later than Shakspeare's use of it in *Love's Labors's Lost*. "*Pinguis venter non gignit sensum tenuem.* A ful-fed-belly must haue his bones at rest."<sup>99</sup> This second form of the proverb, which came into Withals after Shakspeare's day, is in the *Adages* of Erasmus as well, where Shakspeare is fairly certain to have met it too.<sup>100</sup> Erasmus explains the meaning of it at length after the sense of Shakspeare. John Clarke gives the Latin in 1639, and has a slightly adapted form of Shakspeare's two lines as his English parallel.<sup>101</sup> He is either adapting Shakspeare, or Shakspeare has but slightly adapted an English couplet which Clarke later uses.<sup>102</sup>

"*Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam:* Thou shalt know a lewd fellow, By his Beard, eyther red or yellow."<sup>103</sup> The passage is marked as Fleming's addition in 1584. This old superstition is alluded to in the case of Master Slender, who has "a little wee face, with a little yellow beard, a Cain-coloured beard."<sup>104</sup> Parolles' "vil-lanous saffron would have made all the unbaked and doughy youth of a nation in his colour."<sup>105</sup> Orlando's "hair is of the dissembling colour . . . Something browner than Judas's . . . chestnut . . . colour;"<sup>106</sup> and Pinch is the wizard "with the saffron face."<sup>107</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Much Ado*, III, 4, 72-80.

<sup>97</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, I, 1, 26-27.

<sup>98</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 237.

<sup>99</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 575.

<sup>100</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), p. 595.

<sup>101</sup> Clarke, John, *Paroemiologia* (1639), p. 135 (copy belonging to the University of Illinois Library).

<sup>102</sup> Of three other parallels noted to Shakspeare in Clarke (Munro, *Shakspeare All.-Bk.*, Vol. I, pp. 432-435), "Thought is free" is far from being original with Shakspeare (cf. above, p. 690), the "trout hamlet" is not likely to contain an allusion to Hamlet, "An honest man and a good bowler" may just possibly reflect Shakspeare. But it is more likely that in all these cases Clarke and Shakspeare are simply drawing on a common fund. Since this proverb represents official school sentiment on the subject, and since Shakspeare echoes it in his first play, one looks at the overplump Stratford monument—and wonders.

<sup>103</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 333.

<sup>104</sup> *Merry Wives*, I, 4, 22-24.

<sup>105</sup> *All's Well*, IV, 5, 2-4.

<sup>106</sup> *As You Like It*, III, 4, 7-13.

<sup>107</sup> *A Comedy of Errors*, IV, 4, 64.

Still other parallels came into the collection in the revision of 1616; and thus some years after Shakspeare had used them. "*Conscientia mille testes*. Conscience is a cut-throat,"<sup>108</sup> was added in 1616. Shakspeare has "Every man's conscience is a thousand swords,"<sup>109</sup> and "My conscience hath a thousand several tongues."<sup>110</sup> As Blackstone noted, Shakspeare is alluding to the adage recorded by Erasmus,<sup>111</sup> who takes it from Book V of Quintilian's *Institutes*. Shakspeare may well have met it in both Erasmus, and Quintilian.<sup>112</sup> It should be noticed that in this case as well as in that of the second proverb concerning fat paunches, Shakspeare is translating the Latin in the form given by Erasmus, instead of paraphrasing as does the Withals. This is natural, of course, since the form of these proverbs in Withals was not accessible to Shakspeare, being added only in 1616. Shakspeare uses the form given by Erasmus, and is more likely to have met these proverbs in the official collection by that author. Here it would seem clear that both Shakspeare and the reviser of Withals in 1616 are using a common background of proverb lore.

"*Magis mutus quàm piscis*. He hath not a word to cast at a dog, no more words than the poast,"<sup>113</sup> was also added in 1616. Shakspeare has:

*Cel.* Why, cousin! why, Rosalind! Cupid have mercy! not a word?

*Ros.* Not one to throw at a dog.<sup>114</sup>

Shakspeare is here using the English Proverb and not the Latin. From these instances, it appears at least that Withals is highly illustrative of Shakspeare's plays. Either or both Shakspeare used the dictionary, or he and the "little dictionarie" grew up together in the same environmental background. I believe the evidence shows that both hypotheses are true. At any rate, the "little dictionarie" obviously calls for a more careful study in connection with Shakspeare than can be made here.

Withals can be used, I believe, to resurrect a bit of Shakspeare's murdered Latin. Holofernes is disputing with Moth to acquire horns by a figure, and according to the Cambridge text (old) the bout ends thus:

*Hol.* Thou disputest like an infant: go, whip thy gig.

<sup>108</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 554.

<sup>109</sup> *Richard III*, V, 2, 17.

<sup>110</sup> *Richard III*, V, 3, 193.

<sup>111</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), p. 273.

<sup>112</sup> It is also quoted, and attributed to Quintilian by Vives in his *Satellitium* (1524). See Vives, *Opera* (1555), Vol. II, p. 108.

<sup>113</sup> Withals, *Dictionary* (1634), p. 564.

<sup>114</sup> *As You Like It*, I, 3, 1-3.

*Moth.* Lend me your horn to make one, and I will whip about your infamy circum circa,—a gig of a cuckold's horn.<sup>115</sup>

For the Latin, the quarto reads *vnū cita*, and the First Folio agrees, only expanding the first word. The emendation adopted above is that of the ingenious Theobald, who has simply tried to think of a Latin phrase which would fit the sense and be something like what was printed. I believe, however, that it is possible to recover Shakspeare's own Latin here. The subject of discussion, it will be noticed, is a gig or top. Now Withals did his duty by the boys and their tops in this fashion:

*A toppe, Turbo, bonis,*

*To driue, Agito, tas.*

*A Scourge to driue the Toppe with, Scuticula, lae, vel scutica, cae.*<sup>116</sup>

Thomas Thomas defines *turbo* as, "A top, gig, or nunne that children play with: a whirlegigge, *Tibull.*" Holyoke repeats this definition, and the illustrative passage from Tibullus is to be found in at least some dictionaries to the present day. Naturally, Textor quotes this passage from Tibullus to give an epithet for top. "*Citus* Tibullus lib. 1, Nanq; ager, ut per plana citus sola uerbere turbo." So far as I have observed, this is the only epithet for *turbo* in the sense of top given by Textor. Thus the stock official phrase was *turbo citus*. And even if we cannot trust nature to have taken its course, we now know that Shakspeare would have had occasion to learn the Latin lore of the top when in the Camerarius Aesop he read the story of the *Leo & Mus*, since understanding the moral of the story turns upon a Greek proverb taken "de turbinis ludo."

Now in our passage the subject is tops and the epithet is given as *cita*. I believe it is clear that the printer has misread the official *turbo citus*. It should be noticed that he had "little Latin" indeed, and was simply attempting to transcribe the letters before him, for there seems to be no possible "congruence" in the Latin as he transcribes it. For the adjective or epithet, we need only assume that the printer read the terminal *us* as *a*, getting *cita* instead of *citus*, or it may be that Shakspeare himself missed the gender and wrote *cita*. Nor would it be very difficult for *turbo* in Elizabethan handwriting to be misread as *vnū*. The passage, therefore, probably should read:

*Hol.* Thou disputest like an infant: go, whip thy gig.

<sup>115</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 69-73.

<sup>116</sup> Withals, *Dictionarie* (1584), p. L1v.

*Moth.* Lend me your horn to make one, and I will whip about your infamy; *turbo citus*, a gig of a cuckold's horn.

Such a gig of infamy should be swift indeed.

We shall have occasion from time to time to show that Shakspeare pretty clearly used Cooper constantly as his Latin-English reference dictionary. As has already been pointed out, Bretchgirdle left a copy to Stratford school, which should there have been lying in wait for William.

One parallel phrase has also been noted from Baret. "Baret's *Alvearie* has: 'From the top to the toe, *a capite ad calcem usque*.'" <sup>117</sup> Shakspeare has "from the crown to the toe."<sup>118</sup> But one such swallow can hardly make much of a summer.

There are various other indications, however, that Shakspeare probably used Baret as his English-Latin dictionary to supplement Cooper's Latin-English. If he used any such English dictionary at all, it would necessarily be either Baret or Huloet. As an illustration, we may take Touchstone's construe leading to a translation from courtly English into the vulgar. The learned Touchstone is lecturing the unlearned William,

Therefore, you clown, abandon,—which is in the vulgar leave,—the society,—which in the boorish is company,—of this female,—which in the common is woman; which together is, abandon the society of this female, or, clown, thou perishest; or, to thy better understanding, diest; or, to wit, I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death, thy liberty into bondage, etc., etc.<sup>119</sup>

Touchstone puts his protasis into the form of a construe, which he puts together as a translation, and then varies his conclusion therefrom "copiously," as any grammarian was supposed to be able to do—a very learned performance indeed!

Now it is significant to see where Touchstone got the materials for this construe and translation from courtly English into common. Touchstone first construes "abandon,—which is in the vulgar leave." Baret will explain the reason for Touchstone's distinction.

Abandon, or Bandon, is a woorde borrowed of the French, and signifieth leaue, licence, or libertie, *Indulgentia*, *Licentia*: but the Verbe is vsed both to leaue or forsake a thing; and also to giue ones selfe vtterly to a thing, or to yelde himself and giue ouer to it.

To abandon: to leaue, or forsake. \**Desero*. (1580).

<sup>117</sup> Cuningham, H., *Macbeth* (Arden ed.), p. 28.

<sup>118</sup> *Macbeth*, I, 5, 43.

<sup>119</sup> *As You Like It*, V, 1, 52 ff.

Abandon is from the French, its first equivalent in the "vulgar" being "leave." From some source Touchstone; that is, Shakspeare, had this pattern of words, and knew this distinction between them.

Baret had combined a French definition of *abandon* with the conventional English definition of *Desero*. For instance, Stephanus (1549) defines "Abandon, ou Bandon, Indulgentia, Licentia. *Abandonner aucun*, Aliquem deserere, aut destituere."<sup>120</sup> On the Latin side, Sir Thomas Elyot (1538) defines *desero* as "... leaue or forsake,"<sup>120a</sup> and this definition passes through Cooper to Thomas Thomas and Rider. But so far as I have observed, no one of these uses the word *abandon* in defining *desero*, or any of its five synonyms which Rider gives under *abandon*. The word *abandon* does not belong to the tradition of the Latin dictionaries. It belongs to the French, and Baret by striking out the Latin common denominator brings the French word *abandon* into juxtaposition with the traditional English definition from the Latin as begun by Elyot. Thus Baret creates the pattern and the distinction which Touchstone uses, and Touchstone must get these ultimately from Baret.

The only other ultimate possibility is Huloet, who, as revised by Higgins in 1572, says "Abandon, to leaue, or forsake, *Desero, is, ui, ere. Abandonner*."<sup>121</sup> Since Higgins is by his own confession also using Stephanus for the French, his combination of this with the Elyot definition gives similar results, but he does not say anything specifically about the origin of the word *abandon*.

Touchstone proceeds with his construe, "the society—which in the boorish is company." Baret has "Company: societie, fellowship. *Consortium . . . Societas . . . Societé*." Society is again the French or courtly word, which in the boorish is company; and in Baret society is the first synonym of company, just as leave had been the first synonym of abandon. Baret is again using the Elyot-Cooper tradition. Elyot (1538) had defined *consortium* as "felowshyp or company;" Cooper had added in 1548<sup>122</sup> "societie," and finally trimmed it up (1565) as "Felowship: cōpanie: societie." Baret has adapted Cooper's definition of *Consortium*.<sup>123</sup> In general, Thomas Thomas follows Cooper closely and Rider adapts. In his English-

<sup>120</sup> *Dictionnaire Francoislain* (Paris, 1549, personal).

<sup>120a</sup> *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Elyot* (1538); U. M. \*1009 from B. M., C. 28. m. 2; S. T. C. 7659.

<sup>121</sup> Huloet, R., *Huloets Dictionarie, newelye corrected* (by J. Higgins, London, 1572, microfilm in University of Illinois Library from original in Huntington Library).

<sup>122</sup> *Bibliotheca Eliotae, Eliotis Librarie* (1548); U. M. \*1011 from Cambridge Library; S.T.C. 7661.

<sup>123</sup> I have not examined the edition of 1552 on this point.

Latin (1612) Rider thinks of "Society, or fellowship," without Shakspeare's sense of company. Shakspeare is again in the tradition of Baret as adapted from Elyot-Cooper. Huloet has only "Companie or fellowshippe" for his English definition as in Elyot.

Touchstone continues, "of this female,—which in the common is woman." Incidentally, Touchstone is not the first of Shakspeare's stylists to make this distinction. Armado accused Costard of having sorted and consorted "with a child of our grandmother Eve, a female; or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman."<sup>124</sup> Baret has "the Female. *Foemina*." Cooper says "*Foemina* . . . A woman: in beastes the female," to which Thomas and Rider agree. So in the Latin tradition female gets associated with beasts; it does not suggest Touchstone's elegant term, as he might from Baret think it was, who is adapting from the French such a definition as that of Stephanus (1549), "Femelle, *Foemina*." But even so a *femelle* as defined by Stephanus was a female animal. Again, Touchstone does not belong to the Latin tradition, and he may very well be placing his own interpretation upon Baret. Here Huloet could be considered to have some advantage over Baret, "Female or a womā."

Touchstone then "puts together" his construe and gives his conclusion in a varied string of synonyms, beginning "thou perishest; or, to thy better understanding, diest." Baret has (under *Die*) "To perish, or die: to be lost," giving the Latin as *depereo*, which Elyot (1538) defines as "to perysshe, to dye," etc. and Cooper as "To perish: to die: to be loste," etc. The Elyot of 1542<sup>125</sup> had added "to be loste" at the extreme end of the definition, but had not arranged as in Baret and Cooper. This was still the case in the edition of 1559. So again Baret has used some later edition, though the edition newly come out when Baret was working eighteen years before 1573 should have been that of 1552. At any rate, Baret has again adapted the Elyot-Cooper definition. Huloet gives only "Perish," without English synonym. This time there is nothing to indicate between Baret and the Latin-English dictionaries which gave Touchstone his warrant for considering perish the elegant term and die the boorish one. But Touchstone is still following Baret in that he is defining *perish*, not *depereo*.

It will be noticed that in every instance Shakspeare is following the dictionary tradition in his definitions, and that in each case, even in-

<sup>124</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, I, 1, 266-268.

<sup>125</sup> *Bibliotheca Eliotae, Eliotis Librarie* [1545 (42)]; U. M. \*1010 from B.M., 625. k. 4; S.T.C. 7660.

cluding the last, Baret is closest to Touchstone's particular synonyms unless Huloet be granted a "touch" against Baret on female. Of course, Baret was in effect the standard English dictionary of Shakspeare's schooldays, and must have had powerful influence in shaping the English definitions of Shakspeare's generation. But it is not likely that Shakspeare would have preserved the patterns so accurately if he had not himself turned many a time and oft to Baret for his varied synonyms. And where else should he have turned? It might be added that Shakspeare could have acquired also a considerable French vocabulary from Baret—and that his generation must have had its English vocabulary considerably tinged with the French because of the mere fact that both Huloet-Higgins and Baret based their English-Latin dictionaries upon the French-Latin dictionary of Stephanus.

Numerous Latinisms have been noticed in Shakspeare's vocabulary. One noted by Halliwell-Phillipps in *The Tempest* may serve as well for illustration as any. Prospero speaks of himself as, "master of a full poor cell."<sup>126</sup> "*Full* seems to be here used in composition, and is accordingly printed with a hyphen. *Full-poor* answers to the Latin *perpauper*."<sup>127</sup> Since such Latinisms are characteristic, however, of contemporary English of the time, they can hardly be held of themselves to incriminate Shakspeare.

But from such sources as we have been considering Shakspeare procured the ability to play with Latin words when he desired. Sir Toby says to Sir Andrew, "We'll call thee at the cubiculo: go."<sup>128</sup> Sir Toby has automatically used the correct case-ending for the Latin.

Again, Shallow has politely inquired concerning the health of Falstaff's wife. Bardolph answers very diplomatically, "Sir, pardon; a soldier is better accommodated than with a wife," whereupon Shallow admires this judicious phraseology,

It is well said, in faith, sir; and it is well said indeed too. Better accommodated! it is good; yea, indeed, is it: good phrases are surely, and ever were, very commendable. Accommodated! it comes of "accommodo:" very good; a good phrase.

But Bardolph does not propose to be outshone in scholarship; after

<sup>126</sup> *Tempest*, I, 2, 20.

<sup>127</sup> Halliwell, J. O., *The Works of William Shakespeare* (1853-1865), Vol. I, p. 367.

<sup>128</sup> *Twelfth Night*, III, 2, 56.

all, accommodate was his word, so he is determined to define it himself.

Pardon me, sir; I have heard the word. Phrase call you it? by this good day, I know not the phrase; but I will maintain the word with my sword to be a soldier-like word, and a word of exceeding good command, by heaven. Accommodated; that is, when a man is, as they say, accommodated; or when a man is, being, whereby a' may be thought to be accommodated; which is an excellent thing.<sup>129</sup>

Nor was Shakspeare the only one to poke fun at the use of this word *accommodate*. In *Every Man in his Humour*, Jonson also gibes it in much the same sense. Bobadill desires to show Master Mathew a fine point in fencing.

Hostesse, accommodate vs with another bed-staffe here, quickly: Lend vs another bed-staffe. The woman do's not vnderstand the wordes of *Action*.<sup>130</sup>

Both Bardolph and Bobadill give the word a military cast, and both characters were presented by the one company not far apart. Shakspeare's play was probably produced in 1597, and Jonson's in 1598. About 1600, John Hoskins, who at some time coached Jonson, instructs a pupil of his,

You are not to cast a ring<sup>131</sup> for the perfumed terms of the time, as, *apprehensiveness*, *compliments*, *spirit*, *acccommodate*, etc., but use them properly in their places, as others.<sup>132</sup>

Shakspeare knew a hawk from a handsaw, a word from a phrase; and he could poke fun at pedantic but ignorant etymologizing.

Indeed, one of his own etymologies may appear to us to fall into that classification, but Shakspeare could have quoted, no doubt, very learned authority for it. In *Cymbeline*, the soothsayer has etymologized Leonatus as Leo-natus, "the lion's whelp;"<sup>133</sup> and proceeds to *mulier*.

The piece of tender air, thy virtuous daughter,  
Which we call 'mollis aer;' and 'mollis aer'  
We term it 'mulier:' which 'mulier' I divine  
Is this most constant wife.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>129</sup> 2 *Henry IV*, III, 2, 72-88.

<sup>130</sup> *Every Man in his Humour*, I, 5, 125 ff.

<sup>131</sup> "Cast a ring" = conjure.

<sup>132</sup> Hudson, *Hoskins*, p. 7; cf. p. 60.

<sup>133</sup> *Cymbeline*, V, 5, 443. The reader will remember,

Something that hath a reference to my state;

No longer Celia, but Aliena (*As You Like It*, I, 3, 129-130)

and

Admired Miranda!

Indeed the top of admiration! (*Tempest*, III, 1, 37-38).

<sup>134</sup> *Cymbeline*, V, 5, 446-449.



This word *mulier* seems to have been peculiarly fruitful of fanciful etymologies. Stephanus (1531) says, "Mulier . . . à mollitie dicitur, vt inquit Varro, immutata & detracta litera, quasi mollier."<sup>126</sup> Owen has made a Latin epigram on this etymology.

70.

*Mulier.*

Dicta fuit Mulier quasi\* mollior: est tamē Eua

Non de carne sui sumta, sed osse, viri.<sup>126</sup>\**Varro de ling. lat.*

This etymology of *mollier* had been further broken into *mollis aer*, else that etymology had been independently derived.

Dr. Aldis Wright points out the following in *A World of Wonders* by Henry Stephen, translated by R. C., 1607, p. 292: "the ancient Latinists . . . had no good dexteritie in giving Etymologies of Ancient Latin words; witness the notation of *Mulier, quasi mollis aer*." A writer in *Notes and Queries* (Feb. 1857) quotes Isidore of Seville as giving this grotesque etymology.<sup>127</sup>

Shakspeare is thus turning a current Latin etymology to his purposes. To do this and his other feats of etymologizing he needed only the elementary training of grammar school. This training enabled him at need to manufacture ludicrous Latins and etymologies for his pretenders and pedants. I take it that Quinapalus<sup>128</sup> is one of these, being *quina palus*, five marsh, rather an appropriate authority for a clown to quote on fools. Of what Shakspeare could do seriously in this type of thing we have no surviving illustrations; but at least he had some smatterings such as grammar school should have given. We shall probably be safe enough in concluding that Shakspeare memorized his Withals and learned how to use Cooper, probably Baret, and other aids as he struggled with his Latins, Biblical and otherwise.

<sup>126</sup> See also Calepine, *Cornucopia*, etc. Baret, *Alvearie* (1580) says, "a Woman. *Mulier* . . . à mollicie dicta est, immutata & detracta litera quasi mollier: & propriè Mulier dicitur, quae virgo non est" etc.

<sup>127</sup> Owen, J., *Epigrammatum . . . Libri Tres* (London, 1607, personal), p. [A10]r.

<sup>128</sup> Dowden, E., *Cymbeline* (Arden ed., p. 209).

<sup>129</sup> *Twelfth Night*, I, 5, 39.

## CHAPTER XXX

### LOWER GRAMMAR SCHOOL: SHAKSPERE'S LATIN SPEAKING

WHILE SHAKSPERE WAS LEARNING HIS GRAMMAR, using Cato, Aesop, etc. on which to learn to construe, memorizing Withals, Stanbridge, or another to acquire a vocabulary, and using the Bible, as possibly also some sentential collection to learn to write Latins, he ought besides to have been learning to speak Latin by means of colloquies. Baynes shows that Holofernes, Sir Nathaniel, and others converse after the fashion of, and in conventional phrases from, the manuals.

*Hol. . . . anne intelligis, domine? . . .*

*Nath. Laus Deo bone intelligo.*

*Hol. Bone? bone, for bene: Priscian a little scratched; 'twill serve.*

*Enter Armado, Moth, and Costard.*

*Nath. Videsne quis venit?*

*Hol. Video, et gaudeo.<sup>1</sup>*

As Baynes points out,

These scraps of Latin dialogue exemplify the technical Latin intercourse between master and pupils in the school work, as well as the formal colloquies the latter were required to prepare as exercises in the second stage of their course. In one of the manuals of the latter, entitled "*Familiares Colloquendi Formulae in Usum Scholarum Concinnatae*," I find under the first section, headed, "*Scholasticae* Belonging to the School," the following: "Who comes to meet us? *Quis obviam venit?* He speaks improperly, *Hic incongruè loquitur*; He speaks false Latin, *Diminuit Prisciani caput*; 'Tis barbarous Latin, *Olet barbariem*." In the scene just quoted from it will be remembered Holofernes, in reply to Costard's "*Ad dunghill* at the fingers' ends, as they say," says, "O I smell false Latin, 'dunghill' for *unguem*."<sup>2</sup>

The earliest copy of the collection mentioned by Baynes which I have seen is *Familiares Colloquendi Formulae, In Usum Scholarum Concinnatae . . . Editio Sexta . . . Londini, 1685*, in the British Museum, the only edition of this work which I have located in that repository. The Library of the University of Illinois has a copy of the seventh edition, 1687; my own copy is of the twenty-fifth edition, 1743. This manual is thus not earlier than the seventeenth century, though it is itself avowedly a compilation from earlier manuals. Presumably Shakspeare's phrases have come from one or more of

<sup>1</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost* (Oxford Shakspeare), V, 1, 28-34.

<sup>2</sup> Baynes, *Shakspeare*, p. 181.

these, if indeed they came from books at all. It is possible, therefore, that a complete survey of the available manuals of colloquies before 1575 would yield us Shakspeare's "very own."

So far as the list furnished by Baynes is concerned, Pelegromius, a phrase book accessible to Shakspeare, furnishes an abundance of Latin phrases as equivalents of "to speak false Latine," many of them rather "smelly." The phrase *ad unguem* was, of course, so widely used as to make identification of its exact source impossible. Cooper gives the phrase both under *unguis* and under *ad*. At the latter place, he defines it thus, "*Ad unguem, Id est, exquisita diligentia, atq; exactissima cura. Colum.* Exactly: absolutely: perfectly," his Englishing reminding one of Erasmus.<sup>3</sup> Costard prefers to make his own translation, "ad dunghill, at the fingers' ends, as they say." Costard has taken a literal translation, and has paralleled it with the corresponding English expression, since the finger nail is at the finger's end. From the literal English translation, the audience should have caught what Costard's Latin was supposed to be. One wonders, incidentally, if this is a kindred joke to that of carrying "real estate" under one's nails.

Dull in this same play knew Cooper's definition of *unguis*, "A nayle of the fingers or toes in man, birde, or beaste: a claw: a talone: the houe of an oxe or cow." Dull says, "If a talent be a claw, look how he claws him with a talent."<sup>4</sup> Holofernes has just demonstrated his facility in an alliterative poem, which Sir Nathaniel commends as "A rare talent!", whereupon Dull perpetrates his pun. Dull probably owes his observation itself ultimately to the *De Conscribendis Epistolis* of Erasmus, a textbook which Shakspeare pretty certainly used in grammar school. In a *Sylva* under the heading *Responsio ad Lavdem Mea*, Erasmus gives, "Est hoc fere solenne inter eruditos, ut sese mutuis laudibus quasi scabant."<sup>5</sup> Cooper defines "Scabo . . . To rubbe, or scratch: to claw." So Dull observes how scholar-like the grave Sir Nathaniel solemnly claws the learned Holofernes.

Armado also exactly reverses the triplicity, "man, birde, or beaste" in Cooper's definition of *unguis*,<sup>6</sup> for purposes of climactic propriety, no doubt—"And write God first; for God defend but God should go before such villains!"—but Armado had his fundamental suggestion from the instructions in his rhetoric upon chronography.<sup>7</sup> It is clear,

<sup>3</sup> Erasmus, *Copia* (1566), p. 211; Cap. CXVI.

<sup>4</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 2, 65-66.

<sup>5</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, I, 1, 238-240.

<sup>6</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 480.

<sup>7</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 312 ff.

then, that Shakspeare knew the definition of *unguis* as given in Cooper, and so was perfectly capable of furnishing Costard his translation without other aid.

Another of Shakspeare's scraps of Latin dialogue has been obscured almost, if not quite, beyond recovery. Armado has sent out Moth to bring in Costard. Costard has been in too great a hurry to get out of confinement, and stumbling over the threshold has broken a shin. So Moth announces, "A wonder Maister, Heers a *Costard* broken in a shin."<sup>8</sup> Since "a *Costard*" is an apple, Moth is propounding a conundrum, and Armado consequently calls for the solution, "Some enigma, some riddle: come, thy *Lenuoy* begin." Costard thinks Armado is suggesting remedies for his broken shin, and since after all it is his shin, he insists on his own remedies. "No egma, no riddle, no *lenuoy*, no *salue*, in thee male sir. O sir, Plantan, a pline Plantan: no *lenuoy*, no *lenuoy*, no *Salue* sir, but a Plantan." It will be noticed that "egma" is "enigma," and the riddle, and *lenuoy* come through; but where did Costard get what he understands as "salue, in thee male," upon which the further jesting turns? Clearly, Armado saluted the two at entrance with some Latin greeting, of which the initial word was "Salve," understood by Costard as "salve" for his sore. Hence the further punning when Armado asks, "doth the inconsiderate take *salue* for *lenuoy*, and the word *lenuoy* for a *salue*?", and Moth queries, "Do the wise thinke them other, is not *lenuoy* a *salue*?" Moth knows that the Latin word *salve* may be used at parting, and hence is a kind of "*lenuoy*." It is thus clear that Armado's greeting has dropped out, and that it was a Latin salutation beginning with "Salve," which Costard understands as "salue, in thee male." Since Costard misunderstands the sounds, and the printer may have further misunderstood the symbols by which Costard's sounds were represented, we have a pretty little "egma" of our own. The best solution of which I can think is "salve, atque vale." For a farewell, Plautus has at least three times given the reverse of this phrase, "vale atque salve." Armado may in his search for an elegant salutation have reversed this farewell from Plautus. The result is, of course, the solemn farewell to the dead, as Servius stood ready to explain to every boy who sought his aid on the eleventh book of the *Aeneid*. But since *salve* was a salutation, Armado may have overlooked the connections of his phrase. One would have expected, however, that at least, "Salve, in" would come through

<sup>8</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, III, 1, 71 (Q).

correctly, the misunderstood words being "Thee male." Perhaps someone who speaks English Latin can think of a better solution for Costard's "egma" than I can.

Another chance phrase of greeting is in *Twelfth Night*. There the Clown dressed as a priest greets Sir Toby with "Bonos dies."<sup>9</sup> While in form this might be Spanish rather than Latin, yet since the Clown is addressing Sir Toby in character of a priest, it is certain that Shakspeare intended the phrase for Latin. Whether he intended it to be correct Latin is a wholly different matter. Such chance phrases of greeting and the like must have been known to almost everyone. Nevertheless, their center of propagation was the school colloquy.<sup>10</sup>

Because of their nature, the collections of colloquies are seldom specified by the statutes. The *Dialogorum sacrorum libri quatuor* of Sebastian Castalio is mentioned for the second form at Westminster probably after 1574, and for the third at Sandwich in 1580. It is also mentioned at Rivington in 1566, but the form is not specified. There were editions printed in England, beginning at least as early as 1560. The *Colloquiorum scholasticorum libri quatuor* by Corderius is mentioned for the first form at Ruthin, 1574, for the same at Westminster probably after 1574, and for the second at Aldenham in 1600. It was entered S. R. on July, 17, 1576; but no copy appears to be known of an English printing for many years later. It seems to have been first published in 1564.<sup>11</sup> The colloquies of Erasmus are mentioned in upward of half of our lists, in seven of the nine definite cases being assigned to the second form, but in the case of the Cuckfield copy of the Eton curriculum about 1528, the colloquies are given for the third and fourth forms, and at Norwich 1566 for the third. While these colloquies of Erasmus are those most frequently required in the lists, yet they were not entered S. R. till 1569-70, and the only sixteenth century edition recorded in S. T. C. is of 1571. Thus Shakspeare could have had an English-printed copy of these colloquies, but it is more probable that any copy he may have had was printed abroad. Evaldus Gallus, *Confabulationes Pueriles* gets mentioned for the first form at Westminster probably after 1574, for the third at Norwich, 1566, and in the list for St. Bees in 1583. Ioannes Ludovicus Vives, *Linguae Exercitatio*, is not mentioned in any of the curricula

<sup>9</sup> *Twelfth Night*, IV, 2, 14.

<sup>10</sup> I have selected these few instances for illustration chiefly because each was in need of some explanation. The reader may find an attempt at a complete list of Shakspeare's Latin in Schmidt, A., *Shakspeare-Lexicon*, Appendix III, Latin.

<sup>11</sup> Graesse, *Trésor*, Vol. II, p. 263; see above, p. 384.

but was certainly used, as other evidence shows.<sup>12</sup> The *Confabulationes Tyronum Literariorum* of Hermannus Schottenius, Hessus, seems to have been printed in England, though no copy is known of such an edition, and I have found no mention of these dialogues in the curricula.<sup>13</sup> Lucian's dialogues in Latin translation are mentioned in three instances, once for the second form, again for the third, and a third time unallocated. This was probably the collection by Erasmus, of which Wynkyn de Worde published an edition as early as 1528. Besides these instances, Canterbury and Worcester require simply "some Familiar Colloquies" in the second form. For an earlier period, we hear of *Dialogi pueriles C. Hegendorphini xii lepidi aeque ac docti apud Wynkyndum de Worde . . .* London, 1532;<sup>14</sup> but I have not found the collection mentioned in the curricula.

These required colloquies fall into two types. Corderius, Gallus, and Vives aim at presenting typical conversations covering all phases of schoolboy life so that the boys might have a stock of good Latin phrases in which to carry on their conversations. Each of these, therefore, is mentioned for the first form as well as for the second. Schottenius is prevailingly of this type also. Sir Toby is thinking of this form of colloquy and its functions when he says that Slender "speaks three or four languages word for word without book."<sup>15</sup> Slender's linguistic mishaps are connected with this fact, as schoolmaster Shakspeare well knew. Here is a ludicrous but apt description of the elementary stages of language learning, not only in Latin, but also in modern foreign languages, for in general teachers of modern language simply aped and adapted the methods of the teachers of Latin. But Castalio and Erasmus, both in his colloquies and in his translation of Lucian, form a second type, presenting what one might call literary dialogues rather than ordinary conversations. Castalio uses Biblical subject matter, and Erasmus writes more or less moral essays in dialogue form, his model of form being in general Lucian. As to the moral view, Erasmus is himself clear, explaining elsewhere in detail the moral purpose of each dialogue.<sup>16</sup> This second group is, therefore, regularly specified for the second form, and occasionally for the third.

Brinsley, as usual, explains how to use these colloquies, in his

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 497.      <sup>13</sup> See above, pp. 495-97.

<sup>14</sup> Campagnac, E. T., *Ludus Literarius*, p. 350.

<sup>15</sup> *Twelfth Night*, I, 3, 27-28.

<sup>16</sup> Erasmus, *Epistolae* (London, 1642), pp. 1728 ff.

Chapter XIX, "Of speaking Latine purely and readily." Philoponus-Brinsley admits,

Herein hath beene a great part of my error and hinderance, that I euer thought as most do, that children were not to be exercised to speake Latine, for feare of Barbarisme, vntill they came into the highest fourmes; as at least vntill they were in the third, fourth, or fift fourmes: and hereuppon I could neuer attaine to that which I desired.

But now I find evidently, that this must be begunne from the very first entrance into construction; their first bookes being principally appointed, and read to them to this end, to enter and traine them vp in speaking of Latine of ordinary matters:

As *Confabulatiunculae*, *Pueriles*, *Corderius*, and other like Colloquiums. And therefore they should then begin to practise to vse those phrases which there they learne.

Also for the Grammar, I see no reason but it might haue beene all as well set downe in the English, like as the Accedence is, and learned in one halfe of the time, and with much more delight; but onely or chiefly to traine vp Schollers to deliuer all their Grammar rules, and matters concerning Grammar in Latine.<sup>17</sup>

Philoponus had thus formerly agreed with Ascham that children were not to begin speaking Latin at once. As we have seen, Ascham had contended that children should not begin speaking Latin until they could use Ciceronic, or at worst Terentian phrase. So for the greater part of the sixteenth century Terence had been the first real classic author for the boys, both because he was easier and especially because he was in dialogue. Udall's *Floures* had culled the Terentian phrases for the boys avowedly in the interests of conversation, and presumably preceded or accompanied the reading of Terence as a partial translation and explanation of the difficult passages. As we have seen, Sturm had devised a method of using Cicero's easier letters for the same purpose, and so by means of the *sententiae* and these letters Brinsley substitutes Cicero entirely in this function. But along with Terence and, or, Cicero, the schoolmasters had also kept their collections of colloquies for immediate Latin speaking. The curricula uniformly insist that these be begun at once; they do not agree with Ascham.

Brinsley has explained the why, and now explains the how.

For the manner of effecting it, I find it to be most easie thus:

1. You must remember that which I said, concerning the manner of the examining both of their Grammar rules and Lectures; to pose eveyr peice of a rule, and every part of a sentence both in English and Latine, as leasure

<sup>17</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus, Literarius* (1627), p. 215.

will permit; and to cause them to answer both in English and Latine, vntill they be able to vnderstand and answer in Latine alone. And so both the examining in the words of their Authors, and causing them to answer likewise in the very same words of the Authors, they will enter into it with great delight. For the particular manner, I referre you to the Chapter of examining in Latine, which I shewed you before at large, and set downe examples of it.

2. What they are not able to vtter in Latine, vtter you it euer before them; that as the child learneth of the Mother or of the Nurse, to begin to speake, so they may of you and of their Author.

If you were not able so to vtter euery thing before them, as very many are to seeke this way, amongst others (I meane in this, to speake in Latine easily and purely, euen in ordinary matters;) yet this continuall practice of daily examining and teaching your Schollers to answer out of the words of the Author (as the manner was set downe before) and watchfulnesse to vse to speake Latine, onely amongst all whom you would haue to learne it, shall bring you vnto it; and much more by the meanes following.

3. I do find the daily practice also of those Grammaticall translations, which I haue so oft mentioned in reading the Latine of the Author out of the translation, to be a maruellous helpe hereunto; especially the reading of books of Dialogues: as of *Confabulationum pueriles*, *Corderius*, &c. For if there they can presently expresse their mindes in Latine, of any such matter as is there handled; why shall they not be able to doe it likewise, of any such thing falling into their common talke.

4. As they learne these Dialogues, when they haue construed and parsed, cause them to talke together; vttering euery sentence pathetically one to another (as was shewed in our former speech of pronouncing) and first to vtter euery sentence in English, as neede is, then in Latine.

So you shall be sure that they shall not goe by rote (as we tearme it) and as they may do soone, if they only repeate the Latine so talking together. And moreouer, euer thus with the English, the Latine will easily come to their remembrance, so often as they haue occasion to vse the same.

5 The practice mentioned of turning euery morning a piece of their Accedence into Latine, for their exercise, shall much prepare them to parse and speake in Latine.

6 Accustome them to parse wholly in Latine, by that time that they haue been a yeere or two at the most, in construction, and are well acquainted with the manner of parsing in English, as we aduised before. This they will do very readily, if you traine them vp well in their Accedence, and in the former kindes of examining and exercises, which I spake of euen now; and more specially by the right and continuall apposing of their Grammar rules in Latine.

Moreouer, the Dialogues in the end of the first booke of *Corderius* Dialogues, wil much further them in this parsing, because they are principally written to this purpose; as all his foure bookes are very sweet and pleasant for all ordinary schollers talke.

7 Next vnto these I finde the daily practice of disputing or opposing in



Latine (following the order, and vsing the helpe of M. *Stockwood*) to be marueilously profitable, for witty and sweet speech.

8 Vnto these you may adde the practice of varying of a phrase, according to the manner of *Erasmus*, *Ruius*, or *Macropedius*, *de copia verborum*: as the wayes of varying the first Supine, of the Imperatiue moode, the future tense, the Superlatiue degree, and the like. But these onely as leisure wil suffer, not hindering the most necessary exercises.

9 So also for copie of the purest phrases and Synonimaes, besides the daily helpes of all their Authors, *Manutius* or Master *Draxe* his phrases, to see how many waies they can vtter any thing in good phrase; and so to turne any phrase when they haue occasion. And more specially for that practice of the reading them out of the Grammaticall Translations in propriety (as was shewed before of the Dialogues) any shall finde to be most easie, to furnish with store of the purest phrase for any purpose.

10 Besides, for the Master to vse oft, at taking or saying Lectures or exercises, or at their pronouncing or shewing exercises, to cause them to giue variety for any thing; who is able to giue a better word or phrase, or to giue the greatest copy to expresse their minds, and where they haue read the words or phrase.

11 Where none can giue a fit word, there to turne their Dictionaries, as to *Holyokes* Dictionary, and then to furnish them, or to describe the thing by some Periphrasis or circumlocution of words or the phrases mentioned.

12 But to the end to haue copie of proper words, besides all other helpes spoken of, it were not vnprofitable to haue daily some few words to be repeated first in the morning; as out of *Adrianus Iunius* his Nomenclator; or out of the Latine Primitiues, or the Greeke Radices; the vse whereof I shall shew hereafter: and euer for those words which they haue learned (any one who can soonest) to name where they haue learned them.

Thus by all meanes they should be furnished with propriety and copie of the best words; which is a wonderfull helpe to all kinde of learning, especially to the knowledge of the tongues.

13 To all these may be added for them who haue leisure enough, the reading ouer and ouer of *Erasmus* Colloquium, *Castalions* Dialogues, or the like.

14 Lastly, when you haue laid a sound foundation, that they may be sure to haue warrantable and pure phrase, by these meanes or the best of them, and all other their schoole exercises; then continuall practice of speaking shall vndoubtedly accomplish your desire, to cause them to speake truely, purely, properly, and readily; Practice in a good way being here, as in all the rest, that which doth all.<sup>18</sup>

By whatever methods and by means of whatever text books, it is certain that Shakspeare would have been subjected to a certain amount of Latin speaking, and we have already seen that he shows some knowledge derived from the process. He uses information which

<sup>18</sup> Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 216-219.

is at least ultimately from Vives. The connection between sheep and vowels which enables the schoolboy Moth to discomfit the learned abcedarius Holofernes was established by Vives,<sup>19</sup> though such a choice bit was likely to be traditional and so might not indicate any direct contact.

Also, Hamlet says,

I once did hold it, as our statists do,  
A baseness to write fair and labour'd much  
How to forget that learning.<sup>20</sup>

In a discussion of writing, Vives says,

But the crowd of our nobility do not follow the precept (as to the value of writing), for they think it is a fine and becoming thing not to know how to form their letters. You would say their writing was the scratching of hens, and unless you were warned beforehand whose hand it was, you would never guess.<sup>21</sup>

This is, at least, a much closer parallel than has before been adduced to the passage in *Hamlet*, and it is in a volume that Shakspeare is likely to have memorized early.

If Shakspeare had Vives, he met *Planta pedis* with Latin definition there.<sup>22</sup> Withals would also have given him the definition in English, "The plant of the foote, *planta*, *te*."<sup>23</sup> And thus Shakspeare in the first year or two of grammar school was fully prepared to perpetrate an erudite pun in *Antony and Cleopatra* many a year later.

Some o' their plants are ill-rooted already.<sup>24</sup>

Because of drunkenness, the *plantae* of the gentlemen were ill-rooted. In order to make his definition stick, Vives had referred to Pliny's people whose feet were so large that they used them for umbrellas. Apparently Vives succeeded in impressing Shakspeare. He may have set William to looking up these people and their marvelous neighbors in Pliny. At least, by the time he came to write *Othello* Shakspeare was quite well acquainted in the neighborhood.<sup>25</sup>

In Vives Shakspeare would twice have met allusions to the story of

<sup>19</sup> See Baldwin, *Petty School*, pp. 147 ff. This passage from Vives was also noted independently and first printed by Miss Frances A. Yates in *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost*, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Hamlet*, V, 2, 33-35.

<sup>21</sup> Watson, Foster, *Tudor School-Boy Life*, p. 67.

<sup>22</sup> Vives, J. L., *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio* (Antwerp, 1561, personal), p. 129. This copy belonged to Richard Tylden and has a couple of sentimental English "poems" in his hand. It also bears the names of William Tylden and William Clowes.

<sup>23</sup> Withals, John, *A Short Dictionarie* (1556), Utr.

<sup>24</sup> *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, 7, 1-2.

<sup>25</sup> Baldwin, "Pliny," *Parrott Presentation Volume*, pp. 165 ff.

Lucrece;<sup>26</sup> Vives thought it an exceptionally good story to impress upon youth,<sup>27</sup> and schoolmasters generally agreed. Shakspeare would also have heard of a Turkey carpet (p. 75), as also of the various ways of "baptizing" and in other ways sophisticating wines (pp. 80-81), though such items of information as these he is likely to have picked up from life before he came to Vives. Vives would also have acquainted Shakspeare with the opinion that good verses are not made without good wine.<sup>28</sup> Vives would have given Shakspeare a great deal of assorted information and would especially have developed his vocabulary, both Latin and English. For Vives had constructed these colloquies to bring in a large number of words used in all the normal routines of a pupil's life, and Shakspeare would have been obliged to turn to Cooper for the English equivalents. Since Cooper tried to give the various shades of meaning, this process should have been excellent for building Shakspeare's vocabulary. Here is doubtless one reason that his vocabulary has that indefinable but unmistakable impress of Latinity. For the other books of colloquies also aimed at these same pedagogical values. All Shakspeare's formal vocabulary-building would be through the Latin, with just possibly some later aid from the Greek.

The *Colloquies* of Corderius would also have been available to Shakspeare, since they were printed with a preface dated 1564; but I find no indication that Shakspeare used them. After he has established school routines, Corderius settles soberly and systematically down to moralizing all kinds of schoolboy situations. His good boys are frequently accused of being theologians, and the whole is a very staid production, without a breath of conscious humor or a suggestion of humanity. No doubt the colloquies would have been "good" for Shakspeare, but I am absolutely certain he would not have cared for them. Since apparently he had Vives, a closely similar work, it is not likely that he would also have had Corderius.

I have found no trace of the *Confabulatiunculae* of Evaldus Gallus, nor of the *Confabulationes* of Hermannus Schottenius in Shakspeare. The former is a phrasebook simply; the latter an unusually dull collection of conversations, in which boys are likely but seldom to have indulged voluntarily. The dialogues are sometimes on the right subjects; but Schottenius has nothing of the Erasmian touch, though he professes on his title page to be following the example of Erasmus.

<sup>26</sup> Vives, *Exercitatio* (Antwerp, 1561), pp. 56, 128.

<sup>27</sup> See above, pp. 186, etc.

<sup>28</sup> Vives, *Exercitatio* (Antwerp, 1561), p. 25. See also Erasmus, *Colloquia* (Amsterdam, 1693), p. 90.

I believe also that Shakspeare may show knowledge of at least the existence of another of these collections of dialogues, though we are hardly to be blamed for having hitherto overlooked his hint. It will be remembered that Maria reports to Sir Toby the charge against Sir Andrew Aguecheek, unwelcome suitor of Sir Toby's niece,

he's drunk nightly in your company.

*Sir To.* With drinking healths to my niece: I'll drink to her as long as there is a passage in my throat and drink in Illyria: he's a coward and a coystriall that will not drink to my niece till his brains turn o' the toe like a parish-top. What, wench! Castiliano vulgo! for here comes Sir Andrew Agueface.<sup>29</sup>

As the commentators long since pointed out by numerous instances, the term Castilian is connected with drinking. The fittest of these passages for our purpose is in *The Merry Devill of Edmonton*. Banks, Sir John, and Smug have been drinking so heavily that it is doubtful whether Smug can go on their poaching expedition. Then the Host enters and salutes each, beginning with Sir John the priest.

Ha, my Castilian dialogues! and art thou in breath stil, boy? Miller [Banks], doth the match hold? Smith [Smug], I see by thy eyes thou hast bin reading little Geneua print.<sup>30</sup>

Why is Sir John, the drunken priest, called "my Castilian dialogues?" In order to make the pun clear, we should notice that the Sandwich statutes of 1580 prescribe "the Dialogs of Castilio." These dialogues were thus in vulgar phrase Castilian dialogues. The reference is to the well known book of dialogues by Castalio, in some editions entitled *Dialogorum sacrorum ad linguam et mores puerorum, formandos libri iv*, the first edition in England recorded in *The Short Title Catalogue* dating 1560. The Host is thus punning on the two senses of Castilian. Sir John by his sacred office was to form the manners of youth and others as did Castalio's sacred dialogues, but he was in fact a Castilian reprobate. The pun upon Sir John is thus a worthy companion to the jest upon "Geneva print," which is perpetrated upon Smug.

It may be well to let King James contribute his testimony. In "An Epitaphe on Montgomrie" he addresses "Ye sacred brethren of Castalian band."<sup>31</sup> Westcott explains, "The name adopted by the group of poets in the Scottish Court," and quotes also the statement that King James "poetas claros sodales suos vulgo vocari voluit."<sup>32</sup> King James labeled his group "brethren of Castalian band;" Sir Toby his *Castiliano vulgo*.

<sup>29</sup> *Twelfth Night*, I, 3, 38-46.

<sup>30</sup> Brooke, C. F. T., *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. 271.

<sup>31</sup> Westcott, Allan F., *New Poems by James I of England*, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Apparently, Sir Toby is perpetrating the same jest as the Host, but in Latin within a year or two of the Host. And well he might, since *The Merry Devill* was acted by Shakspeare's own company, and has indeed been by some attributed to Shakspeare himself. Falstaff, Sir Toby, and the Host were doubtless all personated by the same actor. If, therefore, the Host and Sir Toby borrow from each other there is no harm done. Sir Toby will not forsake getting drunk with Sir Andrew, and salutes him as a Castilian companion of the band, *Castiliano vulgo*. I take the expression, therefore, to be a kind of Latin equivalent of the Host's "Ha, my Castilian dialogues," perhaps addressed to his drunken crony Sir Andrew as that worthy enters. If this is the general meaning and origin of the phrase, then the Host was clearly the first to perpetrate the jest, for it grew out of Sir John's sacred office and Castilian ways. But even if this should be distinctly a reference to Castalio's dialogues, yet it would not necessarily indicate that Shakspeare knew anything more than the general nature of the book, if that. Still Castalio's sacred dialogues would have been an excellent companion for Shakspeare's Mantuan in the third form, where Hoole later yokes the two together. At Westminster, Castalio was prescribed for the second form, but at Sandwich for the third, and at Rivington for a form unspecified. I do not know any definite internal evidence that Shakspeare used these dialogues, and it would be difficult to procure, because the subject-matter is Biblical, and so not easily to be distinguished from materials directly from the Bible.

If Shakspeare did not also read some of Lucian's *Dialogues* in Latin translation while he was still in the lower school, he was at least supposed to have the ability to do so. The following echo of Lucian may, therefore, readily be a direct one.

To see a king transformed to a gnat!  
 To see great Hercules whipping a gig,  
 And profound Solomon to tune a jig,  
 And Nestor play at push-pin with the boys,  
 And critic Timon laugh at idle toys!<sup>33</sup>

Hart notes,

Compare Webster, *White Devil* (Routledge, 1877, p. 48): "*Flamineo*. Whither shall I go now? O Lucian thy ridiculous purgatory! to find Alexander the Great cobbling shoes, Pompey tagging points, and Julius Caesar making hair-buttons! Hannibal selling blacking and Augustus selling garlic," etc., etc. And see Rabelais, ii. 30.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 3, 166-170.

<sup>34</sup> Hart, *Love's Labor's Lost* (Arden ed.), p. 95.

The passage in Rabelais to which Hart refers is a long one in the humor of Lucian. After Epistemon had returned from Hell and the Elysian Fields, he tells of the inversion of status he has seen there. "I saw Alexander the Great, who was botching old Breeches, and so gaining his miserable Living. Xerxes was a Crier of Mustard, Romulus a Dry-Salter, Numa a Nail-smith," etc., continuing for pages, and including "Nestor a Tramp" but no other of the characters or occupations of Shakspeare's list, these latter being typically English. Similarly, in the *Necromantia* of Lucian only Nestor occurs, as one of the "conversational shades" who keep Socrates company while he proves everybody wrong as usual. Solomon, of course, does not hail from the Greek of Lucian. But Menippus goes to the shades disguised as Hercules, Odysseus, or Orpheus, and Lucian elsewhere devotes complete essays in his usual iconoclastic vein to both great Hercules and critic Timon. For, this trick of inverted status is a frequent device with Lucian, and not by any means confined to this one dialogue. Shakspeare's characters are, therefore, Lucianic rather than Rabelaisian. The passage from Webster shows that Lucian was conventionally interpreted in the Rabelaisian spirit. It is thus on the face of it more likely that Shakspeare's treatment derives ultimately from Lucian rather than from Rabelais. But counting in the opposite direction is the fact that Holofernes as a teacher of petties in this same play of *Love's Labor's Lost* is from Rabelais.

There is a passage of similar coloring in *King Lear*, where Edgar says, "Frateretto calls me; and tells me Nero is an angler in the lake of darkness."<sup>35</sup> Mr. F. E. Budd points out that in the *Monk's Tale* by Chaucer Shakspeare could have found that Nero was an angler, as also the statement used elsewhere by Shakspeare that with his own hands Nero had ripped his mother's womb.<sup>36</sup> But even if this source be accepted, it would account only for the facts of Shakspeare's statement in *Lear*, and not for his general pattern of presentation. Mr. Fox has contended that Shakspeare had a first-hand knowledge of Lucian, and that he used that knowledge specifically in the grave-scene of *Hamlet*.<sup>37</sup> Certainly there is a great deal of the Lucianic

<sup>35</sup> *King Lear*, III, 6, 7-8.

<sup>36</sup> Budd, F. E., "Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Harsnett," *Review of English Studies*, Vol. XI, pp. 421 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Fox, W. S., "Lucian in the Grave-Scene of *Hamlet*," *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 132-141; also "Sources of the Grave-Scene in *Hamlet*," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Ser. 3, Vol. XVII, Sec. 2, pp. 71-80. Also Davies, Thomas, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (1783), Vol. III, p. 20.

in this scene, but I have found nothing which appears to me to be conclusive as to the specific source.

The reference to "critic Timon" in *Love's Labor's Lost* suggests Lucian. For we need to remember that this passage, or possibly that in *Lear*, is not the only place where a knowledge of Lucian is shown in the plays which go under the name of Shakspeare.

Professor Herford, pointing out the resemblances between Shakespeare's play of Timon and Lucian's Dialogue *Timon*, concludes: "Lucian's dialogue evidently comes nearer to the drama than either Plutarch or Painter . . . The entire scheme of the plot is already there, and the germ of Timon's character." In what form Lucian's dramatic dialogue reached Shakespeare is not known.<sup>38</sup>

The question of immediate source is further complicated by the fact that *Timon* is generally agreed not to be wholly the work of Shakspeare. But there should be no difficulty about the ultimate source.

For many an Elizabethan learned considerable of Lucian, including this dialogue on critic Timon, in grammar school. Lucian's Dialogues are mentioned for the third form at Winchester in 1530, and for the second at Eton in 1560. Lucian is also required, but the form not stated, at Thame in 1574. In these instances, a Latin translation was to be used, but Westminster in adapting the Eton system put Lucian later, requiring him in the original Greek. Thus Lucian's Dialogues in Latin translation were considered to rank with other dialogues in the second and third forms of grammar school.

The Lucianic humor appealed to Erasmus, who translated into Latin a considerable collection mostly of dialogues.<sup>39</sup> As issued with a dedication to William Archbishop of Canterbury dated from London in 1512, it contained the *Timon* and *Hercules Gallicus*, but not *Necromantia*.<sup>40</sup> This collection would thus probably have been used in English schools. But the *Necromantia* was put into English translation for school use around 1530,

A dialog of the poet Lucyen, fer his fantesye faynyd for a mery pastyme. And furst by hym compyld in the Greke tonge. And after translated owt of the Greke into Latyn, and now lately translated out of Laten into Englishh for the erudicion of them, which be disposyd to lerne the tongis. Inter locutores, Menippus and Philonides.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 143.

<sup>39</sup> For the Lucianic interests of Erasmus, see Heep, Martha, *Die Colloquia Familiaria Des Erasmus Und Lucian*. <sup>40</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, pp. 183-184.

<sup>41</sup> Palmer, *Classics*, p. 71; cf. Lathrop, *Translations*, pp. 37-38.

As the title page confesses, this is an English translation from a Latin translation, the Latin being More's. The whole of Lucian had early been put into Latin translation, so that he was readily accessible to anyone who commanded Latin. A complete study of available Latin translations of Lucian and their notes would throw further light upon him as he was known to the sixteenth century, but I cannot make that study here. I must be content to point out that Shakspeare would have been considered capable of reading Lucian's Dialogues in Latin translation before he completed the lower school, and consequently his ultimate borrowings from Lucian may well be direct ones, occasioned by his having read some of Lucian either in or out of school.

Shakspeare might even have used his small Greek upon Lucian. Sir Thomas Elyot had wanted to base the training of his "Prince" upon Greek rather than Latin. So after Aesop in Greek, he would take up Lucian.

The nexte lesson wolde be some quicke and mery dialoges / elect out of Luciane / whiche be without ribawdry / or to moche skorning / for either of them is exactly to be eschewed / specially for a noble man / the one anoyeng the soule / the other his estimation / concernyng his grautie. The comedies of Aristophanes may be in the place of Luciane / and by reason that they be in metre / they be the sooner lerned by harte / I dare make none other comparison betwene them / for offendyng the frendes of them both: but thus moche dare I say / that it were better that a childe shuld neuer rede any parte of Luciane than all Luciane.<sup>42</sup>

Thus Shakspeare is quite likely to have had some of Lucian in Latin translation in lower grammar school, and may even in the upper school have studied him in the original Greek.

I have a strong feeling but perhaps hardly conclusive proof that Shakspeare was also acquainted with the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. These dialogues evidently had a powerful influence on English literature, and demand much more than the cursory attention they have yet received.<sup>43</sup> One of Shakspeare's scraps of Latin may have been reinforced by the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. Holofernes says to Sir Nathaniel of Don Adriano de Armado, "Novi hominem tanquam te."<sup>44</sup> As we have seen, this phrase is from the grammar. It is later to be found in Clarke's *Phraseologia*, together with the English equivalent, "I know

<sup>42</sup> Elyot, *The Governour* (1531), fol. 31r and v.; Croft, Vol. I, pp. 57-58.

<sup>43</sup> Voelt, H. de, *De Inloed van Erasmus op de Engelsche Toonelliteratuur der XVI<sup>e</sup> en XVII<sup>e</sup> Eeuwen* has in a first part made a start by collecting parallels upon the background of the *Shakespeare Fest-Books* and *Lyly*.

<sup>44</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 10.



the man as well as I know you."<sup>46</sup> Clarke says, "The whole *Phrascologia* is for the most part gathered out of that golden work, of *Erasmus Colloquia*, worthie the often reading by all scholars."<sup>46</sup> Erasmus has twice paralleled the phrase. In the dialogue entitled *Pietas Puerilis*<sup>47</sup> which is early in the book and because of its subject doubtless emphasized by every schoolmaster, one character asks concerning Dean Colet, "Nostin' hominem?", and the other, Erasmus by name, answers "Quid ni? tanquam te."<sup>48</sup> In a slightly later dialogue, *Proci et Puellae*, which was much more likely of its own accord to attract a schoolboy's attention, the girl asks, "Puellae quod erat nomen? Quid haeres?", and the young man answers, "Nihil; novi tanquam te."<sup>49</sup> Erasmus is himself in both cases, but especially in the first, adapting Terence.

*Geta* senis nostri, Dave, fratrem maiorem Chremem  
nostin?

*Davos* quid ni?

*Geta* quid? eius gnatum Phaedriam?

*Davos* tam quam te.<sup>50</sup>

The passage in the grammar is probably still another adaptation by Erasmus of this passage in Terence, for it occurs in the nuclear *Libellus*, which Erasmus so revised that Lily considered he himself had no right to claim it.<sup>51</sup> The particular form of the sentence in the grammar may have been suggested by the paraphrase or *ordo* of Guido Juvenalis to the passage in Terence, "noui sup. tanquam te."<sup>52</sup> One would need to supply only *hominem* here, and Erasmus has done that in the first passage we have quoted, though keeping the original form of the verb. So both from Terence directly,<sup>53</sup> and from the adaptations in the *Colloquies* of Erasmus and in the grammar this phraseology would have been impressed upon Shakspeare's mind; but the grammar, since it was memorized and constantly repeated, had naturally made the greatest impression. It will be seen, at least, that Shakspeare has selected a well-worn school phrase for Holofernes, as of course he should have done.

<sup>46</sup> Clarke, John, *Phrascologia Puerilis Anglo-Latina* (1650), p. 39.

<sup>46</sup> Clarke, *Phrascologia* (1650), A3v.

<sup>47</sup> For an illustration of how this was likely to be taught, see *King Henry the Eighth's Scheme of Bishopricks* (1838), p. 122; cf. above, p. 213 n 28.

<sup>48</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 653.

<sup>49</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 694.

<sup>50</sup> Terence, *Phormio*, 63-65.

<sup>51</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 179.

<sup>52</sup> Dr. K. M. Abbott suggested that some paraphrase of this passage in Terence might have produced the form found in the grammar, and upon that hint I looked.

<sup>53</sup> This play is not in Udall's *Floures*.

This latter dialogue has many parallels with Shakspeare, though there is nothing to show conclusively that Shakspeare is borrowing. Part of the parallelism is certainly due to the nature of the subjects. Erasmus is presenting a courtship, lasciviously as some of the "inept" thought; but Erasmus himself thought that if the average courtship were no worse, all would be well. He uses the stock situations and the stock arguments; hence necessarily there is a considerable amount of coincidence with Shakspeare. The lover is trying to impress his sweetheart with his loss of appetite. She says, "Atqui tu non abstines a capis & perdicibus," and he answers, "Verum; sed interim nihilo plus sapiunt palato meo, quam si malvis vescerer, aut betis absque pipere, vino & aceto."<sup>54</sup> One is reminded of Benedick, who is jesting with Beatrice, both being in disguise and so supposedly not recognizing each other. Benedick has promised to carry a message to himself. Beatrice says,

Do, do; he'll but break a comparison or two on me; which, peradventure not marked or not laughed at, strikes him into melancholy; and then there's a partridge wing saved, for the fool will eat no supper that night.<sup>55</sup>

Again, this same lover in Erasmus asks his sweetheart, "Saltem illud responde, utrum est elegantius spectaculum; vitis humi jacens, & computrescens; an amplexa palum aut ulmum, eamque purpureis uvis degravans?"<sup>56</sup> Cornelius Schrevelius makes a note, "*Vlmus*, arbor propter raritatem foliorum, maritandis vitibus maxime idonea."<sup>57</sup> So the elm and vine, which had been entwined in classic times, continue intertwined in Shakspeare as everywhere else. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Adriana says, "Thou art an elm, my husband, I a vine."<sup>58</sup> Titania says to Bottom,

Sleep thou, and I will wind thee in my arms.  
Fairies, be gone, and be all ways away.  
So doth the woodbine the sweet honeysuckle  
Gently entwist; the female ivy so  
Enrings the barked fingers of the elm.<sup>59</sup>

So there is ludicrous point when Poin says to Falstaff, "Answer, thou dead elm, answer."<sup>60</sup> It would require a vine of the largest to entwine Falstaff, and Poin intimates that it would be useless any-

<sup>54</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 693.

<sup>55</sup> *Much Ado*, II, 1, 152-156. cf. Thaler, A., "Queen Elizabeth and Benedick's 'Partridge Wing,'" *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XLI, pp. 527-529.

<sup>56</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), p. 695.

<sup>57</sup> Erasmus, *Colloquia* (Amsterdam, 1693), p. 186n.

<sup>58</sup> *Comedy of Errors*, II, 2, 176.

<sup>59</sup> *Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, 1, 43-47.

<sup>60</sup> *Henry IV*, II, 4, 358.

way; the elm is dead—a sore point with Falstaff, who is still something of a leek, with a hoar head and green tail.

The lover argues concerning virginity,

Nisi matri tuae defluxisset flos ille, nos istum flosculum non haberemus. Quod si, ut spero, non sterile fuerit nostrum conjugium, pro una virgine multas dabimus.<sup>61</sup>

The reader will recognize an argument so frequently recurring in Shakspeare's sonnets and elsewhere as not to require citation. Also in his *Christian Prince* Erasmus says, "Non moritur, qui vivam sui reliquit imaginem,"<sup>62</sup> which is exactly the argument of the opening sonnets. And significantly enough, the argument of procreation does not belong to the sonnet tradition.<sup>63</sup>

The girl objects, "Vulgus conjugium capistrum vocat."<sup>64</sup> Bertram so regards his wife, "Here comes my clog."<sup>65</sup> Autolycus also holds the same views, "The prince himself is about a piece of iniquity, stealing away from his father with his clog at his heels."<sup>66</sup> And there are other passages to the same effect. Such parallels and others do not show that Shakspeare is borrowing from this dialogue, but they do show that such scraps of information and points of view must have reached him early. For in school and out he would be associated with those who had this information and held these points of view.

If Shakspeare had the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, he doubtless acquired there another scrap of Latinity for Holofernes. Dull has misunderstood some Latin, "I said the deer was not a haud credo; 'twas a pricket," thus provoking an explosion from Holofernes. "Twice-sod simplicity, bis coctus! O thou monster Ignorance, how deformed dost thou look!"<sup>67</sup> Erasmus had written "Quid si apponeret cicutam, aut cramben recoctam?"<sup>68</sup> This should have sent the boys to the index of the *Adagia* of Erasmus for *crambe recocta*, which would have referred them to the explanation under *Crambe bis posita, mors*.<sup>69</sup> Horrified Holofernes is reprobating the really deadly dullness of Dull.

In the *Colloquies*, Shakspeare might also have met the doctrine of the soul which he later uses significantly. Erasmus writes, anima quoniam est forma simplex, sic est in toto corpore, ut in singulis corporis partibus sit tota, quamvis non idem agat per omnes partes, nec eodem modo per quomodolibet affectas.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 696.

<sup>62</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 279 ff.

<sup>63</sup> *All's Well*, II, 5, 58.

<sup>64</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 2, 21-23.

<sup>65</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), p. 137; (Florence, 1575), p. 210.

<sup>66</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 772.

<sup>67</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. IV, p. 562.

<sup>68</sup> Erasmus *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 696.

<sup>69</sup> *Winter's Tale*, IV, 4, 692-694.

<sup>70</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 825.

The statement which Erasmus is paraphrasing is, "Tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte," tracing back at least to Plotinus, *δλη ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ οὖν αὐτοῦ δλη*.<sup>71</sup> The English statement is, "All in all, and all in every part." Shakspeare uses this idea frequently, but especially in the sonnets to characterize his patron. It has been suggested that one of these uses in the sonnets is built on the motto of the Earl of Southampton, "Vng par tout, et tout par ung," though the fact that this motto is itself a statement of the doctrine of the soul has not been noticed.<sup>72</sup> It is clear, at least, that Shakspeare knew and consciously used this doctrine of the soul in various ways. And when Shakspeare's sonnet references are put upon this background, I think it is certain that he is playing upon Southampton's motto. This colloquy of Erasmus may well have been the occasion of Shakspeare's learning this doctrine of the soul. He could not long have kept ignorant of it.

Shakspeare would have met in the *Colloquies* many other items which he later uses, sometimes after further provocation. Antony and Cleopatra are presented drinking the union.<sup>73</sup> Erasmus asks the question "Quid inter fatuum & sapientem?"<sup>74</sup> This is the doctrine preached by the Fool in *Lear*.<sup>75</sup> Another of these statements should be taken to heart by those who shake their heads over Shakspeare's marriage. The question is "Erat uxor?" the answer, "Intercesserant verba futuri temporis, sed accesserat congressus praesentis temporis." The marriage was, therefore, legal. As Cornelius Schrevelius explains,

Alludit ad sententiam Jurisconsultorum, quam sequuntur & Theologi. Si quis dicat puellae, *ducam te* & mox habeat rem cum illa, ratum est matrimonium, perinde, quasi dixisset, *duco te*. Hoc reti multi adolescentes capiuntur, magno suo malo discentes hoc sophisma.<sup>76</sup>

If Shakspeare read the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, he ought to have known better than to be captured in this net.<sup>77</sup> He should then have known what constituted legal marriage, as Erasmus intended that all little boys should know.

<sup>71</sup> Plotinus, *Ennead IV*, Book 2.

<sup>72</sup> I intend to show the bearing of these facts in later publication.

<sup>73</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 688.

<sup>74</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 742.

<sup>75</sup> See especially *Lear*, I, 4, 151 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Erasmus, *Colloquia* (Amsterdam, 1693), p. 299.

<sup>77</sup> In *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, Erasmus presents the epistle of a young man who explains how he had been captured in this net (Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 436). Erasmus did his duty by the boys.

Nor was a marriage so made looked upon as a heinous crime by Erasmus. Elsewhere he has presented this situation, together with the proverbial joke about the three-months child.<sup>78</sup> Shakspeare would not have taken it ill when his boon companions cracked this old joke upon him. In the colloquy, two women friends are in conference. Xantippe is complaining of her husband, and Eulalia is advising as to the proper way to tame a man. Eulalia suggests that a child might help. Xantippe says she has already tried that nearly seven months ago. Since she had been married not quite a year, Eulalia remarks upon their industry, whereupon there follows an explanation of the occasioning circumstances. Then comes the opinion on the matter. "*Ev . . . Sed inter vos intercesserat pactum connubiale? Xa. Intercesserat. Ev. Levius igitur peccatum est.*"<sup>79</sup> These colloquies of Erasmus were read almost universally in the grammar schools of the sixteenth century. We may have our doubts about the edification of such passages for boys of eight or so, but evidently Erasmus and the sixteenth century had not. This opinion of Erasmus is thus the official opinion of the time. We had best, therefore, take the judgment of Erasmus and of Shakspeare's contemporaries as to what was proper in their time. In the case of Shakspeare, it would probably be safer to accept the judgment of Erasmus, "*Levius igitur peccatum est.*" If they had been betrothed, they had not offended greatly. But let us hope that Anne did not prove to be a Xantippe.

Theobald, the Baconian, has pointed out a few other parallels. Erasmus has the same error concerning young men reading moral philosophy as has Shakspeare,<sup>80</sup> though the error is almost if not quite universal in Shakspeare's time. In one of the colloquies, Brassicanus says to Pompilius of Reuchlin, who is dead, "*Reuchlinus noster desiit aegrotare.*"<sup>81</sup> As Theobald notes, Shakspeare twice uses a similar euphemism. Cleopatra says

We use to say the dead are well.<sup>82</sup>

Similarly, when Macduff asks, "How does my wife?", Ross answers, "Why, well,"<sup>83</sup> as a preliminary to the news that his wife is dead. Again, Shakspeare<sup>84</sup> refers to "The tyrant custom."<sup>85</sup> So says Fabulla in her colloquy with Eutrapelus in *Puerpera*,

<sup>78</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), p. 191; (Florence, 1575), pp. 302-303.

<sup>79</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 707.

<sup>80</sup> Theobald, W., *Classical Element*, p. 83.

<sup>81</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 690.

<sup>82</sup> *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, 5, 32-33.

<sup>83</sup> *Macbeth*, IV, 3, 176-177.

<sup>84</sup> Theobald, W., *Classical Element*, p. 154.

<sup>85</sup> *Othello*, I, 3, 230.

F. Vetuit rex: E. Qui rex. F. Imò tyrannus. E. Quì quaeso? F. Syllaba dicam? Mos. E. Heu quàm iste rex multa praeter aequum exigit.<sup>86</sup>

Some early editions, as the one I have just quoted, label the passage in the margin, "Mos tyrannicus." So for schoolboys, ever in search of an epithet, Custom must needs become a tyrant. And Erasmus seems to have been the chief school center of propagation for the epithet. Textor does not include *Mos* in his collection. Cooper gives many epithets for *Mos*, but not *tyrannicus*.

There are numerous other parallels with Shakspeare in these colloquies, but we need not go on noting them. Erasmus aimed to fill his pages with useful and witty information for the benefit of the boys, and there or elsewhere Shakspeare acquired many items of this knowledge. A few pieces of technical information we may glance at in passing. Erasmus explains that there are five parts to an oration,<sup>87</sup> five acts to a drama,<sup>88</sup> and defines *declamatio*.<sup>89</sup> Erasmus assumes and teaches a great deal of technical information on metrics.<sup>90</sup> One character assures another,

Primum tibi respondi duobus trimetris jambicis: deinde trochaico tetrametro catalectico. Mox meris creticis sum locutus. Post haec Phalaecio hendecasyllabo. Deinde meris choriambis. Ad haec meris anapaestis. Rursum tribus Sapphicis. Mox Sotadico. Postremo trochaico tetrametro.<sup>91</sup>

No wonder the person is impressed, "Deum immortalem! quidvis suspicabar potius, quam istud."<sup>92</sup> Anyone who could follow the technicalities of this dialogue would have been equal to Farmer's metrical conundrum.

How would the old Bard have been astonished to have found, that he had very skilfully given the *trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic*, commonly called the *ithyphallic* measure to the Witches in *Macbeth*! and that now and then a halting Verse afforded a most beautiful instance of the *Pes proceleusmaticus*!<sup>93</sup>

I am afraid Farmer had no knowledge of the system of verse training through which these technicalities were thrashed into Elizabethan schoolboys. Clarke and men of his mind had thrown the old system of verse training out of the grammar schools by Farmer's day.

But one is likely to be more impressed with coincidences in spirit between Erasmus and Shakspeare than in mere technical information.

<sup>86</sup> Erasmus, D., *Familiarium Colloquiorum Opus* (Antwerp, 1545, personal), p. 315.

<sup>87</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 819.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 819.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 855.

<sup>90</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, pp. 721 ff.

<sup>91</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 831.

<sup>92</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, p. 831.

<sup>93</sup> Farmer, *Essay* (ed. 1), p. 7.

To Erasmus, as to Shakspeare, words were glittering toys, with which everlastingly to play. Erasmus never tires of varying an idea into innumerable forms by all the technical devices of the rhetoricians, systematically applied. Quips and puns intrude upon the most solemn places, and comic characters delight in such word-twisting combats as are to be found in Terence, but especially in Plautus, and later in Shakspeare. Here is the Dromo of Erasmus, who, with the help of Terence and Plautus, may well have fathered the Dromios of Shakspeare.<sup>94</sup> Mopsus says,

How is it? what art thou a doing, *Dromo*? *Dr.* I am sitting. *Mo.* I see it; But how go matters with thee? *Dr.* As they use to go with them, whom God frowns upon. *Mo.* God forbid that such a thing should come to pass; what art thou doing? *Dr.* Truly I take pains to no purpose, that which thou seest, and that's nothing. *Mo.* 'Tis better to sit still, than to do something to no purpose; It may be that I interrupt thee being employed in weighty affairs? *Dr.* Yea, altogether without any employment, for I was just now weary with doing nothing, and I wanted a merry Companion,<sup>95</sup> and so on.

Erasmus presents a tempest<sup>96</sup> which reminds one in many respects of Shakspeare's. Both are interested in the characteristic mental reactions of the characters, though Erasmus is interested in them chiefly as manifestations of moral makeup in the characters, Shakspeare hardly so, if at all. Neither is interested in the disgustingly physical clownery so nauseatingly presented by Rabelais in his tempest. Shakspeare's *Tempest* lies in the tradition of Erasmus, most certainly not in that of Rabelais.

The critics so far have apparently failed to catch an allusion by Sir Hugh Evans to a saying which is embodied in a story told by Erasmus in the *Colloquies*. Sir Hugh says, "The dozen white louses do become an old coat well; it agrees well, passant; it is a familiar beast to man, and signifies love."<sup>97</sup> Sir Hugh had good book authority for saying the louse "is a familiar beast to man," as one will see from the following story told by Erasmus.

A certain servant when he had seen a louse creeping on the Kings garment, falling down on his knees, and with his hand lifted up, gives notice that he would perform some service. When *Lewis* offered himself to him, he took off the louse, and threw her away privily. When the King asked what it was? he was ashamed to tell him. When the King urged him, he confest that it

<sup>94</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, pp. 636-637; cf. pp. 631 ff, 643 ff, etc.

<sup>95</sup> H. M. Gent., *The Colloquies . . . of . . . Erasmus* (1671, personal), pp. 14-15. Erasmus has imitated Terence, *Eunuchus*, 271 ff.

<sup>96</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), Vol. I, pp. 712 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *Merry Wives*, I, 1, 19-21.

was a louse. It's a good sign, quoth he, for it shews that I am a man, because this kind of vermin particularly troubleth man, especially in his youth. And he commanded that fourty crowns should be given him for his service. A good many daies after, a certain other man who had seen that he was so well rewarded for so mean a service, not considering that there is a very great difference, between doing a thing simply, and doing a *thing* through craft, approached the King with the like gesture, and again he offering himself *to him*, he made as though he took something off from the Kings garment, which he presently cast away. When the King urged him being backward, to tell him what it was, he making as though he were very much ashamed, at length answered, that it was a flea. The King perceiving the deceit, says, What, wilt thou make me a dog? He commanded the man to be taken away, and in stead of fourty Crowns which he sought for, that fourty stripes should be given him.<sup>98</sup>

As a schoolmaster, Sir Hugh should have known this particular story. But from his additional statement that the louse "signifies love," I suspect that Sir Hugh is thinking specifically of some contemporary moralization of this traditional saying.

While I cannot lay my hands on any single absolutely conclusive piece of evidence that Shakspeare had read the *Colloquies*, yet the evidence as a whole is quite strong, and I feel certain that he had done so. One who went so far in school as Shakspeare certainly did is not likely to have escaped these *Colloquies*. In them he would have met a genuinely literary spirit, and I have no doubt that they had a great influence in shaping the literary tastes of William Shakspeare. Even if not directly, yet through the multitude shaped by them, they must have had their influence upon him.

The great Heinsius under date of 1636 very well describes the essential spirit of Erasmus as displayed in these *Colloquies*. He has spoken in general, and now comes specifically to the *Colloquies*.

But nowhere else has he expressed this idea of mind more than in this most charming book of colloquies, in which he plays the physician, not grave, not morose, but festive and familiar. Whatever is played with or said is sought from the midst of life that he may emend it, in such a way that in the same work he may heal the tongue, which had been infected with not a little filth, being infested especially with barbarity . . . But he was not ignorant of what was in old time the use of dialogue, which being consecrated by Plato to philosophy and the other deliberations of wisdom, the ancient comic writers recalled it to the theater, Lucian, having cast off verse, recalled it to witticisms and jests.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> H. M. Gent., *The Colloquies . . . of . . . Erasmus* (1671), p. 280. Cf. Gastius, John, *Concivallium Sermonum* (Basle, 1566, personal), Vol. I, pp. 170-171.

<sup>99</sup> Erasmus, *Colloquia* (Amsterdam, 1693), p. 753.



It is this imminence of life which attracts us in the literary work of Erasmus. These colloquies do, no doubt, have a moral, though seldom a moralizing tendency. They do reflect a knowledge of what the ancients have done in this type of thing, particularly the comic writers and Lucian. But they especially show us Erasmus as a keen-eyed and interested spectator in the midst of life. His description of a German inn gives one the feeling of substance and living reality. From all kinds of unexpected corners in these dialogues curious quirks of character pop out. The Lucianic presentations of monastic abuses have not yet lost their pungence. Narrow bigotry is frequently drawn on to display its ludicrous folly. Sharpers in alchemy and what not had received adequate presentation from the pen of Erasmus long before Ben Jonson laid his heavy hand upon them. Of these pictures Erasmus says,

From these if the boys should learn nothing else than to speak Latin, by how much more does my industry merit praise, who by means of play and pleasure accomplish this than that of those who forcibly cram suffering youth with "nursers," "short-methods," "catholicons," and "modes of signifying."<sup>100</sup>

Erasmus objected to the arid methods of the puritanic moralists. He won temporarily, to create his share of the Renaissance. But such men as Corderius and Brinsley eventually overcame him to create the eighteenth century. The spirit of Erasmus is nearly always genuinely and distinctly literary—Renaissance. There is a little of this life and literature in the *Exercitatio* of Vives, none of either in consecrated Corderius.

It would seem probable, therefore, that Shakspeare studied Vives, perhaps Lucian, and Erasmus. That is the selection we would have made for him. If these were weighted down with Castalio's sacred dialogues, we may charge the latter wholly to the account of religion and still have a fair balance in favor of literature.

The more elementary of these colloquies ought to have prepared Shakspeare for his Terence, who would ordinarily have been introduced and accompanied presumably by Udall's *Floures*, which would also supply phrases for correct speech. Udall himself says of this work, I have added wherever it seemed necessary certain scholia as it were, in which both the sense of the poet is explained and the words themselves not

<sup>100</sup> Erasmus, *Colloquia* (Amsterdam, 1693), p. 776. Mosellanus hoped by his *Paedologia* (1518) to lead the boys "by means of such narratives, as if by a kind of stairway, to the style of Terence and the ease of Cicero" (Seybolt, *Renaissance Student Life*, p. 4).

a little more clearly declared. Where any outstanding or elegant metaphor is used, I have indicated it. Where any figure occurs, I have noted it. Where any fable comes along I am not bored to narrate it rather at length. If anything which would especially contribute to Latinity appears, I have not passed it by in silence. If anything pertains to grammar, I have not been ashamed to explain it. If any proverb is interspersed, I have exposed it. If any word has been considered rather obscure, I have illustrated it. If any formula appears a little different from the common, vulgar, and usual method of speaking Latin, I have given the reason, examples and testimonies being cited, wherever the matter demanded it, and quoted from the best and most approved authors. Finally that I may make an end, whatever has ever been objected that seems to be able to retard boyish ability and judgment in reading, however humble or light it might be, I have sedulously noted it.<sup>101</sup>

Probably, therefore, about the third form Shakspeare began memorizing Udall's *Floures* from Terence. I have evidence which seems to me conclusive that Shakspeare did have these *Floures*, but it cannot be presented here. The *Floures* furnished him impeccable phrases for conversation, and at the same time served the purpose of a partial construe and translation of Terence. The phrases aimed at, however, here and regularly were phrases equivalent to the vernacular, not literal translations. Clarke speaks of them as "equipollent," not literal translations.<sup>102</sup>

A statement by William Walker in 1669 puts the point of view of the sixteenth and seventeenth century masters concerning such helps very neatly.

Every Language hath its *Idiotismes* and Proprieties, Phrases and Forms of speaking, peculiar to it self, which cannot be rendred word for word into any other Language but with much barbarity and baldness of expression. Thus however it is in English and Latine: insomuch that either way to be *nimum fidus interpretes*, To stick too close to the Verbal Translation will betray a man into ridiculous absurdities. Therefore to take the Learner off again from his nice insisting on Verbal Translating, and remedie those inconveniences that come by his sticking too close thereto, it will be necessary to acquaint him with the *Idiotismes* of both the English and Latine, and shew him how to express himself in either Language according to the respective Proprieties thereof.

The one Precept in order to this, is, To heed the *Sense*, more than the *Words*, and to fit the expression thereunto. That being well rendred whether into English or Latine, whose sense is clearly and fully expressed in the Language whereby it is rendred, though the words be more or fewer than were in that, whence the Translation was made. Observation indeed hath the main stroke in this business. Yet sundry Helps may be administred.

<sup>101</sup> Udall, *Floures* (1533), Epistle.

<sup>102</sup> Clark, *Phraseologia* (1650), p. A2v.

Walker then lists several methods of attaining this end, including

Another may be, to put him to learn such Latine Authors, as are so translated into English, as that the propriety of both Languages is heeded unto and observed by the Translator, allowing him the use of the Translation. Such are *Tully's Offices* translated by Mr. *Brinslie*; *Terence's Comedies* by Mr. *Bernard*; *Corderius's Colloquies* by Mr. *Hoole*, &c. And *Janua Linguarum* by Mr. *Robotham*.<sup>103</sup>

These masters were not striving for "verbal" but what one might call "equivalent" and what Clarke did call "equipollent" translation. Thus the boys memorized a Latin phrase and the English equivalent ideas for it, or *vice versa*. Preceding Bernard's translation of the much admired Terence, Udall's *Floures* had partially served this purpose. I suppose it is because it had been replaced by Bernard's translation that the last recorded edition of the *Floures* appears to be that of 1581. The full translation and the colloquies together usurped both its functions. Kyffin published his translation of *Andria* in 1588 with school use in mind, and hoped someone else would complete the task, as Bernard did in 1598.

While Udall in 1534 does not make specific statement on this matter of translation, yet John Palsgrave in his ecphrasis of *Acolastus* is explicit and full on the point. One must preserve the Latin idiom.

For how moch the phrase of the frenche tongue is different from the pure latinitie, maye appere by a booke of late yeres made by Robertus Stephanus, whiche he entitleth, *De corrupte sermonis emendatione*. And howe moche the Spaynes be with this self imperfectiō intached, may appere by the testimony of Nebrisensis, whiche with many wordes doth lament the notable corruption of the latyne tonge amongst his countrey men, rysyng vpon this occasion, and earnestly doth exhorte them to be more diligent in thobseruyng of the perfecte and approued laten auctours. And as for the Germaynes notwithstanding the great excellency that they nowe at these dayes be come vnto, yet is there no doubte, but that there is noo vulgar phrase vsed within the boundes of Europa that more swarueth from the exacte latinitie, than this dothe. So that whan I consider, by howe earnest maner Bebelius called vpon the Germaynes, to leaue theyr owne phrase, and to take them to the assiduous readyng and obseruyng of the good latyne auctours, the whiche was but a lyttel before Rheuclines dayes, and howe prosperously the thyng hath syns that tyme amongst them succeeded, I take, that Bebelius was in maner to the Germaynes, as was Laurence Valla vnto the Italians, by whose fyrste exhortation and settinge on, so many excellent wryters haue rysen amongeste the Italians within the tyme of memory.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Walker, *Teaching* (1669), pp. 198-199.

<sup>104</sup> Palsgrave, *Acolastus*, pp. [A4]v.—b1r.

To this desired end, Palsgrave directs his ecphrasis of *Acolastus*, which is not a translation, but a statement of each idea in one or more English phrases which are equivalent. Udall had followed the same principle with his *Floures* of Terence. Unless we grasp the "idiotic" use to which sixteenth and seventeenth century schoolmasters put these construes and grammatical translations, we shall continue to draw idiotic conclusions about the users of the translations. This point has important bearing upon Shakspeare, Chapman, etc., as could be made to appear if there were space.

As has been said, Shakspeare should have begun his study of Terence about the third form, and may even have begun the *Floures* in the second. For Terence in the fifteenth and still early in the sixteenth century had been considered as prose. As colloquial speech, Terence had been fitted, along with the phrase books, into the earlier forms to teach the boys good Latin phrase. Sir Hugh Evans, schoolmaster, has his characteristic phrase from Terence. When he is trying to calm Falstaff, he says to the restive knight, "Pauca verba, Sir John; goot worts. *Fal.* Good worts! good cabbage."<sup>106</sup> Sir Hugh's "goot worts" are from Terence. When Simo is threatening Davus at the end of the second scene of the first act of *Andria*, the latter answers, "Bona verba, quaeso." This expression passed into the stock school vocabulary. Udall gives it,

*Bona verba quaeso.* Speke fayre I pray you, or prouerbiially, You wol not do as you say. For those wordes be alwayes of the wryters vsed and spoken *ironice*, that is to saye in mockage or derision: As if one shuld say, I woll cause the braynes to flee out of thy heed, & the other shuld in mockage, scorne, and derisyon answere, and saye thus: You woll not I trowe: Or thus, you woll not do as you saye I trowe, he mought saye it elegantlye and proprely in latyne, *Bona verba quaeso*, Yet gyue vs fayre language I beseche you hartely.<sup>106</sup>

Cooper put the phrase under *verbum* with a cross-reference to *bonus*, where he too waxes eloquent, "*Bona verba quaeso. Terent.* Ye will not doe as you say, I trust? who shall holde your horse the while? fayre wordes I pray you: ough ye will not I trust?" Sir Hugh is more literal in his translation and also more pacific than either Udall or Cooper. Erasmus has the phrase as "*bona verba*" in *Copia*<sup>107</sup> under *Synonymia negandi*, which is not the use in Sir Hugh's mind. But Susenbrotus

<sup>106</sup> *Merry Wives*, I, 1, 123-124.

<sup>106</sup> Udall, *Floures* (1538, personal, Herbert's copy), pp. 3v-4r. In his interpretation, Udall is following Donatus eventually, as does Stephanus in his dictionary. See also Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), Pt. II, p. 566.

<sup>107</sup> Erasmus, *Copia* (1566), p. 160.

put the phrase into the tropes of speech, as the eighth type of allegory, with exactly the connotations attributed by Sir Hugh.

8. *Charientismus* χαριεντισμός, est cum dura mollioribus uerbis mitigamus, Vel cum duriora re ipsa, gratiosis uerbis molliuntur. Terentius: Bona uerba quaeso, cum pristinam deprecaretur Dauus . . . Vtimur hoc tropo praecipue, ubi ira cōmotum ac perturbatum uerbis lenire percupimus.<sup>108</sup>

Good Sir Hugh is very desirous of "lenifying" Falstaff perturbed and commoved with anger. Sir Hugh does not know Falstaff so well as we do.

The phrase occurs also in *Troilus and Cressida*.

*Ajax*. O thou damned cur! I shall——

*Achil*. Will you set your wit to a fool's?

*Ther*. No, I warrant you; for a fool's will shame it.

*Patr*. Good words, Thersites.

*Achil*. What's the quarrel?<sup>109</sup>

Here is a bit of school phraseology properly applied, from whatever source it reached Shakspeare directly. And Shakspeare puts it first into the mouth of a schoolmaster. He likely received it from the same source.

Sir Hugh uses his phrase, "goot worts," from Terence as an equivalent translation of "pauca verba," of which Shakspeare's characters are rather fond. Holofernes, another schoolmaster, also uses it with a slightly different application when he says to Dull, "Sir, I do invite you too; you shall not say me nay: *pauca verba*."<sup>110</sup> Here it is equivalent to, "Go to; no more words."<sup>111</sup> But the schoolmasters have no monopoly on the phrase. After Sir Hugh has used the phrase, Nym immediately borrows it to interpret in his own way. "Slice, I say! *pauca, pauca*; slice! that's my humour."<sup>112</sup> Sir Hugh wanted few words that they might be easiest mended; Nym pretended to want few words so that they might not delay the fight. In *Henry V*, Pistol turns the phrase in this same sense on Nym,

I have, and I will hold, the quondam Quickly  
For the only she; and—*pauca*, there's enough.  
Go go.<sup>113</sup>

But Pistol is no great Latinist, for just previously he had taken *solus* for a term of insult.

<sup>108</sup> Susenbrotus, J., *Epitome Troporum Ac Schematum* (Tiguri, 1565, personal), p. 18.

<sup>109</sup> *Troilus and Cressida*, II, 1, 93-98.

<sup>110</sup> *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV, 2, 170-171.

<sup>112</sup> *Merry Wives*, I, 1, 134-135.

<sup>111</sup> *Measure for Measure*, III, 2, 218.

<sup>113</sup> *Henry V*, II, 1, 82-84.

*Nym.* Will you shog off? I would have you solus.  
*Pist.* 'Solus,' egregious dog? O viper vile!  
 The 'solus' in thy most mervailous face;  
 The 'solus' in thy teeth, and in thy throat,  
 And in thy hateful lungs, yea, in thy maw, perdy,  
 And, which is worse, within thy nasty mouth!  
 I do retort the 'solus' in thy bowels;  
 For I can take, and Pistol's cock is up,  
 And flashing fire will follow.<sup>114</sup>

But while Pistol and Nym did not understand the significance of the Latin in the phrase, yet it is clear that Shakspeare did.

The phrase "*pauca verba*" itself may have come from various sources. Cooper gives, (under *Confero*), "*Nunc verba in pauca conferam, quid te velim. Plaut.* I will tell thee briefly, or in fewe woordes, what, &c. *In pauca. Cic.* To conclude: to be shorte." But whencesoever it came, Shakspeare knows that this phrase can take on various shades of meaning, and he once equates it with a literal translation of the *bona verba* of Terence, one of the "flowers" which he should have acquired from that author early. This illustration may serve as well as any how Terence contributed directly or indirectly to the phraseology of Shakspeare and his contemporaries.

Cicero, the twin foundation of grammar school, did not so early attain the universality of Terence in the lower school curriculum. The boys had first to learn conversation; and Terence was among Latin classics the only possible guide, Plautus being frequently "barbarous," and Seneca not conversational. As the supreme model for an excellent style in writing, Cicero necessarily came later than Terence, Cicero and the poets furnishing the models for literary polish. Enthusiasts like Ascham, however, wished to throw out all phrase books, as tending to barbarity, and to permit the boys to begin speaking and writing Latin only when they were prepared to do so in the phrase of Terence and Cicero. Hence the laments of the purists, such as Kyffin, that Terence was not being used as he should, and hence such a system as that of Dr. Webbe, who would analyze all the plays of Terence into their component clauses with their English meanings. Then all a boy would need to do to assure himself of good Latin would be to memorize the resultant clausulary. He could even do without grammar itself—*Hamlet* with *Hamlet* left out. With a supplementary clausulary from other good writers, the boy should

---

<sup>114</sup> *Henry V*, II, 1, 47-56.

be able to express himself in the purest Latin upon all occasions. So could a parrot—to a certain degree.

The ultra-Ciceronians were quite as extreme in their views, but they never won complete control over the grammar schools of England. The English schoolmasters still used their phrase-books as stepping stones to Terence and Cicero, though some evidently emphasized Terence and Cicero more than did others. The problem was to simplify the much-admired Cicero sufficiently to make him comprehensible to a ten year old boy—not an easy feat. The solution was finally attained by Ascham's friend, John Sturm of Germany. Cicero's epistles had regularly been used in the upper forms as models of elegant letter writing. Sturm's solution was to select the simplest of Cicero's letters, so that Cicero might serve as the model for this epistolary exercise quite early in the curriculum, familiar epistles being the nearest thing to colloquial dialogue. Sturm in Germany had insisted upon Cicero early, and Ascham in England had followed suit. So in the second half of the sixteenth century Cicero's epistles in this collection by Sturm come to be regularly required in the third form. At East Retford in 1551, the very first form of four was to have Cicero's epistles *Ad Terentiam Uxorem*, or *Tyronem Libertum* for the familiar phrase. In the second, they studied harder epistles; and in the third still more epistles. Harrow in 1591 follows in general the practice of East Retford. At Tideswell in 1560, and Guisborough in 1561, the third form out of four, which was really the second form out of three, read Tully's *Epistles*, the fourth *De Officiis*.

So by 1560 Eton had felt the new impulse. Here Sturm's edition of Cicero's *Epistles* is prescribed for the third form, with some possible supplementary work from the epistles in the fifth, a practice which was then taken over by Westminster. Ruthin also has Sturm for the third form in 1574, as did Aldenham in 1600. These schools belong to the Eton-Westminster group entirely, but all schools require some Cicero at some period. Toward the close of the sixteenth century, typical practice, at least in the Winchester-Eton-Westminster system, was to use Sturm's selections from the epistles about the third form, perhaps continuing a certain amount of work upon the epistles through the remainder of school. *De Officiis*, *De Amicitia*, and *De Senectute* would then be read in the fourth or fifth forms. Finally near the end would come some of the orations as illustrations for the rhetorical precepts in the attributed *Ad Herennium*. It was,

therefore, possible, as we noticed at the beginning of the chapter, for Brinsley to base his work upon the *Epistles* as selected by Sturm, and the *Sententiae*, leaving out entirely or minimizing the various collections of colloquies, etc. By this method, Ciceronic purity of style will be preserved, as Ascham had wished.

But in Shakspeare's time Sturm's collection of Cicero's letters appears not yet to have been fully established in the lower school, and it is thus just possible that Shakspeare escaped it. But if he did escape Cicero's letters in this form in lower school, he would yet have had them as epistolary models in the upper school, where we shall later see something more of the epistolary process. Ultimately, Cicero was really left alone in this fundamental position. For eventually Terence came to be only a literary gentleman like Ovid, Virgil, Horace, etc., and so was deferred till the upper school, his excellent colloquial Latinity being substituted for by the phrase books and Cicero. But that process of displacement had not started when Shakspeare was in grammar school. At that time, Terence and the colloquies, etc. were yet firm, and Cicero only beginning to be injected into the lower school.

It may at first sight appear remarkable that up to the present time we had not demonstrated Shakspeare's use of either Terence or Cicero, the very foundations of grammar school, though some inconclusive evidence has been presented for Terence and a very little for Cicero. It looks like *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out. The difficulty is, however, quite simple. Being fundamental, Terence, at least, had been so assimilated as to become so much a part of Shakspeare that it is only by intensive study and lucky accident that we can show that any part is Terence and not Shakspeare. It is quite likely that the same will prove true of grammar school Cicero. At any rate, the trial should be made in detail. Further, it is only Shakspeare's pedants and clowns who parade their learning; Shakspeare and his approved characters never do. But they have the true and valuable learning nevertheless. Heretofore we have been checking on this paraded learning of the pedants and clowns alone, though without realizing the fact. It is time now that we did something more fundamental.

Other things Shakspeare also doubtless studied in the lower forms, but we have already identified a sufficient number of his memories of school authors and school processes to pass him through the lower school under the usher into the upper school under the master. The lower school he should have completed in three or four years, and at



ten or eleven about 1574 or 1575, he should have passed to the master to begin the work of the upper school. At completion of the lower school, Shakspeare should have been able to quote the complete first part of the grammar, and selected sections of the second part in Latin from memory, and we have seen that in later life he quotes from all parts of it. He was also expected to be able to speak and write what Sir Thomas Elyot calls "congrue latine" with some facility, so that he might now begin to learn to make at least "sixe versis standyng in one fote/wherein perchance shal be neither sentēce nor eloquēce."<sup>115</sup>

From the *Sententiae Pueriles*, if he had that collection, from Cato with accompaniments, and from the collections of *sententiae* on which to make themes, Shakspeare would get that set toward sententiality and topicality which was to make of his works the best English garden for gathering flowers. From Aesop, he would get the current method of viewing nature; he would and did learn to look at nature through Aesop's spectacles, with Pliny as an inevitable later aid. From Terence and possibly some Plautus he would get a smattering of Latin drama, which was later to be of fundamental use, especially in shaping his first plays, and was never wholly discarded. From the Bible, from Mantuan, Palingenius, etc. he would get materials and models for many things. From all these processes, as Dr. Johnson pointed out, he learned to "grammaticize" his English, also English vocabulary. Lower grammar school certainly did set a powerful impress upon Shakspeare. How great we can learn, if we wish, by a more detailed study of lower grammar school and Shakspeare than is here being undertaken.

It may be well to notice in passing that this lower grammar school training of Shakspeare shows some of the distinguishing characteristics of the St. Paul's system. The Bible for Latins, reinforced by Mantuan and Palingenius for further moral edification is perhaps the strongest indication of that system. Whether Shakspeare had any touch of Sedulius, Juvenius, and the rest, as desired by Dean Colet for Paul's boys I do not know, though there is some indication for Lactantius. This tincture of Paul's at Stratford may be due to the customary curriculum of the school, or it may be due to some individual teacher. As will appear, this influence is even clearer in the upper training of Shakspeare than in the lower.<sup>116</sup> One suspects for

<sup>115</sup> Elyot, *The Governour* (1531), fol. 60r; Croft, Vol. I, p. 164.

<sup>116</sup> We have already seen that the organization of the school at Stratford was not that of the Winchester-Eton-Westminster system.

upper school that Thomas Jenkins may have had something to do with it. As we have seen, some very slight hints connect Jenkins with Merchant Taylors', which was on the Paul's system. Educated in some London school, Jenkins may, of course, have gone to Paul's itself. It were to be wished that we could make these connections clearer.

Shakspeare is now well launched on that voyage which Madido describes in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*.

I tooke shippinge at *Qui mihi discipulus*, and sailed to *Propria quae maribus*; then came to *As in praesenti*, but with great danger, for there are certaine people in this cuntrie caled schoolmaisters, that take passingers and sit all day whippinge pence out of there tayls; these men tooke mee prisoner, and put to death at leaste three hundred rodes upon my backe. Henc traveled I into the land of *Sintaxis*, a land full of joyners, and from thenc came I to *Prosodia*, a litell iland, where are men of 6 feete longe, which were never mentioned in Sir John Mandefilde's cronicle.<sup>117</sup>

William Shakspeare was now well along upon that journey, being ready to enter the island of *Prosodia* to encounter with the men of six feet long; but we hope his back had not been so destructive of Stratford rods. Incidentally, the schoolmasters are allocated to *As in praesenti* only for the sake of a coarse pun of which Elizabethans never tire, and of which Shakspeare himself makes use. Presumably he, as well as his contemporaries, found the pun in the land of *As in praesenti*—if not sooner.

Doubtless Shakspeare too took shipping at *Qui mihi discipulus*, where William Lily did his best to warn him of the fate which awaited him if he did not press on through grammar to a mastery of the great Latin authors.

Grammaticas recte si vis cognoscere leges,  
Discere si cupias cultius ore loqui:  
Addiscas veterum clarissima scripta virorum,  
Et quos auctores, turba Latina docet,  
Nunc te Virgilius, nunc ipse Terentius Optat,  
Nunc simul amplecti te Ciceronis opus.  
Quos qui non didicit, nil praeter somnia vidit,  
Certat & in tenebris vivere Cimmeriis.<sup>118</sup>

Shakspeare had mastered his grammar and his Terence. Now he must master Virgil and Cicero, or forever dwell in Cimmerian darkness.

<sup>117</sup> Macray, *Parnassus*, p. 8.

<sup>118</sup> "Gulielmi Lillii ad suos Discipulos monita Paedagogica, seu *Carmen de Moribus*," *A Short Introduction of Grammar* (London, 1667, personal), at end.



